Peter B. Golden

# An Introduction to the History of the Turkic Peoples

## Ethnogenesis and State-Formation in Medieval and Early Modern Eurasia and the Middle East

1992

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

Publication of this book was supported by a grant
from the Rutgers University Research Council.

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

**Golden, Peter B.:**
An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples :
ethnogenesis and state formation in medieval and early modern
Eurasia and the Middle East / Peter B. Golden. – Wiesbaden :
Harrassowitz, 1992
(Turcologica ; Bd. 9)
ISBN 3-447-03274-X
NE: GT

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Printing and binding by Hubert & Co., Göttingen
Printed on acid-free paper (Nordland GmbH, Dörpen/Ems)
Printed in Germany

ISSN 0177-4743
ISBN 3-477-03274-X

*This work is dedicated to the memory of Tibor Halasi-Kun*

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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is my pleasant obligation to acknowledge publicly a number of individuals who have helped to make this book possible. Professor Lars Johanson first suggested the idea for this volume and has shown great forbearance despite the many delays in its completion. The late Tibor Halasi-Kun who introduced me, more than a quarter of a century ago, to Turkic Studies and the rich Hungarian tradition of scholarship in that field, was a fount of knowledge and a source of inspiration. His imprint and spirit may be found on many of these pages. The staff of the Rutgers University libraries, in particular Natalie Borisovets and Wanda Gawienowski of the Dana Library at Newark, met my requests for ever more obscure titles with constant good humor and more importantly never failed in tracking down and securing a book or article. I am obliged to Marcus R. Knowlton and I. Király who prepared the accompanying maps and to Tammy Proctor who took on the onerous task of producing the Index. I owe a particular debt of gratitude to my friends and colleagues Anatoly M. Khazanov and Thomas T. Allsen with whom, over the years, a number of the issues dealt with in this work were discussed. Tolya read some of the early chapters and Tom the first draft of the whole of the work. Their critical comments were always welcome and almost always followed. Needless to say, any errors of fact or judgement are entirely mine. Svat Soucek very generously gave me access to his unpublished work on the Qırğız, for which I am most grateful. Publication of this book was facilitated by a subvention grant from the Research Council of Rutgers University.

Finally, I owe my greatest debt of gratitude to my wife, Sylvia Wu Golden, and my sons, Alex and Greg, who put up with an often preoccupied husband and father. Moreover, Greg proofread several drafts of the work and frequently provided computer and editorial assistance. Sylvia, as usual, provided the Chinese characters.

Rutgers University
Newark, New Jersey
June, 1992

## A PREFATORY NOTE ON NAMES AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

Any work of this scope is, inevitably, idiosyncratic to some degree. The accenting of this or that era or historical problem reflects both the author's particular interests as well as limitations. This work is no exception. Transcription systems, the **bête noire** of a work of this nature, tend to be equally idiosyncratic. I have endeavored to use a system that can accommodate as many as possible of the languages employed in this work in the garb in which those who work with them are most accustomed to seeing them. Although a good case can be made for using the Modern Turkish system for the Turkic languages, I have chosen to employ a more "international" system. I have, however, retained the Turkish "ğ" (strictly for Turkic, elsewhere "ǧ" will be found) and "ı" (rather than "ï" etc.). Problems are unavoidable. Thus, the transcribed Armenian "ǰ" ("ǧ" in modern pronunciation) is obviously different from Modern Polish "ǰ" (pronounced, in Warsaw, as "w"). In Slavic (and transcriptions from Cyrillic) "j" stands for Eng. "y" whereas in transcribed Arabic, Persian, Turkic, Georgian and Armenian it renders Eng. "j." Failing logic, I have, at least, attempted to be consistent. When citing a translation, I have kept the transcription system of the translator. Where the technology available to me permits (my computer and its software), I have given many forms in the original script. Regrettably, I could not do this for Arabic-script forms, Chinese, Georgian, Armenian, Syriac, Soǧdian, Xotanese etc. The more important Arabic and Chinese names and titles are printed in their original scripts as separate appendices at the end of this work. I have not translated the bibliographical entries.

## GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Geographical nomenclature can be equally problematic. There exists a variety of terms used to designate the vast expanses of prairieland extending from the Hungarian Puszta to Manchuria. In this work, "Eurasia" is employed to encompass the whole of the steppe realm and adjoining lands. "Inner Asia" is used to designate the Mongolian steppelands and neighboring zones of Southern Siberia and Tibet. "Central Asia" includes both Eastern and Western Turkistan, Kazakhstan, the Western Siberian steppes and the lands extending to the Volga river. "Western Eurasia" consists of the lands to the west of the Volga. I have chosen, in most instances, to give the English forms of toponyms where they are more or less familiar (e.g. Kazakhstan rather than the transcribed Kazaxstan or Qazaqstan). Place names in Turkey are given according to the Modern Turkish orthography. "Turkic" stands for all of the Turkic peoples. "Turkish" designates the Turkish-speaking ("Türkiye Türkçesi") population of the Ottoman Turkic heartland/Modern Turkey and surrounding areas of the Balkans.

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## THE WORLD OF THE STEPPES

In the Pre-Modern Era, the steppes of Eurasia served as one of the major crossroads of civilization. Men, goods and ideas traversed these vast expanses with remarkable rapidity in an age that was oriented to the pace of animals rather than the hum of engines. This Eurasian world was divided into three economic systems which sometimes interacted symbiotically and sometimes came into bloody conflict. Historical accounts have largely focused on the latter since the clash of arms has always seemed more worthy of notice. The two major economic systems represented here were the sedentary-agrarian and pastoral nomadic. Of considerably less importance militarily and politically were the hunting-gathering cultures of the forest zone. These, however, were important economically because of the lucrative fur trade and formed a significant substratal element in the shaping of steppe culture since it was the environment from which many of the steppe peoples sprang. Shamanism, an important aspect of the cultic practices and beliefs of the steppe peoples undoubtedly had its origins, in part, if not entirely, in the great forests.

Sedentary society in this Eurasian steppe world was largely confined to the Eastern European forest and forest-steppe zone which, however, steadily encroached on the steppe pasturages and the urban oasis-based societies perched on the southern rim of the steppes. These oasis-statelets were the outermost cultural and often political extensions of the great imperial structures of the Mediterranean world : Roman-Byzantine, Iranian, Arabo-Islamic, with the full panoply of religious and cultural influences that those variants of Mediterranean civilization entailed, e.g. monotheistic religions. Matching these "western" influences were the powerful currents emanating from the Indian subcontinent and China, civilizations that have put their permanent stamp on East and Southeast Asian society. It is in this milieu, in this historical and cultural context of the interaction of nomad and sedentary, steppe and sown, that the genesis of the peoples of Eurasia took place.

The purpose of this work, however, is not to give a detailed exposition of the history of Eurasia, but rather, to provide an introduction to the history of one of its ethno-linguistic groupings : the Turkic peoples. We will trace the rise and fall of their polities, assess their interaction with other societies and comment on their ethnogenesis.

A detailed examination of the formation of any one of the Turkic peoples reveals, not unexpectedly, that this was a multi-layered process. It is, of course, a situation that is not unique to the Turkic world. Recent research suggests that the criteria for delineating an ethnic community (**ethnie**) are a "named human population with shared ancestry myths, histories and cultures, having an association with a specific territory and a sense of solidarity."[1] In

1 Smith, **Ethnic Origins**, p. 32.*

*Citations are given in abbreviated form for books and chapters in multi-volume series (e.g.

Eurasia, these criteria were largely met in the Türk Qağanate and in a qualitatively different configuration in the Činggisid realm. Following the collapse of the Türk state and the diffusion of the Turkic tribes, a variety of transformations took place. Separate and distinct ethnic communities and polities then developed or reemerged (e.g. Oğuz, Qıpčaq) retaining elements of the Old Türk culture but also growing in new directions. This is reflected in Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî's presentation of the Turkic world in his **Dîwân Luġat at-Turk** (dated 1077)[2], a survey by a scion of the Qaraxanid dynasty. With the decline of Činggisid unity and the Mongol realms, a similar process occurred. This time, however, long-established tribal unions, often of complex and disparate origins, had been broken up to form the building blocks of new confederations which in time, and often under outside pressure, became modern/modernizing peoples.

Given the lack of sources, it is difficult to measure the consciousness of these ties among the tribesmen of various Turkic polities. These often took in new elements, Turkic and non-Turkic. External sources, for example the Islamic historians and geographers of the Middle Ages, lumped them together as the "Turks" (**al-Atrâk**), implying a common origin and following the paradigm of the Arab tribes well-known to them. Current ethnogenetic studies have shown that although linguistic usage, i.e. terms employed by contemporary sources such as **gens**/γένος, **natio** seemed to refer to a common biological descent, in reality these communities were always polyethnic and political in character. Its members consisted of both those who were, indeed, born into it and those who joined it. Thus, it became a community of "descent through tradition"[3] as well as through recognition of the political leadership of a charismatic clan. This process was equally operative in the Turkic world. Warfare helped to further define and cement these bonds.[4]

In addition to these ties of a politico-military and economic nature, we must take into account the role of religion. This element, essential to any analysis of European or Near Eastern "proto-national" feeling[5] has been almost completely neglected as an element of politics and consciousness-shaping in the steppe world prior to the victory of Islam in the region. Shamanism, the grass roots "religion" of the nomads and forest peoples of Central and Inner Asia, elements of which persisted as potent substratal forces in the religions later adopted by the Turkic peoples, provided another source of identification. We have yet to explore fully, however, the question

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**The Cambridge History of Iran**) and by author and year for journal articles and chapters in books. A complete bibliography is given at the end of this work.

2 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 6-7.

3 Wolfram, **Goths**, pp. 5-6.

4 Smith, **Ethnic Origins**, pp. 38-40.

5 Hobsbawm, **Nations and Nationalism**, pp. 49-50,67-73.

of how it impinged on the consciousness of "those who draw the bow" in their self-definition. The **Tengri** (sky-god) cult was widespread among the Turkic peoples and served as a basic prop for the qağanal ideology. Clearly, it had an important political dimension. The adoption, subsequently, of a variety of universal religions (Buddhsim, Manichaeanism, Nestorian Christianity, Judaism and Islam), coming as the result of a complex interaction of political, cultural and economic forces (as everywhere else) also served as important markers of identity. This aspect of pre-Islamic Turkic political life needs further investigation.

## THE NOMADIC WORLD

We shall be dealing with groups that were (and some still are) primarily pastoral nomads. That is, their fundamental economic activity was livestock production which was carried out through the purposeful seasonal movement of livestock and their human masters (living in portable dwellings) over a series of already delineated pasturages in the course of a year. This was not aimless wandering in search of grass and water, as the cliché of the Chinese sources would have it. The ecology of a given group's particular zone determined, to a considerable extent, the composition and size of its herds and the attendant human camping units (usually 8-12 family units). This is a form of economic production that appears to have developed out of sedentary animal husbandry among groups that practiced both agriculture and stockbreeding.[6] Most pastoral nomadic societies of Eurasia continued to practice some form of at least vestigial agriculture. The origins of this form of economy are briefly discussed in Chap. 2. Distinct forms of social and political organization evolved or were brought into being in response to the demands of this type of economic activity and the nature of the interaction of the nomads with their sedentary neighbors.

### The Tribe

Turkic society, until very recent times, was, with the exception of the Ottoman Empire, Azarbayjan, the Middle Volga and the oasis cultures of Turkistan, largely tribal. Tribal elements figured prominently in early Ottoman history and although their political and social roles have almost totally disappeared, are not entirely absent from Turkish society today. A definition of "tribe" that would satisfy the many demands made on it by social scientists, remains elusive.[7] Fried, in particular, emphasizes the shifting

6 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 15ff.,89-90, Khazanov, 1990, pp. 4-5; Basilov (ed.), **Nomads**, pp. 1-5; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 20-24.

7 Cf. Sahlins, **Tribesmen**, pp. vii-viii, 4-5,7-8,12-13; Krader, **Formation**, p. 23; Fried, **Evolution**, pp. 160,164,166=167.

nature of tribal composition, warning, quite rightly, against extrapolations from present-day heterogeneity to an alleged state of pristine homogeneity in the past. Tribes are, he notes, "ad hoc responses to ephemeral situations of competition." They are "secondary phenomena" that can arise in response to the impact of more highly organized groups.[8] There is a consensus that external pressures played a key role in the political development of the Eurasian tribes.[9] The chief was of paramount importance in this structure. This was a dynamic, charismatic figure, it is argued, with whose fate the success or failure of the tribe was linked and from whom the tribe derived its identity.[10] In a number of circumstances, particularly in the post-Činggisid period, this was undoubtedly true.[11] But, as with other definitions, it does not fit all the situations.

The family and clan were the basic underpinnings of this society. Families were not large (two generations of adults and children); the economy of the camping unit could not provide for more. Older sons were given their share of the family wealth and then moved off. The youngest son inherited his father's home and whatever remained.[12] In theory, the clan was based on patrilineally related groups organized along lines of seniority. This is the "conical clan." Clans, however, could be more diffuse, not clearly articulated and not entirely sacrosanct. On the family and clan level, blood ties were more genuine than at higher levels of social organization. Clans, thus linked in a "segmentary structure" within the same tribe or tribal union, could come into conflict with one another. But, to the outside world they presented a "common front."[13] Whatever the genealogical and other ties (real and spurious) may have been, tribal allegiance always involved an important element of political choice. In some measure, although leaders made ample use of kinship ties, a tribe was whatever following a chief could muster,[14] i.e. those clans that formed the inner core and a less stable grouping of clans with shifting allegiances. The mobility of steppe society gave individuals and groups freedom of residence and hence, to some degree, freedom of political affiliation. The disgruntled and unhappy could leave and attach themselves to a new chief. Individuals, families and clans could decamp for "greener pastures." This mobility prevented the evolution of strong territorial links and allowed for great fluidity in social organization. As a consequence, kinship and genealogical structures, however fictitious and politically motivated,

8 Fried, **Evolution**, pp. 168-170 and his **Notion of Tribe**, pp. 10,30, 49,52.
9 Lindner, 1982, p. 699.
10 Lindner, 1982, p. 701; Smith, Jr., 1978, p. 77n.18.
11 Reid, **Tribalism**, p. 8.
12 Grønbech, 1958, pp. 53,55; Khazanov, **Nomads**, p. 126.
13 Xazanov, **Social'naja ist.**, pp. 105-106,127-128, his **Nomads**, pp. 144-149 and 1990 article, p. 5; Krader, **Social Organization**, pp. 9-10,318,320,328; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 26-27.
14 Grønbech,1958, p. 55; Cuisenier, 1976, pp. 215,218.

were given greater prominence as a vehicle for expressing political relationships.[15] This also permitted great flexibility. Nomadic groups could easily regroup and re-form.

When Eurasian nomads found themselves outside of the steppe zone, in particular in the Near and Middle East, where they were forced to re-form and were able, for a time, to practice a more limited nomadism or semi-nomadism, the old terminology continued, but now often masked new realities.[16] The tribes had fragmented and the role of the successful war leader, always important, became even more crucial in determining the identity of the group. This was reflected in tribal names. Thus, the Ottomans (Osmanlı) were the "Men of Osmân;" the Qızılbaš were those who belonged to a specific religio-military organization recruited primarily from Oğuz tribesmen in Anatolia and Iran who wore a characteristic headgear to symbolize their allegiance. While old Oğuz tribal names were still to be found among them (e.g. Avšar, Čepni), there were many more new names of personal (e..g. Qâsımlu) or geographical origin (e.g. Rûmlu, Šâmlu). The tribes had adapted and regrouped.

In this world of frequent shifts, in the steppe and even in close propinquity to sedentary society, linguistic and cultural unity were not necessary requirements.[17] This does not mean that people were not aware of these ties. Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî was cognizant of the differences of dialect and the linguistic features of those groups which were Turkicizing. "Purity of speech," especially in pronunciation and the absence of outside influences was a source of pride. "The most elegant of the dialects," he writes, "belongs to those who know only one language, who do not mix with Persians and who do not customarily settle in other lands. Those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities have a certain slurring in their utterances....The most elegant is that of the Khâqânî kings and those who associate with them."[18] The latter was clearly a political criterion. We see here also the pride of the nomad, his sense of superiority over sedentaries. Language, however, was never a barrier. Various Turkic groups lived in intense symbiosis with non-Turkic elements without fully assimilating them (e.g. the Iranian-speaking Alano-As groupings among the Qıpčaqs).

### Turkic Tribal Names

The politically dominant tribe or clan often gave its name to the tribal union or confederation that it created. When this polity collapsed, the name

15 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 138-139.
16 See Lindner, **Nomads and Ottomans**, pp. 8-9,22-23,36 (Ottomans) and Reid, **Tribalism**, pp. 8-11,66-80 (Qızılbaš **oymaqs**).
17 Fried, **Notion of Tribe**, pp. 27-28.
18 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 83,84.

of the new, dominant clan or tribe would come to the fore or the older clan names simply resurfaced. A scattering of tribes led to the appearance of tribal and clan names among a variety of groups. Sometimes, these fragments joined, producing names reflecting a micro-union of two clans or tribes (e.g. the Qıtay-Qıpčaq of the Özbeks[19]). Tribal names, among the Pre-Islamic and non-Islamicized groupings and in the Pre-Činggisid era as a whole, fell into certain categories and patterns of name-giving. These, generally, denoted : geographical referents (e.g. Yıš kiži), nomad/ wanderer (e.g. Qačar, Yörük), nomadic raiders (e.g. Qazaq, Yağma), the number of constituent elements (e.g. Toquz Oğuz), piece or remnant of a people (e.g. Qırıq, Kesek), names based on titles (e.g. Čor, Yula), submissive or peaceful ( e.g. Čuvaš, Uyğur), violence, violent forces of nature (e.g. Qarluq), strength, power, bravery, aggressiveness (e.g. Salğur, Qınıq), great fame or wealth (e.g. Bayaut).[20]

The origins of Turkic tribal names are not entirely clear. It has long been held that tribal names developed out of clan names which, in turn, went back to an eponymous ancestor. This was the picture presented to the world by the tribal genealogies. This does not appear to be the pattern for tribal confederations. Moreover, with regard to the tribes, we do not find examples of this eponymic system until Turkic tribes had been under strong and prolonged Islamic or Mongol (Činggisid) influence. It is only then that such tribal or political/dynastic names appear : Selčük, Noğay, Osmanlı, Čağatay. Similarly, there were few names of totemic origin.[21] There are many names that cannot be etymologized on the basis of Turkic. These may point to non-Turkic origins or to terms that have long been forgotten. As with so many other elements of life in the nomadic world, names changed and moved around. Our sources often present a kaleidoscopic picture of constantly changing Turkic nomadic formations. Such changes did occur on the political, ruling level. But, often a confederation could have long periods of ethnic stability with a core of tribes, but changing elites.

**Nomads and the Sedentary World**

In the Turko-nomadic world of medieval Eurasia, for which our sources are meager and largely written from the perspective of hostile, sedentary societies, the formation and decomposition of polities is only imperfectly reflected. As nomadic tribes, often of disparate origins, fought to create their polities, they forged an ethnos as well. The process of state-formation or

19 Németh, **HMK**, p. 18. Nemeth's study, despite some needed corrections, remains fundamental.
20 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 32-50; Kafesoğlu, **Bozkır**, p. 18.
21 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 71-72.

polity-formation has, in the steppe, always been one entailing ethnogenesis. It has also often come about in response to forces outside of nomadic society.

Nomadic-sedentary interaction[22] ranged over a broad spectrum of relationships, peaceful and hostile, depending on the political and economic needs of the two societies at a given time. Certainly, the traditional image of the Eurasian nomad as conqueror and despoiler is grossly exaggerated. Indeed, over the course of history, the nomad has been as much put upon as his sedentary neighbor. In the Modern Era, it is the nomad who has suffered the greatest losses. A variety of explanations have been offered regarding the causes of nomadic irruptions into the sedentary world : dessication of pasturages, the greed of the "barbarian" for the goods of "civilized" society, the need to interact economically with sedentary society.[23] As we shall see, it was primarily the latter need that played the greatest role.

A major turning-point in human socio-political evolution was the movement from "primitive" to "advanced complex" society. The Turkic nomadic polities of Medieval Eurasia can best be described as moving between degrees of "primitive" and "advanced complex" forms of organization which we may term "traditional stateless" and "traditional early state" society. The former were, in theory, egalitarian societies that had little or no formal government. The primary sources of social cohesion were found in the requirements of kinship (both real and fictitious[24]) and its obligations, tribal custom and the needs of a nomadic economy which demanded some degree of cooperation. Such a grouping, barely governing itself (a situation with which it was often quite content), was by definition incapable of governing others and hence could not subjugate them. "Complex society" is characterized by the development of central executive institutions (chieftainship and monarchy) which created sources of social cohesion beyond the kinship system : the state.[25] When the political bonds of nomadic states dissolved, their constituent members often reverted to some less advanced variant of complex or traditional early state society or even to a form of traditional stateless society. Statehood was not a natural or even necessary condition for nomadic society.[26]

Nomadism, as we have noted, is a system that must interact with other economies. Pastoral production is capable of creating great individual wealth, but it cannot generate the great quantity and variety of foodstuffs that

22 The best study of this subject is Khazanov, **Nomads**. See also the essay by Jagchid, 1977, pp. 177-204.

23 Jagchid, **Peace, War, and Trade**, p. 2.

24 There was a strong political component in kinship, as we have noted. Genealogies were fabricated according to current political exigencies, Xazanov, **Social'naja ist.**, pp. 50-51; Lindner, 1982, pp. 696-697; Crone, **Slaves**, p. 35; Bates, **Yörük**, pp. 55-56.

25 Sagan, **Tyranny**, pp. xvi-xxi.

26 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 22-23.

sedentary society does. Hence, it cannot support as large a population.[27] Although sedentary and nomad alike faced the uncertainties of nature and man, nomadism was by far the more precarious system. A disturbance caused by epizootics, pastoral overproduction or raids could have far-reaching consequences in the steppe, bringing about the migration of tribes in search of new pasturages or the assaults of half-starved raiding parties on agrarian communities. In short, it resulted in war and conquest.[28] Nomadism was merciless to those who could not maintain the minimum herd necessary for survival (usually 60-100 head of sheep, horses, cattle, goats and camels with sheep and horses predominant). Those who could not find relatives willing or able to help them rebuild or even to hire them as herders, were often forced to sedentarize.[29] Such nomads became willing members of predatory bands that raided nomad and sedentary alike. Desperate men formed the nucleus of the **comitatus** that future conquerors gathered. The nomad with his highly developed equestrian skills was a redoubtable and feared warrior.[30] These skills were exploited by both nomadic and sedentary societies. Some nomadic groups or individuals took service with surrounding sedentary states as allies (often marital alliances were part of this relationship), mercenaries or slave-soldiers (the **ġulâms** and **mamlûks** of the Muslim world). Whatever the term or relationship, each of the sedentary states ringing the Eurasian steppes, had such units.

Conflict with sedentary society came largely over access to the goods of agrarian and urban production. Nomads traded or raided for these goods, adopting whichever strategy suited their capabilities of the moment. In essence, the militarily stronger of the two parties determined what form this exchange would take. Powerful empires, like China, whose posture towards the nomads was usually defensive, often used the prospect of trade as a means of control.[31] Such contact and conflict could provide the impetus for nomadic state-building.[32] Successful raiding was also a means by which the nomadic chieftain was able to stengthen his position, providing booty to be distributed to his followers and enhancing his charisma as warlord and diplomat.

The generation of nomadic states is still not fully understood, largely because we have few documents coming from within the nomadic world that

27 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 46,50,69,70-72,81,83; Braudel, **Civilization**, I, p. 104.
28 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 69-72,78-79,81; Ecsedy, 1981, pp. 210-212.
29 Jagchid, Hyer, **Mongolia's Culture**, p. 289; Barth, **Nomads**, pp. 16-17, 108-109; Smith,Jr., 1978, p. 62; Xazanov, **Social'naja ist.**, pp. 149-150.
30 Sinor, 1972, p. 177; Sinor, 1981, pp. 134-135.
31 Yü, **Trade and Expansion**, p. 5; Khazanov,**Nomads**, pp. 202-206, 209, 211-212; Barfield,1981, pp. 54-55,57; Lattimore, 1967, pp. 483-484; Jagchid, Hyer, **Mongolia's Culture**,pp. 306-308.
32 The literature on this subject has recently been briefly summarized by Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 5-8.

describe the goals of the state-builders. Given their tribal organization, continual training for war and the executive talents needed to move herds and people some distance, the state was latent in most Eurasian nomadic polities. It could be brought to the fore by internal pressures, stemming, perhaps, from fights over pasturages or access to goods. Even here, however, an aetiology outside of nomadic society is suspected. In these struggles, nomad was pitted against nomad, the victor either driving off the vanquished (who might, then, suddenly burst into a neighboring sedentary state incapable of fending them off) or incorporating the former foe into the triumphant tribal union. It is through this process of superstratification[33] that a conquest state might be born. This was by no means a predetermined outcome. Moreover, sedentary states, responding to nomadic pressures or adopting an aggressive posture towards the steppe, might also serve as the catalyst. Or, nomads, seeking to expoit a sedentary society, were compelled by the military and diplomatic requirements of these activities to organize themselves into a state. In any event, current anthropological thinking places the greatest emphasis on outside catalysts deriving from relations with sedentary state societies. Centralized authority, however, could just as quickly disappear when the catalyst that had brought it into being was removed.[34] Barfield views nomadic state-formation on the Chinese frontier as essentially deriving from the desire/need to exploit a strong Chinese economy. He has attempted to correlate nomadic state-formation, which he views as cyclical, with periods of strong, not weak, rule in China. Thus, according to this view, a united prosperous China was a necessary precondition for the development of a united nomadic state whose central ruling authority would be able to survive only by exploiting the agrarian giant to the south. The nomads, moreover, with the exception of the Činggisid Mongols, did not seek to conquer China, which would disrupt the flow of goods in which they were vitally interested, but to extort from it what they could. Conquest came, according to him, from the Manchurian Mongolic and Manchu-Tungusic peoples, pursuing mixed nomadic and forest economies, who moved into the power vacuum when Chinese dynasties collapsed and established border statelets that eventually came to control much of Northern China.[35] Barfield's conceptualization of

33 Deér, **Pogány magyarság**, pp. 10-16; Fletcher, 1979-80, pp. 237-238.

34 Irons, 1979, p. 362; Khazanov, 1978a, p. 123, **Nomads**, pp. 228ff.; Jagchid, **Peace, War and Trade**, p. 13; Kempiners, 1988, p. 180; Barfield, 1981, p. 47 and his **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 708. Barfield terms the Inner Asian nomadic state an "imperial confederacy" which was "autocratic and state-like in foreign affairs, but consultative and federally structured internally." In it a ruling elite, directing its military and diplomatic affairs, the latter often of an extortionist nature, the booty from which financed the state, was able, as a consequence, to impose its authority, through tribal governors, over the traditional tribal and clan chiefs.

35 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 9-10,90,101.. The notion of the Qitañ and other Manchurian-based dynasties as constituting a "third force" in the history of Chinese-Barbarian relations was articulated earlier by Gumilëv, **Poiski**, pp. 63-69.

this process has many interesting as well as disputed points to which we shall return in the course of this work.

Another model of nomadic state-formation has been suggested by Omeljan Pritsak. He gives a primary role to the impact of international trade and "professional empire builders rooted in urban civilizations." Tribal chieftains, stimulated by contact with the cities and having developed a taste for the products of urban manufacture that passed in caravans across lands controlled by them, created a "pax" which both guaranteed the safety of the merchants and their goods and provided them with a share of the profits.[36]

Despite or perhaps because of their appeal, the attitude of the nomads towards the rich cities of their sedentary neighbors was ambiguous. The urban centers with their mercantile populations and desired goods certainly beckoned. But, danger lurked in this temptation. In the Kül Tegin inscription (S5-6), the **Türk Bilge Qağan** warns of the lure of China's "gold, silver and silk."[37] "The words of the people (**bodun**) of Tabğač (China) are sweet, their treasure soft (**ağısı**[38] **yimšaq** ). Deceiving (**arıp**) with sweet words and soft treasure, they make a distant people come close." Once lured in, the doom of this people is planned. China, the inscription cautions, "does not allow freedom (**yorıtmas**) to good, wise men, good, brave men."[39] The **Hsin T'ang-shu** reports that when this same Bilge Qağan was tempted by the thought of building cities and temples, his famous counselor, Toñuquq dissuaded him from doing so by pointing out that it was their nomadic way of life that made them militarily superior to the armies of the T'ang. "If we adopt a sedentary urban life style," he notes, "we will be captured after only one defeat."[40] The city, then, beckoned but also threatened with a loss of power and ultimately cultural genocide.

Nomads continually tested the military defenses of their neighbors. Momentary weakness or decline could result in their conquest of a sedentary state. This, however, could have far-reaching and often unwanted repercussions in nomadic society. The first of these was usually the sedentarization of the ruling clan, now a royal dynasty, and elements of the nomadic elite. As they adopted the trappings and culture of their newly conquered subjects, they became alienated from those of their fellow tribesmen who remained in the steppe. The rank and file nomads did not

36 Pritsak, **Origin**, I, pp. 15-17.

37 This is the reading of **altun kümüš isgiti qutay** offered by Tekin, **Grammar**,pp. 231/261 in which both **isgiti** and **qutay** refer to "silk." Clauson, **ED**, p. 261 reads the word as **ešgūti** ( < **ešgürti** ) " a kind of embroidered silk brocade." Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, p. 286, following the **DTSL**,p. 213, reads **isgiti** as **isigti** "intoxicating beverage."

38 **ağı** "treasure" and subsequently "silk brocade," see Clauson, **ED**, p. 78.

39 Tekin, **Grammar**, pp. 231/262 and his **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 2/3-4/5; Ajdarov, p. 287.

40 Cited in Jagchid, 1981, p. 70. Similar arguments were made to the Hsiung-nu rulers who became too enamored of Chinese luxury goods, see **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 170.

share in the these benefits. The transformation of their chieftains into heaven-ordained rulers held little appeal for them. The take-over of a sedentary state, after the initial distribution of booty, gained them little. Indeed, insult was added to injury when the government then sought to tax them and control their movements. Nor were there necessarily opportunities for them in the new structure. The nomads, not having developed much in the way of government, were not, by and large, trained to be functionaries in agrarian-based, bureaucratic states, the basic institutions of which were left untouched by the nomadic conquerors. Such positions were, invariably, staffed by those who had done so before, or by others, acquired elsewhere, who were similarly trained. It was the nomadic elite and skilled sedentary groups that had joined them that gained from state-formation.

Statehood tended to further social and economic differentiation on all levels. Nomadic egalitarianism, an ideal not a reality in any event, was now even more distant. Chieftains became heavenly-conceived **qağans** who ruled because heaven so decreed and because they possessed the mantle of heavenly good fortune (**qut**). The **qağan** might later become **sulṭân** and **padišâh**, but the gulf that developed between the nomad, over whom the government now sought greater control, grew ever wider. The conquest of the sedentary states of the Near and Middle East or China led, for the most part, to the sedentarization and acculturation, to varying degrees, of their nomadic overlords and their immediate supporters. The tribesmen were often left not richer, but poorer and with less freedom. This could and did lead to revolts.[41]

It is interesting to note that the nomadic charismatic ruling clans, the great imperial lines of which were extraordinarily long-lived (Hsiung-nu, Cinggisid, Ottoman), even when transformed into territorial rulers of largely sedentary societies, on the whole (the later Ottomans were one of the few exceptions) failed to resolve the question of orderly succession. The state was viewed as the common property of the ruling clan which exercized a "collective sovereignty" over the realm. Any member of the charismatic clan could claim leadership to the whole or at least part (an appanage) of the polity. This invariably led to bloody throne-struggles in which the mettle of the would-be ruler was not only tested but demonstrated on the battlefield. Victory signified the "mandate of heaven." The **qağan/sulṭân/pâdišâh** possessed enormous personal power of which his successor would have to prove himself worthy.[42]

41 Köymen, **Büyük Selçuklu**, II, pp. 399ff; Dalaj, **Mongolija**, pp. 116-120.

42 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 27-28,138; İnalcık, 1959; Streusand, **Formation**, p. 30. Kafesoğlu, **Türk Bozkurt Kültürü**, pp. 59-60,66 rejects the notion of the state as the common property of the ruling house among the Turkic peoples, emphasizing the idea of divine selection by combat. Fletcher, 1979-80, pp. 238-239, viewing warfare as the "cohesive principle" of steppe society, saw "tanistry," the selection of the fittest by war, murder and armed conflict within the ruling clan, as a natural political process in the steppe.

they were already long-standing adherents of monotheistic faiths and had acquired Turkic used in a lingua franca setting, did not go over to Islam which in the late Middle Ages increasingly became one of the most important markers of belonging to a Turkic people. Examples of such groups were the Qaraim and Krymchaks, the speakers of Armeno-Cuman, many Eastern Anatolian Armenians and very likely the Gagauz and Karamanli Greeks.

Turkic populations of today show extraordinary physical diversity, certainly much greater than that of any other group of speakers of an Altaic language. The original Turkic physical type, if we can really posit such, for it should be borne in mind that this mobile population was intermixing with its neighbors at a very early stage, was probably of the Mongoloid type (in all likelihood in its South Siberian variant). We may deduce this from the fact that populations in previously Europoid areas of Iranian speech begin to show Mongoloid influences coincidental with the appearance of Turkic peoples. The physical transformation of these Turkicizing peoples, however, never equalled the linguistic change which far outpaced it. This can be illustrated by the populations of Uzbekistan, Karakalpakia and especially the Turkic populations of Iran and Turkey itself.[45] To add to the complexity of this process, the Turkic populations that moved into Central Asia were themselves already mixed. In general, then, the further east, the more Mongoloid the Turkic population is; the further west, the more Europoid.

Given this diversity of population and to a lesser degree language, not to mention the divergences of political history, can we truly speak of "Turkic History" ? What unites the Ottomans and Yaquts other than a very complex linguistic link ? Seemingly, not very much binds them other than a common origin, in the broadest sense. But, the overwhelming majority of the Turkic peoples[46] have, in addition to a common point of origin and linguistic ties, a largely shared history and resultant culture as well. The overwhelming majority of the Turkic peoples have been part of the great Eurasian nomadic empires (although often in different capacities) : Hsiung-nu, Türk, Činggisid and Timurid. The imperial institutions and traditions developed in these empires played a role not unlike those of the Roman Empire in shaping the political culture of Europe. Thus, there are common political and cultural

45 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, pp. xxv-xxvi; Potapov, **Očerki**, pp. 135-136; Abdushelishvili, **Contributions**, pp. 1-5; Petrov, **K istorii**, p. 11; Čeboksarov, 1980, pp. 317-318; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 37-40.

46 We are excluding here Turkic-speaking groups that are clearly of non-Turkic origin and despite linguistic change have maintained a sense of their non-Turkic ethnic origins and distinctiveness, e.g. : the former speakers of Armeno-Cuman, the Jewish Krymčaks, the controversial East European Karaim (who in Modern Times have sought to create a Turkic origin for themselves), the Urum (Tatar- speaking Greeks of the Doneck-Ždanov region) etc.

## Ethnic Processes in the Turkic World

It is apparent to even the casual observer, that the current demarcations of the Turkic peoples, in particular those in the Soviet Union, are the result of both complex historical processes and more immediate, specific political requirements. In some instances the differentiating "ethno-linguistic" criteria have, in reality, postdated not determined ethnogenesis. In others, minor variations have been exaggerated with a view towards separating otherwise closely related peoples. Thus, languages alone, in the modern era of nation-building, do not make nations, but nations, in a highly politicized process, frequently make languages.[43] The antithesis of this approach has been to view the Turkic peoples as an undifferentiated or only very slightly differentiated mass. This, too, distorts historical reality. Any discussion of the ethnogenesis and formation of the Turkic peoples must bear in mind the extraordinary mobility of the pastoral nomads, the rapidity with which their political formations dissolved and re-formed, often with a change of some of the ethno-tribal components. Any discussion of ethnogenesis must also bear in mind the distinction between land and people. Turkic groups, themselves often of diverse tribal origins and ethnic histories, became political masters of lands that had very complex ethnic antecedents. Onto the original base of a non-Turkic population (usually Iranian, in Central Asia), itself the product of various ethnic strata, were grafted several waves of Turkic peoples at different times. Some degree of amalgamation, assimilation occurred, producing, in essence, a new but often still far from homogeneous people. Reflections of disparate origins may be seen in the material culture as well. Thus, the diversity of saddle arches used by a single Turkic people points to the variety of ethnic groups and subgroups that came to compose this people.[44] The Özbeks/Uzbeks provide one such example of a modern day Turkic people that has evolved, in a series of complex layers, out of a variety of Turkic and Iranian ethnies. Iranian speech is still a commonplace in "Uzbek" cities.

One of the remarkable features of Turkic history is the spread of the Turkic languages. As the language of the military-political elite in Central Asia and the Near and Middle East, it spread considerably beyond its physical borders. Nomadic populations, given the limitations of the nomadic economy, were usually smaller than those of their sedentary neighbors. Non-Turkic peoples, or groups of them, adopted the language without much in the way of actual mixing, at least in the early stages. In Central Asia and the Middle East, this could involve populations of some size. Examples of this may also be seen in those groups that adopted Turkic speech but because

43 Hobsbawm, **Nations and Nationalism**, pp. 51ff.
44 Basilov (ed.), **Nomads**, p. 142.

threads that join Ottomans, Tatars, Özbeks and more distantly the Čuvaš. There are also significant points of divergence. Some scholars have preferred to underscore the elements held in common, others the differences. Present-day political considerations have not been entirely absent in the positions taken. Levels of national or ethnic consciousness are always difficult to measure. These may vary from individual to individual within a group as well as from group to group. The attitudes of medieval people are even more difficult to assess given the gulf of time and dearth of sources. In the course of this work, we shall be looking for both the ties that bind and the meaningful differences that distinguish.

This is a book of problems. Many of the events are only fleetingly illuminated by our literary sources. Linguistic, archaeological and ethnological data provide some, at times, crucial information. They also raise many questions. The provenance of this or that term may be disputed. Its historical, socio-linguistic significance is, perhaps, unclear. The attribution of this or that archaeological culture to a particular ethnic grouping, in the absence of linguistic evidence, may be entirely conjectural. Extrapolations based on the present day dynamics of a particular group do not automatically mean that their ancestors or groups related to them necessarily had the same **mentalité**, or thought in the same terms. Can we reconstruct the conduct of a medieval nomad on the basis of that of his modern descendent when the latter faces a very different political and to some extent even physical environment? The problems of interpretation are numerous. To these have been added the impositions of national historiographies which subtly or grossly distort further an imperfectly perceived historical reality. In an age suffused with nationalism, ethnogenetic studies, dealing as they must with the very core of the national myth, have, perforce, both deeply influenced the shaping of nationalist dogma and been influenced, in turn, by it. These attitudes are reflected, in varying degrees, in the literature dealing with the history of the various Turkic peoples.

This work does not pretend to provide definitive answers to all the questions. Hopefully, it raises the right ones and provides a guide for further study.

# THE PEOPLES AND LANGUAGES OF EURASIA

The Turkic languages over the last two millennia have been steadily advancing in Eurasia and the Near and Middle East, absorbing speakers of Indo-European, Uralic, Palaeo-Siberian, Caucasian and Semitic. There have been important contacts with Sino-Tibetan and less directly with (Indo-European) Indic. Thus, any discussion of the relations of the Turkic peoples with their neighbors, must, of necessity, begin by viewing them within the larger ethno-linguistic context of Eurasia. The present-day configurations are outlined in the following pages. Needless to say, these have shifted over the past two millennia. Some groups have steadily shrunk (e.g. the Palaeo-Siberian), others have shifted their habitats. This is particularly true of the Turkic peoples themselves. But, an examination of their present-day distribution will allow us to introduce the main players in events and to work back to a reconstruction of earlier periods.

Modern scholarship takes a much less rigid view, than was previously so, of the concept of "language family," realizing that the older "Stammbaum" or "family"/genealogical terminology does not do full justice to the multifaceted relationships of related languages. Nonetheless, this terminology is still useful and widely employed for rendering, in a much broader sense, the nature of these relationships. The reconstruction of the proto-history of a language "family" in its "Urheimat" is a highly conjectural procedure. We cannot presume a common origin for the groupings that, over a period of time, came to constitute a particular family. Indeed, the role of the linguistic areal/linguistic union or convergence of unrelated languages as a possible stage in this assimilative process has not yet been fully elucidated. Nor can we presume a common somatic type. This is certainly not true of the present day speakers of Altaic, Indo-European, Semitic, Hamitic (or Afro-Asiatic as the latter two may appropriately be called) and a similar situation, albeit with possibly different configurations, may be posited for the past. In all likelihood, a nucleus of tribes speaking a common tongue (or its closely related variants) added (as well as lost) various elements while still in its "unity" stage in an "Urheimat" that may have been stable or quite dynamic and expansionist. It is highly likely, then, that even at this stage of the linguistic unity of "genetically" related languages, there were local variants based on differing ethno-linguistic substrata as well as deriving from the effects of "drift" within the community. Related dialects drifted away, underwent change, perhaps added on new elements, drifted back to the core and introduced new concepts or terms to some groups of the core with which it renewed contact.[1] In brief, then, we are not dealing with unilinear

1 Cf. these long-established principles in Indo-European studies, Mallory, **Indo-Europeans**, pp. 14-21.

processes.

Attempts have been made, recently, to bring together most of the languages of Eurasia (cf. the Nostratic theory). However we may view the source(s) of the correspondences suggested by adherents of this theory, the correspondences themselves underscore important patterns of relationships that merit further investigation.

## THE ALTAIC LANGUAGES

In the early history of the study of the Altaic languages, it was thought possible to link them with Uralic. Although the Uralo-Altaic theory has fallen into disfavor, there are a number of connections that bespeak ancient ties, e.g. : Finn. **kieli** "Zunge, Sprache," Turk. ***kālā*** [Middle Turk. **kālā-čü** "Rede"], Mong. **kele** "sprachen," **kelen** "Zunge, Sprache," Tung. **kêlê** "eine Braut werben;" Hung **nyál** "Speichel," Karel. **ńolg** "Schleim," Est. **nõlg** "Rotz", Turk. ***ńâl** [Türkm. **yâš** "Träne," Čuv. **śol**], Mong. **nil-bu** "speichen," **nil-bu-sun** "Träne," Tung. [Lam.] **ńâla-kčâ, ńâla-kljâ** "feucht, **ńôl** "schwitzen, faulen, **ńô-hun** "Schweiss" etc.; Finn. **ole-** "sein," Hung. **vol-**, Turk. **wol-** [**bol-, ol-**], ? Tung. **o** "sein, werden;" Hung. **for-og** "sich herumdrehen," Turk. [Kazax.] **or-t-** "Sprunge machen, hin und her laufen," Mong. **(h)orči** (< * **por-ti** "sich drehen."[2]

The Altaic languages consist of the following groupings : Turkic, Mongolic, Manchu-Tungusic, in all likelihood significant elements of Korean and possibly one of the strata that came to constitute Japanese.[3] The whole relationship is problematic. At present, specialists are divided as to whether the Altaic languages are the descendants of a grouping of tongues stemming from a common source (which broke up anywhere from 4000-2000 years ago[4] or considerably earlier, according to some hypotheses) or were initially unrelated languages that have converged as a consequence of centuries of borrowing and contact, i.e. areal phenomena.[5] Thus, do Common Turk. **taš** (< ***tâš**) "stone" Čuv. (the only surviving representative of Oğuro-Bulğaric) **čul** (< ***čal** < ***tj̯âl** < ***tâl** (Common Turk **š** = Oğuro-Bulğ. l), Mong. **čila-ğun** (< ***tila-ğun** < ***tila-βun**) "stone" and Korean **tol** "stone"[6] or Evenk. **ir-i**, Nan Ulč. Orok. **xuru** (**xūrū**) Ma. **ure** ( < ***xūrū-** < ***k'ūrū-/k'ūri-** "sozret', pospet', dojti do gotovnosti)," Mong. ***kūr(ū)-** "doxodit', dostigat', byt' dostatočnym,

2 Cf. Räsänen, **Uralaltaische Wortforschungen**, pp. 29,24,39,44 etc. and numerous other examples.

3 For Korean, see Menges, 1984 and for Japanese see Miller, **Japanese** and the overview of this question by Shibatani, **Languages of Japan**, pp. 94-118.

4 Róna-Tas, 1982, p. 123

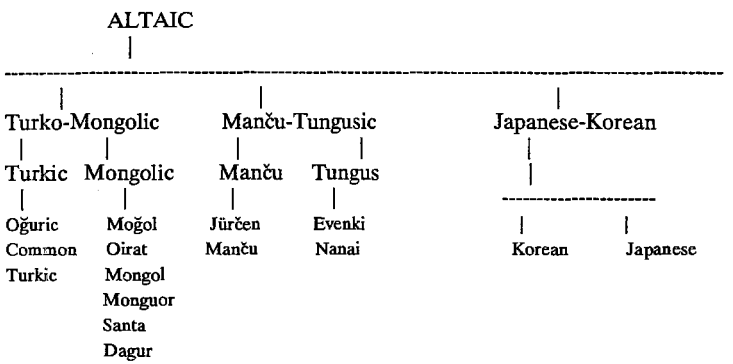
5 See discussions in Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 424-440; Baskakov, **Altajskaja**, pp. 29ff.; Poppe, **Introduction**, pp. 125ff.; Clauson, 1956, pp. 181-187; Miller, 1991, pp. 5-62 among others. Bazin, 1983, pp. 31-58 discusses the Turko-Mongol relationship.

6 Ramstedt, **Einführung**, I, p. 49; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 434.

Lit. Mong. **kür-**, Turkic **küz** "osen"[7] represent a genetic relationship premised on a parent tongue or are they reflections of ancient borrowings ? The question is of considerable importance for reconstructing the earliest stages of Turkic ethnogenesis. Regrettably, a final resolution of the problem remains elusive.

The theory of the Altaic relationship may be represented in the following model :

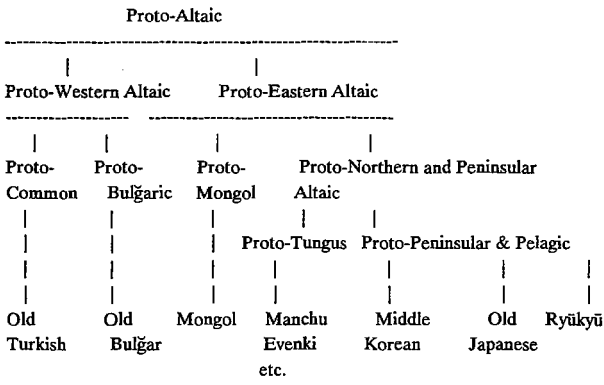
fig.1




There are a number of other schemata that have attempted to explain the developments outlined above.[8] As an illustration of some of the variants on this theme, we may cite the work of R.A. Miller[9] (see fig. 2) :

7 Cincius, **Issledovanija**, p. 12.
8 A sampling of various other models may be found in Poppe, **Introduction**, pp. 137ff. and the schema offered by Baskakov, **Altajskaja sem'ja**, p. 14.
9 Miller, **Japanese**, p. 44.

fig.2




According to Miller's views, summarized most recently by Rouse, Proto-Altaic had its origins, more than 7000 years ago, in the West Siberian steppelands, extending towards the Caspian in the West and the Altay in the East. The speakers of Proto-Altaic moved eastwards, to the Altai region and here they broke up into **Proto-Western Altaic** and **Proto-Eastern Altaic**. The western grouping was the linguistic ancestor of Turkic. The speakers of the eastern grouping separated. Those that went to the Mongolian steppes gave rise to the Proto-Mongol linguistic community. Those that went in a northeasterly direction, into the Siberian forests, came to form the Proto-Tungusic linguistic community. Some of the latter went still further eastward and gave rise to Manču. Still others migrated further, giving rise, ca. 4000 B.C., to the linguistic ancestors of Korean, Japanese and Ryukyuan. Korean and Japanese diverged sometime before 2665 B.C.[10]

10 See Miller, **Japanese and Origins** and the summary of his conclusions given by Rouse, **Migrations**, pp. 77-80. Clauson, 1960, pp. 112-113, places the Turks in the steppe zone and the Mongols east of Lake Baikal in the forest-steppe zone. Németh, 1942-47, pp. 57-63, summarized various theories regarding the Turkic "Urheimat" (the Altay, Eastern Turkistan and ajoining areas, East Asia, the Xingan region, Western Eurasia, Southwestern Turkistan). He favored an "Urheimat" extending from the Altay to the region east of the Ural mountains. Menges, **TLP**, p. 57, also placed the Altaic "Urheimat" further westward, in the steppes between the T'ien-shan and Volga or Urals. Altaic contact with Indo-European would have taken place in the eastern Ponto-Caspian zone. The Altaic speakers were then pushed eastward by Indo-European expansion ca. 1500 B.C.

This schema remains very hypothetical and hence must be used with caution. Archaeological evidence, for example, appears to indicate that elements of the groups that came to form the Türk state in the Altay entered the region from the east, from the Trans-Baikal region (see Chap. 5). Thus, it may well be that Turkic elements (but not necessarily all) went much further to the East than the Miller schema suggests and then were drawn westward again. The Altaic Urheimat is pushed so far to the West in order to allow for very early Indo-European and Uralic borrowings. This is an important point and hence one is reluctant to retreat from Western Siberia entirely. But, could these contacts have taken place at points considerably to the East ? They almost certainly occurred after the break-up of Indo-European unity. Thus, if we posit an Altaic homeland in the more westerly zone of the steppes, where contact with Uralic (in Western Siberia) and Indo-European (Caspian steppes) took place, we must also conjecture a migration which brought the Altaic community to the Altay and more easterly locales. The linguistic data, still requiring a more thorough analysis, could point in that direction. Another presumption is that the Altaic speakers were already steppe-dwellers. This, too, is unclear. Indeed, it may just as easily be argued that the Turks and others became a steppe people under Indo-European influence and at a much later date. We shall return to this issue.

## THE TURKIC LANGUAGES

The classification of the Turkic languages themselves is not without problems. The Turkic languages of today represent the results of a complex ethnogenetic history involving important non-Turkic elements (types and numbers varying with different Turkic peoples) as well as the intermixing of already differentiated (as a consequence of still earlier intermixtures) Turkic groups. The first of several classification systems offered here is based on that of Menges, with some variations and with elements drawn from Róna-Tas.[11] Somewhat differing variants may be found in the works of Baskakov, Arat, Poppe, Tekin (see below) and others.[12] Most recently, Doerfer has stated that, in essence, there are only 7 Turkic languages : Čuvaš, Xalaj, Yakut, South-Siberian, Qıpčaq, Uyğur and Oğuz. Everything else falls under the heading of a dialect or idiom of one or another of these languages.[13]

11 Menges, **TLP**, pp. 60-66; Róna-Tas, 1982, pp. 117-126.

12 Baskakov, **Altajskaja**, p. 20 and in greater detail in his **Vvedenie**, pp. 230ff.; Arat,1951-53, pp. 122ff.; Poppe, **Introduction**, pp. 33ff. Dilâçar, **Türk Diline**, pp. 40-62 and Tekin, 1989, pp. 141-160, give surveys of the different classificatory systems.

13 Doerfer, 1990, pp. 18-19.

## THE INNER ASIAN-CENTRAL ASIATIC/TÜRKÜT GROUP

### THE INNER ASIATIC GROUP

Ancient : Róna-Tas posits an **Early Ancient Period** beginning immediately after the breakup of the Altaic unity and ending with the "appearance of those dialects which later became the respective nuclei of the several Turkish languages and language groups." This is **Late Ancient Turkic** in which the rhotacism and lambdacism, characteristic of Oğuro-Bulğaric developed.[14] Thus, the terminus post quem for **Late Ancient Turkic** is to be dated to the first half of the 1st millennium B.C.

**Ancient Turkic** then divides into **Old Turkic** and **Old Oğuro-Bulğaric**[15] (see below).

Menges' system has the advantage of being both diachronisitc and synchronistic, chronological and regional:

### INNER ASIAN-TÜRKÜT-TURKÎ

Old Turkic : Orxon and Yenisey inscriptions,[16] Old Uyğur
Middle Turkic : (e.g. Qaraxanid, Xwârazmian Turkic), 11th-12th centuries
Modern:
Čağatay, Later and Modern Özbek (Iranized dialects), i.e. Later Čağatay with some Özbek influences.
New Uyğur, Taranči, Sarığ Uyğur, Salar
Qırğız (with strong links to Qıpčaq and Oyrot, e.g. -ğ/-g > *-w > -û-ü)[17]

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14 Some scholars view Oğuro-Bulğaric rhotacism and lambdacism as primary and the shift from *r > z and *l > š typical of Common Turkic as a later development. By the time this shift became general in Turkic, it is hypothesized, the westernmost groupings (Oğuro-Bulğaric) were too far away to be affected by it. The problems of rhotacism and zetacism, lambacism and sigmatism are still hotly disputed, see the recent exchanges of Tekin, 1979, pp. 118-137, Tekin, 1986, pp. 141-160 and Doerfer, 1984, pp. 36-42.

15 Menges, **TLP**, p. 61 has a different view:
"Originally, this division did not form part of any genuine Proto-Turkic unit, but represented an intermediary between Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongol, as can clearly be recognized from the isoglosses linking Ťăvaš to Mongol. For linguistic and historical reasons it is probable that considerable relics of the language of the Huns actually survive in that of the Volga Bulgars and the modern Ťăvaš. The Turkicization process, however, was intensive enough to convert it into a marginal Turkic language."

16 The Orxon Turkic runiform inscriptions, erected by the Türk Qağans, in Mongolia, in the regions around the Orxon river, date to the early 8th century (Toñuquq, Bilge Qağan, Kül Tegin, Küli Čor [at Ixe-Xušotu, Mongolia]. Those of Uyğur Qağans are found at Šine Usu and elsewhere in Mongolia date to the mid-8th and early 9th century, see Clauson, ED, pp. xiii-xv; Nadeljaev, DTSl., pp.xx-xxx. The dating of the Yeniseian Turkic runiform inscriptions (see new collection of Vasil'ev, **Korpus**) is unclear.

17 The classification of Qırğız, as a Turkî or Qıpčaq tongue requires further elucidation. Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 90 and Ligeti (see Dilâçar, **Türk Diline**, p. 48), among others, emphasize its Qıpčaq nature.

**Phonology**

Tendency toward labial harmony

-ğ/-g >-q/-k in Čağatay and New Uyğur

*ð > Orxon, Uyğur d (Kâšğarî, Rabğuzî ð) > y in Čağatay, New Uyğur, Özbek, Qırğız

Modern Populations : Özbeks :12,455,978[18] in Uzbekistan, USSR, 1,200,000 in Afghanistan, 15-18,000 in China, Uyğurs : 6,000,000 in Sinkiang[19] province China, some 210,612 in the Kazakh and Kirghiz SSRs in the USSR. Closely related to them are the Salars of Ch'ing-hai [Qinghai] province, China : 30,000 (1958).[20]

The Sarığ Uyğurs (Šera Yöğurs) of Kansu [Gansu] Province, China : 10,000.

**THE SOUTHWEST/OĞUZ GROUP**[21]

Ancient :Western Türküt ? The Oğuz of the Orxon inscriptions ?

Medieval:Old Anatolian (Selčük), Old Ottoman

Modern Western:

Ottoman and its dialects (Rumelian, Anatolian, South Crimean)

Gagauz

Azarbayjânî and its dialects, including Qašqa'î

Xalaj ?[22]

Modern Eastern:

Türkmen

**Phonology**

Proto-Turkic length preserved in Türkmen

-ğ > 0, except after a : Osm. dağ, dâ, Tkm. dâğ

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18 Population statistics for the Soviet Turkic peoples are based on the 1979 census. See Akiner, **Islamic Peoples** or Wixman, **Peoples**. Slightly different estimates are found in Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 50-51.

19 For Chinese forms, I have generally employed the Wade-Giles system more widely used in Western Sinological literature dealing with Inner Asia. I have indicated toponyms according to the Pin-yin system of romanization, which is now being popularized by the press, in brackets. With well-known place-names, such as Sinkiang [Hsin-chiang/Xinjiang], Kansu [Kan-su/Gansu] Peking [Beijing], I have maintained the older, more familiar usages.

20 Ramsey, **Languages of China**, 185-186; Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 108.

21 Doerfer, 1990, p. 19 divides Oğuz into 10 subgroupings : West Oğuzic consisting of 1. West Rumelian (Western Balkans), 2. East Rumelian (Eastern Balkans, Istanbul-Western Anatolia, Crimean Ottoman, Gagauz) 3. Western Anatolian/Middle Anatolian 4. East Anatolian 5. Azarbayjani 6. Sonqor 7. Qašqâ'î-Aynallu, East Oğuzic : 8. Xurâsân Turkic 9. Özbek-Oğuz 10. Türkmen.

22 Doerfer,1978, pp. 15-31 and 1987, p. 105 considers it a separate branch of Turkic. This view has not found universal acceptance, many scholars viewing it as close to Azarbâyjânî, cf. Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 37-38.

-g > 0/y
Loss of gutterals in suffix anlaut
t > d
k > g
*ð > y. s,z > Tkm. þ,ð

Modern Populations : the Turks of Turkey : 85% of the population of Turkey (56,969,109 in 1990) is considered ethnically Turkish. The Gagauz of the USSR (largely in the Moldavian SSR) : 173,179. Azarbayjani Turks comprise (officially) 16.8% of the population of Iran (49,930,000 in 1987). In the USSR (Azerbaijan SSR) they number : 5,477,330. Türkmen are found in the Turkmen SSR in the USSR (2,027,913) and the adjoining region of Iran (330- 500,000? 1.5% of the population). They are also found in Afghanistan (270-400,000) with smaller groups in China, Iraq, Syria and Jordan.

**THE NORTHWEST OR QIPČAQ GROUP**

Medieval : Old-Northwestern of the Middle Turkic Period:
Quman/Qıpčaq/Qanglı

Modern:
PONTO-CASPIAN :
Qaraim
Qaračay, Balqar
Qırım Tatar
Qumuq
VOLGA-KAMA-WEST SIBERIAN :
Qazan Tatar (including Teptär, Mišär, Qâsimov Tatar)
West Siberian Tatar (including Turalı, Tobollı, Išımlı, Qûrdaq, Irtıšlı)
Baraba
Küerik (transitional to to Central South Siberian Turkic)
Bašqurt (with isoglosses to Central South Siberian Turkic)
ARALO-CASPIAN :
Qazaq, Qara Qalpaq
Qıpčaq Özbek dialects
Noğay
Qırğız ("only insofar as certain features of the modern literary language are concerned," transitional from Central Asiatic).

**Phonology**

vacillation of o/u, ö/ü
-ğ > -u, -g > y
intermediary -ğ/-g > v
"reduction of vowels in intermediary syllables, a dulling typical of the entire Volga-Kama region" (includ. Čuvaš, Mari, Udmurt)
o > u, ö >ü, u > ъ, ü > ь, ä/e > i, i > ь, ı > ъ

č >š, š > s (Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, sometimes elsewhere)
y > j (Qazaq, Qaraqalpaq, Özbek-Qıpčaq, some Tatar
č > s, s > h (East Bašqurt), j > y, -s-, -s > þ (South Bašqurt),
VdV, wdV, rdV, ðdV > CðV/VðV; z > ð, -ğ/-g > w/0[23]

Modern Populations: Qaraim : 3,341 (scattered in USSR) and in small groups in Poland. Qaračay : 131,074 and Balqar : 66,334 (North Caucasus, USSR), Crimean Tatar : 200-300,000 (now dispersed in USSR) and some 5,000,000 in Turkey, Qumuq : 223,418 (North Caucasus, USSR), Volga and related Siberian Tatars : 6,317,468 (USSR). The Küerik are now considered part of the Xakas (see below). Bašqurt : 1,371,452 (Baškir ASSR, USSR). Qazaq : 6,556,442 (USSR), 900,000 in Sinkiang and Ch'ing-hai provinces, China[24]. Qaraqalpaq : 303,324 (Karakalpak ASSR,USSR).
Noğay : 59.546 (North Caucasus,USSR).

Qırğız : 1,906,271 (Kirghiz SSR, USSR), 114,000 in China and smaller groups in Afghanistan and Turkey.

## SOUTH SIBERIAN TURKIC

### OYROT/ALTAY

Modern:
SOUTHERN ALTAY :
Altay Kiži
Telengüt, Tölös, Telenget
NORTHERN ALTAY :
Lebed'(Qû-Kiži, Čalqandû-Kiži) Qumandû, Yıš Kiži/Tuba (link to Šor)

**Phonology**

-ğ/-g > -w/-u ( -lığ > -lû), b- > p-,b/m
VğV/VgV > V (usually ı > î
Intervocalic consonant must be voiced or geminated.
*ð > y. Lit. Oyr. y > d'-, y > t'

Modern Populations : Northern and Southern Altays : 60,015 (Siberia, USSR).

### THE CENTRAL-SOUTH SIBERIAN/ABAQAN OR XAQAS GROUP

Modern:
Abaqan ([i]Sağay, Beltir [ii] Qača, Qoybal, Qızıl and perhaps Šor)
Šor
Čulım

23 See Menges, p. 64 for further details.
24 Ramsey, **Languages**, p. 183.

**Phonology**

č > s, š > s (excl. Šor), y- > č-, y- > n- (if later in the word a nasal follows)

Intervocalic either voiced or geminated

ð > z, -ğ/-g (-lıg); b- > p-. b-/m-

Modern Population : Abaqan/Xakas group : 70,776

**THE EAST OR TUVA GROUP** ( in Tanu-Tuva or Uryanxay ) :

Karağas

Soyon (Tuba, Tuva, Tıba or Uryanxay). Transitional from Central South Siberian toward Northeast-East Siberian

**Phonology**

Similar to Central South Siberian.[25]

Modern Population : Tuvinian : 166,082

**THE NORTHEAST-, EAST SIBERIAN OR YAKUT**

Modern:

Yakut (Saxâ), dialects of the Dolgans, Yakutized Nganasan and Tavgı Samodians

**Phonology**

Proto-Turkish vocalic length preserved; the lower vowels thereby diphthongized.

a (lst syllable) > ı

*ð > t, q > x,k. -ğ/-g > 0 (with preceding length, -lığ > -lî), y-, č- > s, s > 0.

Lit. Yak. VsV > VhV (as in Buriat, NW Evenki)

ñ > y, z > s ( sometimes t)

Modern Population : 328,018 (Yakut ASSR, USSR)

**ANCIENT NORTHWEST : The Volga Bulğarian/Hunno-Bulğarian Group :**

Róna-Tas posits an **Early Old Bulğarian** period from the mid-4th century A.D. (Onoğurs in Kazakhstan) until the fall of the Pontic Bulğarian state, ca. 670 A.D.

The **Late Old Bulğarian** first phase, he dates to ca.670-9th century, ending with the Slavicization of the Balkan Bulğars and the rise of Volga Bulğaria. The second phase is dated from the 9th century to the Mongol conquest in the 13th century. This corresponds in part to Menges':

25 See Menges, p. 65.

Medieval : Volga Bulgarian

Róna-Tas terms this the **Middle Bulgarian** period which he divides into an early phase (from the Mongol conquest until the formation of the Qazan xanate ca. 1440) and a late phase (lasting until 1552) in which Qıpčaq influences grow.

Čuvaš. Róna-Tas terms it **New Bulgarian** which he subdivides into an early phase (1552-1730) and late phase (1730-late 19th century and the formation of Literary Čuvaš)

**Phonology**

a > u, ı > a, ü > e etc.

Proto-Trk. vocalic length > vowel-splitting and dissyllabity (kĕvak < * kö:k)

Extreme reduction and dulling/develarization. Polarization into opposition of palatalized : non-palatalized consonants

y- > ś (occasionally) ť/č > ś, s- > š-. *ð > z >r; z-.-z : r, š : l, q > x-/y-/0)

Modern Population : 1,751,366 (Middle Volga, Čuvaš ASSR, USSR)

Another system, for the modern Turkic languages, is that recently proposed by Talât Tekin, based on the treatment of several key words : Old Turkic **aδaq** ("foot"), **yašıl** ("green"), **tağlığ** ("having mountains"), **ağız** ("mouth"), **sōz** ("word"), **qoš-** ("to run"), **yıl** "year"), **bir-** ("to give"), **kel-** ("to come"), **yol** ("road"), **toquz** ("nine"), **qal-** ("to remain"), **eb** ("domicile") :

I. **r/l** grouping [Čuvaš]
II. **hadaq** grouping [Xalač]
III. **atax** grouping [Yaqut]
IV. **adaq** [Tuva, together with the Qaragas dialect]
V. **azaq** grouping :
  1. **čazıl** [Xakas]
  2. **čažıl** [Middle Čulım, Mrass, Taštıp, Matur and Upper Tom dialects]
  3. **yasıl** (Yellow Uyğur)
VI. **tağlığ** grouping [Northern Altay dialects, Lower Čulım, Kondom, Lower Tom dialects]
VII. **tûlu** grouping [Southern Altay dialects]
VIII. **tôlû** [Qırğız]
IX. **tağlıq**
  1. **ağız** [Özbek]
  2. **eğiz** [Modern Uyğur]
X. **tawlı** grouping:
  1. **quš-**
    a. **sūz** [Tatar]

b. hūz [Baškir]
2. qos-
a. žıl [Qazaq]
b. jıl [Qara Qalpaq, a dialect of Qazaq]
c. yıl
i. ūš [Noğay]
ii. its [Halyč dialect of Qaraim]
3. qoš-
a. per- [Baraba Tatar]
b. ber-
1. jol [Qaračay-Balqar, Crimean Tatar (Northern dialect)]
2. yol
a. kel-
1. toquz [Özbek-Qıpčaq]
2. toğuz [Trakay dialect of Qaraim]
3. doquz [Crimean Tatar (Southern dialect)]
b. gel- [Qumuq]
XI. tağlı [Salar]
XII. dağlı
1. qāl- [Özbek-Xwârazmian Oğuz]
2. ğāl- [Türkmen]
3. ğal- [Azerî]
4. qal-
a. ev [Turkish]
b. yev [Gagauz][26]

## THE MONGOLIC LANGUAGES

Our survey here need not be as detailed as that for Turkic. A few words regarding the history of Mongol are, however, are in order. With the breakup of the hypothetical Altaic unity, the following stages are posited : 1) **Common Mongolic** derived from the **Pre-Mongolic** (the first stage after the breakup of Altaic). This stage of the language is the equivalent of or gradually became 2) **Ancient Mongolic**, a period which lasted until the 12th century A.D. 3) **Middle Mongolic** (12th/13th -16th centuries) corresponds to the era of the Činggisid Empire and its successor states. 4) **Modern Mongolic** begins in the 16th century.

It is presumed that the Wu-huan and Hsien-pi (or Hsien-pei) tribal groupings who derived from the Tung-hu ("Eastern Barbarians"),[27] eastern

26 Tekin, 1989, pp. 161-168.
27 See Taskin, Materialy, pp. 63-86 for Chinese accounts. Cf. also Eberhard, **Çin'in şimal komşuları**, pp. 45ff.

subject peoples of the Hsiung-nu, spoke some kind of Mongolic tongue. The scholarly literature usually refers to this as Proto-Mongolian. Later "Tung-hu" peoples such as the Hsi, Shih-wei and Ch'i-tan (Qitan/Qitañ) also appear to have spoken some form of Mongolic, usually termed, again, Proto-Mongolic. The documentation is extremely sparse and the Qitan writing system, based on a Chinese model, is far from fully elucidated. We shall have occasion to return to this subject. The Mongolian alphabet (largely replaced by Cyrillic in the USSR and MPR) is based on the Uyğur alphabet which was ultimately of Syriac origin.

## MODERN MONGOLIC

### Western Mongolic

Oirat, spoken in Inner and Outer Mongolia and the closely related Kalmuk (which is derived from it) spoken in the Kalmyk ASSR,USSR by 146,631 speakers.
Moğol (in Afghanistan, where it is dying out[28])

### Eastern Mongolic

Dagur (Manchuria), about 94,000 speakers.[29]
Monguor (160,000 in Kansu Province, China). Related to it are :
Santa/Tung-hsian [Dongxian] (280,000), Pao'an (9000)[30] and the Mongolic dialect spoken by the Šera Yögurs.
Mongolian (Xalxa, Urdus/Ordos, Dariganga, Čaxar, Urat, Xarčin-Tumut, Xorčin, Ujumčin etc.), in Mongolian People's Republic, the total population of which is about 2,000,000 and the Inner Mongolian Autonomous region of China.[31] Xalxa speakers are in the majority).
Buriat and related dialects (352,646 in Buriat ASSR, in USSR with smaller groups elsewhere).

## MANCHU-TUNGUSIC

The third major grouping of the Altaic languages is of less direct concern to us. Questions regarding classification of these languages are still not fully resolved. The most recent schema, proposed by Doerfer,[32] (given here with minor alterations) presents the following arrangement :
**Northern** : Northeastern : Lamut (Even, Oročen, 12,286 in Siberia, 4000 Oročen in China). Northwestern: Evenki (27,531 scattered in Siberia and

28 Dupree, **Afghanistan**, p. 74.
29 See Todaeva, **Dagurskij jazyk**, Ramsey, **Languages**, pp. 197-198.
30 Ramsey, **Languages**, pp. 198-202
31 The total number of Mongolic speakers in Inner Mongolia is given as over 2,000,000, see Todaeva, **Jazyk mongolov**, p. 3.
32 Doerfer, 1978a, p. 57.

border zones of Manchuria and Mongolia. In China groups of them are also called Solon), Negidal (504 in Southestern Siberia).
**Central** : Central Eastern: Oroči (1,198 in south of Amur River) Udihe (1,551 in Southeastern Siberia). Central Western : Ulči (also called Nani, 2,552 in Lower Amur river region), Nanai (also called Goldi, 10,516 in Southeastern Siberia), Orok (Nani, Ulta, Ulča in miniscule numbers on Sakhalin Island).
**Southern** : Manču : Jürčen, Manču (4,300,000 in China), Sibe/Xibo (84,000 in Ili River valley in Northwestern Sinkiang).[33] The Jürčens, before they destroyed the Liao/Qitan dynasty in 1125) and became the Chin dynasty (1115-1234), do not appear to have had a writing system for their own language; although individual Jürčens learned Qitan or Chinese characters.[34] The Manchus adopted the Mongol alphabet.

There is no need to provide similar data for Korean and Japanese, the relationship of which to Altaic is much-debated and lies well beyond the scope of this work.

## THE OTHER LANGUAGES OF EURASIA

To the north and east of the Altaic languages there existed a number of language groupings. Of the richness and variety of Siberian languages we can judge only by the few scattered surviving remnants. The relationship of the Amerindian languages (which consist of a number of distinct language families) and of elements that contributed to the formation of Japanese to languages that existed in Pre-historic Siberia can only be conjectured. In all likelihood, larger and more diverse ethno-linguistic groupings existed in times past. With the exception of those that migrated to the Americas and elsewhere in Pre-historic times, the overwhelming majority of these peoples were assimilated by Altaic and Uralic speakers. Given the activity of the Turkic populations, we may presume that many of these peoples were absorbed by Turkic-speaking populations. Today the surviving populations are represented by the so-called **Palaeo-Siberian Peoples**, a series of linguistically isolated groupings which have received this name as a scholarly convenience. They include the **Čukči-Kamčadal** (about 21,000) who form one linguistic unit, the **Eskimo-Aleut** (over 2000) who form another unit and a group of isolates. The latter comprise the **Nivx/Gilyak** of Sakhalin whose present numbers are unknown (4,397 in 1931, perhaps less than 1000 today), the **Yukagir** (835 in Kolyma and the Tundra) and the **Kets** (1,122) of the Yenisei. The latter, at one time, constituted a larger grouping (including the Kott, Arin, Asan, Yara and Baikot) who have been steadily absorbed by

33 See Ramsey, **Languages**, pp. 212-216 for Chinese statistical data.
34 Vorob'ëv, **Kul'tura**, pp. 51-54.

Turkic peoples. The beginning of the assimilation of the Kettic peoples may well date back to the early Qırğız polity.

To the south of the Altaic-speaking zone lies the **SINO-TIBETAN** grouping which with the 1 billion speakers of Chinese is the largest single language family. The contours of this grouping are inexact as there are still not only disagreements as to membership but also, as with Altaic, whether the "members" constitute, in reality, a language family in the traditional sense. For our purposes we may simply note that Sino-Tibetan is divided (by some specialists) into a Sinitic (i.e. the Chinese "dialects") and Tibeto-Karen branch.[35] The latter,in turn, is subdivided into Tibeto-Burman and Karen. The Chinese "dialects" (acutally distinct languages) subdivide into Mandarin (the language of the overwhelming majority, 71.5%, and now serving as the national tongue), Wu, Kan, Hsiang, Hakka, Yue and Min. The latter two, preserving aspects of archaic pronunciation, are helpful, sometimes, in reconstructing the original Chinese form of a word borrowed into Turkic and other foreign terms. There are a number of Chinese loanwords of some importance in Turkic, e.g. **bir** "writing brush" < ***bîr/*pjĕt**, cf. also **biti-** "to write," **bitig** "book" derived from it.[36]

Although the Turkic peoples were in contact with the (conjecturally) Tibeto-Burmese-speaking Tangut/Hsi-Hsia whose origins appear to have been quite complex (claims have also been made for their Turkic speech[37]) and the Tibetans proper, there are not many loanwords from them.

There are two major language families that historically have been and remain today in close contact with Turkic : Indo-European and Uralic. In what follows, we shall focus only on those Indo-European and Uralic languages that have a direct bearing on our subject.

**INDO-EUROPEAN**

The Indo-European (IE) language family consists of : Indo-Iranian, which subdivides into Indo-Aryan or Indic (Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pâli etc. and Modern Hindi-Urdu, Bengali and many others) and Iranian (see below), Armenian, Greek, Italic (Latin, Oscan, Umbrian etc. and the modern Romance languages : Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, French, Italian,,

35 On the classification of Sino-Tibetan, see Ruhlen, **Guide**, I, pp.141-148, Shafer, **Sino-Tibetan**, pp. 1-7 and the review of the latter by R.A. Miller, 1968, pp. 398-435. The linguistic setting of Chinese and its neighbors is discussed in Norman, **Chinese**, pp. 6-22. On the complexities of the Sino-Tibetan relationship, see Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**,pp. 3-6.

36 Sevortjan, **Ètim. slov.**, II, pp. 155-158; Menges, **TLP**, pp. 168-169 gives a brief listing.

37 See L. Kwanten, **Tangut** and for a survey of the data on Tangut ethnogenesis, see Dunnell, 1984, pp. 78-89.

Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romansh, Rumanian), Ancient Anatolian (now extinct : Hittite, Luwi, Palâ, Lydian, Lycian), Tokharian (see below), Celtic (Irish, Scots Gaelic, Welsh, Breton), Germanic (Modern English, Frisian, Dutch, German, Icelandic, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian), Slavic (Modern : Eastern : Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Western : Wendish/Sorbian, Czech, Slovak, Polish, Southern : Slovene, Serbo-Croatian, Macedonian, Bulgarian), Baltic (Old Prussian, now extinct, Lithuanian and Latvian), Albanian. This incomplete listing also has omitted a number of languages of which only fragments remain and whose classification within Indo-European is uncertain.

At present Turkic is in direct contact with the Iranian, Armenian, Greek, Albanian and Slavic (especially Eastern and Southern Slavic) branches of Indo-European. The nature of the interaction between Turkic (in particular its Oğuz and Qıpčaq branches) and Russian, Ukrainian, Bulgarian, Serbian, Albanian, Greek, Armenian, Persian, Kurdish, Talysh and Tat has been particularly intense. These contacts, however, largely took place within the context of state and conquest relationships over the last millennium and as such will be discussed as appropriate later on in this work. For our purposes here, it is more useful to single out those IE groups that were closest to the Turkic homeland (or homelands) in Inner and Central Asia.

The question of the location of the Indo-European "Urheimat" is by no means definitively resolved. Earlier theories which placed it anywhere between the Danube and the Caspian or further into Central Eurasia have been challenged (see below, Chap. 2). Indo-European unity broke up between 3000-2000 B.C. It seems very unlikely that speakers of Indo-European may have come into contact with Altaic at this time or earlier. Altaic, however, shows some very ancient contacts with Indo-European, the chronology of which is uncertain : IE ***mark[h]o** > Germanic : Old Ice. **marr** "horse," **merr** "mare, " Old Eng. **mearh** "mare," Celtic : Old Ire. **marc** etc. and Mong. **morin** (> Manču **morin**) "horse," Kor. **mal**, ***mor-qa/morkin**, cf. Sino-Tibetan ***mrang** > Chin. **ma** (***mra**), Old Burm. **mrang** Old Tibet. ***rmang**.[38] The ultimate origin of this culture-word is unclear. More interesting with respect to Turkic are Turk. **alma** "apple" = IE ***âblu/*āb(a)lo/*aplu/ *ap(a)la** > Old Slav. **ablŭko**, Prus. **woble**, Lith. **óbu**, **óbalas**, Latv. **âbele**, Old Ice. **epli**, Old Eng.**æppel**, Gall. **avallo**, Old Ir. **ubull** Hitt. **šam(a)lu** "apple." These derive from ***sam(a)lu** in which the s becomes š in Hittite and disappears elsewhere. The Turkic must have been borrowed from a form ***amlu**.[39] Of similar antiquity are Turk. **öküz** "ox," Mong. **üker**, Monguor

38 Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, **Indoevropejcy**, II, p. 554. Róna-Tas, 1988a, pp. 393-395 questions this formulation, dismissing the Chinese comparison and noting that Tibetan has **rta** "horse,"

**fuguor** (< *püker) < IE *P[h]ek[h]u, cf. Lat. **pecus** "cattle."[40] Other examples are Turk. **ögüz/öküz** "river" cf. Iran. **Waxš**/Ὦξος "Amu Darya,"[41] IE ***e/ok[h]o-os**, cf. Lat. **aqua**, Old. Eng. **ēg** "stream," Tokhar.A **yok** "to drink,"[42] Turk. **altun** "gold" < IE ***ghltom** (?)[43]

This list can be extended. The immediate provenance of these words and the chronology of their entry into Altaic are uncertain. There are a number of others, however, also of some antiquity, that can be clearly attributed to Indic, Iranian or Tokharian. Németh, for example, cites Turk. **m(ı)urč, burč, buruč** "pepper" < Old Ind. **mariča**, Turk. **sıra** "beer" < Old Ind. **surâ** "ein geistiges Getränk," Turk, **tana** "young cow" < Old Ind. **dhenâ** and suggests that these borrowings occured in different times and places and via intermediaries.[44] Basing himself on Németh's study and recent work, Róna-Tas concluded that there "was no Altaic-Indo-European linguistic contact whatever, there was neither a very early Turkic IE contact, which would point to a time earlier than the separation of the Indo-Iranian branch." Rather, he suggests, Turkic was a conduit into Altaic for a number of IE "wandering culture words." In any event, neither the IE homeland nor its "Old European secondary homeland" were, in his opinion, in "close contact" with Turkic.[45] In short, it seems most unlikely that IE or even Indo-Iranian elements entered Turkic before the breakup of IE and then Indo-Iranian unity ca. 2000 B.C. Far more plausible is the entry of these terms into Turkic (and thence Altaic) in the 1st millennium B.C. via Iranian and Tokharian, serving, perhaps, as middlemen for terms from Indic. This would put the Turkic-speakers in the west of the Altaic world, but still well to the east in an Inner Asian setting. The question of the Turkic **Urheimat** is again addressed in Chap. 5.

**Tokharian** within IE belonged to the so-çalled **centum** or western grouping. It was spoken and written (in the Indic Brahmi and Sogdian scripts) in Eastern Turkistan, in two variants, "Tokharian A" (Arśi or the language of Agni Qara Šahr) and "Tokharian B" (the language of Kuča) which are quite different from one another. There are manuscripts of works written in these languages from the 6th-8th centuries A.D. Their entry into this region has been dated to prior to 500 B.C., and perhaps considerably earlier, in any event before the movement of Iranian tribes into this area.[46]

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40 Ramstedt, **Einführung**, I, pp. 54,103-104; Sevortjan, **Ètim. slov.**, I, pp. 521-523; Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, **Indoevropejcy**, II, pp. 579,938; Poppe, **Ver-gleichende**, I, p. 12. Critical comments by Róna-Tas, 1988a, p. 395. Clauson, **ED**, p. 120, and many others, view **ökūz** as a borrowing from Tokhar. B. **okso**.

41 Marquart, **Wehrot**, p. 31ff.

42 Clauson, **ED**,pp. 119-120 who notes it as a loan-word in Mong. **üyer** and Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, **Indoevropejcy**, II, p. 940

43 Musaev, **Leksikologija**, p. 129.

44 Németh, 1942-47, pp. 90-93.

According to one school of thought, it is probably not to be connected with the people who gave their name to the region of Afghanistan known in the medieval Islamic sources as Ṭuxâristân (discussed in Chap. 2). Hence, the term "Tokharian" for this grouping is, in the opinion of some specialists, very likely, incorrect. The East Turkistanian Tokharians were undoubtedly absorbed by the Uyğurs. Tokharian served as an intermediary for Sanskrit loanwords into Turkic. In addition, a number of important words were taken from Tokharian, some, it would appear, at a very early stage : Turk. **tümen** "10,000" < Tokh.**tumane**, tmane.[47] Róna-Tas has suggested that the Turk. numerals **tört** (Tox.B. **śtuer**/Tox.A **śtwar**), **beš**/**bēš** "five"( Tokh.B **piś**, Tokh.A **päñ** ( < ***peńś** ) "five" are taken from Toxarian. Other borrowings include : **kün** "day, sun" (ProtoTox. **kun**, Tox. A,B **kom**), **oq** "arrow" (Tox. **ok**, Tox. B **ak.watse** "sharp"), **qaz** "goose" (Tox.B **kâs**), **yap-** "to make" (Tox.* **yap-**, Tox. **yp-**, **yâm-**), **kes-** "to cut" (Tox.B **kās-**)[48]

The **Ancient Iranian Languages** consist of **Ancient Western** (Old Persian, Median) and **Ancient Eastern** (Scytho-Saka) groupings. The latter was spoken by predominantly nomadic peoples extending across the Western Eurasian and Inner Asian steppes who had a particularly close interaction with the Turkic peoples. **Middle Iranian** continues this division into Western and Eastern branches: Western : Parthian, Middle Persian, Eastern : Soġdian, Xwârazmian, Alanic, Bactrian, Xotano-Saka. Many of these peoples (esp. the Soġdians, Xwârazmians and Saka elements) were Turkicized in the Pre-Činggisid and Činggisid periods. The **Modern Iranian Languages**, for which classification problems persist, can be given tentatively as follows[49]: **North-West Iranian** : Kurdish (population uncertain : about 4,000,000 in Turkey, 2-3,500,000 in Iran, 1.5-2,000,000 in Iraq, 250,000-500,000 in Syria, 115,858 in the USSR, largely in Transcausia), Tâlyš (Tâluš/Tališ 77,323 (?) in the USSR (Azerbaijan SSR) and 84,700 in Iran as of 1949), Baluči (about 53% of whom 1,000,000, are in Pakistan, 600,000 in Iran, 200,000 in Afghanistan, 50,000 in India, 18,997 in USSR, largely in Turkmen SSR,and smaller groups scattered in the Arab world), Gilaki/Giləki (280,000 (?) in Gilân in Iran and 25,000 closely related Galeš), Mâzandarânî (350,000 (?) in Mâzandarân, Iran), Ôrmurî/Barakî (unknown numbers in Afghanistan and Pakistan), Parâčî (unknown numbers in Afghanistan), Dialects of Central Iran.

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the Indo-European **Urheimat** and that the other Indo-European peoples migrated from there.

47 *Menges, TLP*, p. 171

**South-West Iranian** : Persian/Fârsî (20,000,000 ? and others for whom it is a second language in Iran), closely related to it are Tajik (2,897,697 in Soviet Central Asia, largely in the Tajik and Uzbek SSRs) and Darî and variants (about 3,500,000 in Afghanistan), Tat(22,441 in Caucasus, USSR), Luri (350-650,000 ? in Iran), Baxtiyârî (335-820,000 ? in Iran), Dialects of Fârs (Iran)
**North-Eastern Iranian** : Osetin, the descendent of Medieval Alano-As (541,893 in Caucasus, USSR), Yagnobî, the descendent of Soġdian (over 2000 in 1972, Tajik SSR, USSR).
**South-Eastern Iranian** : Pašto (about 52% of Afghanistan's population, 14,000,000 in 1984, speak Pašto as do 13% of Pakistan's 89,000,000), the Pamir Languages (in the Pamir region of the USSR, Afghanistan, China, over 40,000 in USSR, ? in the Sarikol region of Sinkiang, CPR) which include the Šuġnan-Rušan grouping, Yazgulâm, Iškašim, Waxi.

Iranian languages have been in constant contact with Turkic in virtually all of the Turkic habitats. In the Middle East, Persian served as a language of government for the Seljuks and had a prominent role in Ottoman literary culture.[50]

**Armenian** (spoken by over 4 million people in the USSR, with smaller communities in Iran, Turkey and Lebanon) has historically been deeply influenced by neighboring Iranian and since the 11th century by Turkic. Diasporan Armenian communities in the Crimea which probably came into being in the 11th century, adopted Cumano-Qıpčaq which they continued to use in the Polish-Ukrainian lands of their diaspora into the 17th century.[51] Turkish was also widespread among Ottoman Armenians.

## THE URALIC LANGUAGES

The Uralic languages have had long and extensive contacts with Turkic for which there is considerable linguistic evidence, e.g. Hung. **al-ja** "lower part" Finn. **ala** < Uralic ***ala** Turk. **al**; Hung. **egér** "mouse," Finn. **hiiri** < Uralic * **šingere** Turk-Mong. **singeri**.[52] The influences have been mutual. There are a number of theories regarding the location of the Uralic "Urheimat." Recent scholarship places it either in the Middle Volga region or Western-Northwestern Siberia, in the region between the lower Ob river and the Ural mountains.[53] Uralic unity ended with the breakaway of those elements that were the ancestors of the Samodian (Samoyedic) languages sometime between the 6th and 4th millennia B.C. The speakers of Samodian

50 For some Middle Iranian loanwords in Turkic, see Menges, **TLP**, pp. 169-171.
51 Deny, **L'Armeno-Coman**, pp. 7-10; Grunin, **Dokumenty**, pp. 101-104.

languages today are scattered in small groups across Siberia. They are divided into Northern Samodian : **Nenec/Yurak** (24,894), **Enec** (some 378 in 1926), **Nganasan/Tavgi** (867) and Southern Samodian : **Selkup** (3,565). These populations, which were probably never very large, have been steadily eroded through absorption by Turkic and other peoples.

The period of Finno-Ugrian unity, centered in the Volga-Kama-Belaja river region and drifting towards the West (ultimately reaching the Baltic) came to an end between the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. The Finnic (Finno-Permian) groupings moved further westward, while the Ugrians remained in their old habitat. Ugric unity ended about 500 B.C. as its southern elements were drawn towards the Iranian and later Turkic steppe zone. These would be the ancestors of the Hungarians (10,640,000 in Hungary, about 1.8 million in Rumania, about 500,000 each in Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, 170,000 in the USSR and scattered groupings elsewhere). The formation of the Hungarians, which took place with the close interaction of a number of Turkic peoples, will be discussed later. The northern elements, in turn, absorbed a Palaeo-Siberian people, retained their forest culture and subsequently shifted eastwards. This produced the Ob Ugrians : **Xanty/Ostyak** (20,934 on lower Ob River) and their neighbors the **Mańśi/Vogul** (7,563).

The Finno-Permian community came to an end ca.1500 B.C. The resultant Permian Community lasted until 800 A.D. producing the modern day **Komi-Zyryans** (326,700 in the Komi ASSR), the **Komi-Permyaks** (143,900 in Perm' Oblast') and the **Udmurt/Votyaks** (713,696 in the Udmurt ASSR and Baškir, Tatar and Mari ASSRs). The division of the **Finno-Volgaic Community**, which also came into being ca.1500 B.C., into its present-day members is much harder to determine. It took place sometime in the first millennium B.C. Today, they are represented by two groupings : 1) Volga Finnic : **Mordva** (1,197,765 in the Mordovian ASSR and surrounding regions of the Middle Volga region, subdivided into two distinct groups : the **Erzya** and **Mokša** whose languages are mutually unintelligible) and the **Mari/Čeremis** (621,961) in the Mari ASSR). The latter are subdivided into 3 groups, Highland Mari, Lowland or Meadow Mari and Eastern Mari. The latter have undergone considerable Turkic influence. 2) Baltic Finnic : the Finns, Karelians, Veps, Ižor/Ingrians, Liv and Vod. They figure only marginally in our theme.[54] The Lapps, who constitute a separate branch of Finnic, or perhaps a separate grouping within Uralic (representing, it has been suggested, a Uralicized population) are noted here for the sake of completeness.

In pre-historic times it seems very likely that there were speakers of **Dravidian languages** on the southern periphery of Central Asia, extending from Elam/Xuzistân in Iran to India. Since the Dravidian speakers are today primarily located in a region fairly remote from the main centers of Turkic history, Southern India (some 25 languages), and research into the highly problematic relationship of Dravidian to Altaic is still in its infancy, we shall merely note their potential importance for the pre-history of Central Asia and await the results of further study.

## THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS

The Caucasus is a region of extraordinary linguistic diversity. This is particularly true of the North Caucasus, "the mountain of tongues" of the medieval Islamic geographers. It was a commonplace of Muslim geographical literature to ascribe to "Mount Qabq," as al-Masᶜûdî does, "seventy-two peoples, each people has its king and (own) language which is different from that of others."[55] This region, because of its ethno-linguistic complexity (although a common "mountaineer" culture did develop) has always had the need for a lingua franca. Turkic, in the form of Azeri, Qumuq or Noğay, has, since the Turkic takeover of the lowland regions, fulfilled this function. Indeed, the Turkicization of the many areas of the North Caucasus[56] was halted only by the Russian Revolution. The Turkic impact on the Caucasian languages as a whole has not been sufficiently studied.[57]

Caucasian consists of four language families whose relationship to one another is problematical :

**South Caucasian : K'art'velian** which is dominated by **Georgian** (3,570,504 in Georgian SSR). This statistic includes the 71,426 **Ajars** (noted in 1926) who were Islamicized and have been Turkicized to some degree, numerically very small elements of the **Laz/Čans**, also Muslim, who are largely on the Turkish Black Sea coast and speak a distinct dialect of Turkish as well (their numbers are uncertain), **Mingrelian**, with 360,000 speakers and **Svan** with some 43,000 speakers. Laz/Čan, also termed Zan, Mingrelian and Svan are all distinct languages, closely related to Georgian.[58]

**North-Western Caucasian : Abxazo-Adyge** which consists of Abxaz (90,915 in Abxaz ASSR in Georgia) and the closely related **Abaza** (who bear the same self-designation, **Apsua**, 29,497 in the Karačay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast'in

the North Caucasus). Like other Muslim mountaineers, many emigrated to the Ottoman Empire with the Russian conquest. Related to them are the **Ubyx** the overwhelming majority of whom emigrated to the Ottoman Empire in the mid-19th century. They reside now in Turkey (numbers are uncertain). **Circassians/Čerkes** this is a collective name for three closely related, if not identical, peoples, all of whom use the ethnonym **Adyge** as well : Western Adyge are termed **Adyge** (108,711 in Adyge Autonomous Oblast' in the Western North Caucasus). Eastern Adyge are termed **Kabarda/Kabardinians** (321,719 in Kabardino-Balkar ASSR in North Caucasus). The Central grouping is called **Čerkes** (46,470 in the Karačay-Čerkes Autonomous Oblast'). In Medieval Islamic sources the Circassians were called **Kašak, Kasâk, Qâšâq,** in Rus' Kacor, in Greek Ζιχοί (cf. Georg. **Jik'-i**) and later Κασαχός (cf. Oset. **Koesoeg**). The ethnonym Čerkes (Arab. **Jarkas**, Pers. **Čarkas**) probably derives from **Kerket** an Adyge tribal name.[59]

**North-Central Caucasian : Nax, Veynax** : consists of the **Čečen-Inguš** (755,782 Čečens and 186,198 Inguš in the Čečen-Inguš ASSR, North Caucasus) who are, in reality, one people (common designation is **Noxčo**, although some scholars limit this only to the Čečen and associate **Galgal** with the Inguš) and the **Bacbi** (numbers unknown) who are descended from Nax tribes that settled in T'ušet'i in Georgia and have since Georgianized[60].

**North-Eastern Caucasian/Dağistanian** : is divided into 3 major subgroupings in Dağistan (North Caucasus):

1.**Avar-Andi-Dido (Cez)** total 482,844 speakers consisting of **Avar, Andi** (subdivided into Andi, Botlix, Godoberi, Axwax, Karata, Bagulal, Tindi, Čamalal), **Dido** (comprised of the Dido, Bežeta, Ginuğ, Xwarši, Xunzal/Gunzib) **Arči.**

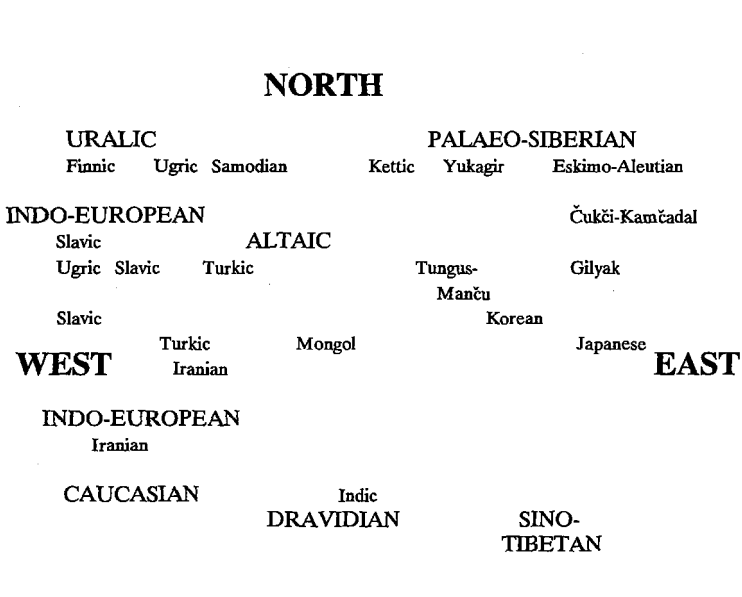
2.**Lak-Dargwa** subdivides into : **Lak/Qazi-Qumux** (100,148 in Southern Dağistan) and **Dargwa** who consist of the **Dargwa** (287,282), the **Qaitaq** (14,430) and **Kubači** (2,371 in 1926 in village of same name).

3.**Samur/Lezgin** subdivided into 7 separate groups : i) **Lezgin** (382,611 in South Dağistan ASSR and Northern Azerbaijan) ii) **Rutul** (15,032 in same regions as the Lezgins), iii) **Agul** (12,078 in South Dağistan ASSR), iv) **Tabasaran** (75,239 in southwestern Dağistan), v) **Caxur** (13,478 in western Rutul area), vi) **Udi**, remnants of the ancient **Uti** (6,863 in Azerbaijan and

Georgia), vii) the **Šah Dağ Peoples** of Northern Azerbaijan (perhaps 9-10,000 consisting of the **Jek, Kryz, Xinalug and Buduğ**). They are all under considerable Azeri Turkic influence.[61]

We have excluded from this survey Semitic (Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew) which has had a profound cultural impact, especially in the religious sphere, on Turkic. Arabic, in particular, as a consequence of Islam, occupies a special place. The Semitic impact, however, was in the culturo-religious sphere and in the case of Arabic and Syriac was largely brought to them by third parties, usually Iranians. In terms of direct interaction, the Semitic peoples have played only a very marginal role in the ethnogenesis of the Turkic peoples. Similarly, Russian which has had a considerable influence on the Turkic languages of the Russian Empire and Soviet Union, has exercized this influence in the political rather than ethnogenetic sphere. Tsarist and Soviet policies have, indeed, had a very significant impact on the formation of the modern Turkic peoples, but this has been ethnogenesis by direction, not interaction. It is the latter that is the primary focus of our study.

Historically, in its contact with other populations, as can be discerned even from this brief survey, Turkic speech has usually prevailed. Clearly, then, linguistic assimilation has been a crucial element in the ethnogenesis of the Turkic peoples. In all their areas of settlement, Central Asia, Western Siberia, the Volga region, the Caucasus and the Near and Middle East, they have absorbed linguistically smaller peoples and made serious inroads on larger populations as well (e.g. the Iranians of Central Asia, Northern Iran, the Armenian, Greek and Hellenized populations of Asia Minor).


NORTH
URALIC
Finnic
Ugric
Samodian
PALAEO-SIBERIAN
Kettic
Yukagir
Eskimo-Aleutian
INDO-EUROPEAN
Slavic
Ugric
Slavic
ALTAIC
Turkic
Tungus-Manču
Gilyak
Čukči-Kamčadal
Slavic
Korean
Turkic
Mongol
Japanese
WEST
Iranian
EAST
INDO-EUROPEAN
Iranian
CAUCASIAN
Indic
DRAVIDIAN
SINO-TIBETAN
SOUTH

## THE LEGACY OF INNER ASIA

The current, far from adequate state of our knowledge of the pre-history of Central and Inner Asia, the presumed "Urheimat" of the Altaic and hence Turkic peoples, does not permit us to delineate their primordial territory with any degree of precision. Although much excellent archaeological work has been done, the material finds of pre-historic, pre-literate peoples cannot tell us, without considerable corroborating, but nonetheless circumstantial, evidence, the ethno-linguistic affiliations of this or that group. All too often a particular culture is ascribed to one or another ethnic grouping on the basis of the racial types of the population connected with the finds. It has become axiomatic, particularly in Soviet scholarship, that Mongoloid implies Turkic or, more broadly speaking, Altaic and Europoid non-Altaic. In dealing with the modern populations of Central and Inner Asia, such a rigid approach is particularly risky. The Yagnobi, for example, linguistic descendants of the Soġdians, evince a clear Mongoloid admixture. While scholars are quite willing to accept this as the result of population-mixing over the centuries, there is a tendency to view earlier populations as somehow pristine representatives of certain anthropological types associated with certain languages. Languages, however, particularly in Eurasia, move about with highly mobile populations and through political domination can extend beyond ethnic and racial borders. In some instances, language shifts could occur in connection with economic changes. The adoption of nomadism, for example, could lead to the replacement of one language by another. Bilingualism was far from uncommon. The early nomads, it appears, show considerable mixing. The configurations of these mixtures may be different from or found in different proportions among present day populations deriving from these groups, but the principle that language and race are independent variables is, nevertheless, just as true. It should further be noted in this connection that racial typing on the basis of skeletal remains is not as exact a science as some of its practitioners claim. We may look with somewhat more confidence to modern biological anthropology which, in time, will undoubtedly give us the answers we seek.[1] For the present, these data must be used with caution. In the discussion that follows, then, references to Europoid and Mongoloid, in some instances difficult categories to determine, should not be taken as proof positive of linguistic affiliations. Whatever may have been the racial type of the earliest Turkic-speakers (seemingly Mongoloid), it is more than likely that they were mixed with other elements from the opening pages of their history.

## THE PRE-HISTORY OF EURASIA

The eastern end of the Eurasian steppe, Mongolia and its environs, would appear to be the earliest attested center for Turkic history. It was, however, from very early on, the recipient of cultural impulses coming from the steppe zone to its West. Indeed, some of the earliest Turkic peoples are first attested in Western Eurasia in the 4th-5th century A.D. It is generally believed, however, that they came hither in connection with Hunnic movements, from points further to the east. As a consequence, although our initial focus will be on the steppes of South Siberia and Mongolia, we must view that region within the larger context of the pre-historic cultures of the steppe as a whole, the Ancient Near East and China. We should also bear in mind that there were not only Western Eurasian cultural influences operating here but those of the forest zone as well. The immediate ancestors of the early Turkic peoples were not necessarily steppe nomads. Indeed, at some point, of course, they certainly were not. Their nomadization may well have been a relatively recent phenomenon, occurring just before their dramatic entry onto the stage of history. As late as the 10th century, a Chinese traveler, Hu Ch'iao, mentions a hunting-fishing Turkic group, the Türks of the Shan-yü, still living in the forests.[2] Hence, our discussion must take a broader perspective.

Archaeologists divide the steppe cultures of Inner Asia into several distinct periods, a variety of cultures and subcultures, the chronology and contours of which are still the subject of much discussion. The outline that follows here is greatly simplified and overlooks many regional variants. The **Afanas'evo culture** was introduced to the Yenisei-Minusa and Altay regions by the middle of the third millennium B.C. if not earlier. It is associated with a population of Europoid stockbreeders who also had some metal-working skills. Their culture indicates ongoing contacts with Western Eurasia, i.e. the Pontic steppes, their probable point of origin. It was followed by the **Okunevo culture** at the beginning of the second millennium B.C. in which a Mongoloid population, probably coming from the Siberian forest-belt, predominated. Stockbreeding and metallurgical elements were further emphasized. Groups with similar cultures are found in Tuva and elsewhere in South Siberia. The Okunevo type was replaced by the **Andronovo culture**, (or separate and distinct Andronovo-type cultures) of Western Eurasian origin, ca. 1500 B.C. (or possibly earlier), which was again dominated by a Europoid population, most probably Indo-Iranian, with a more sedentary style of stockbreeding. Metallurgy continued to be important. The Andronovo-type cultures extended from the Pontic steppes to the Yenisei. It did not,

apparently, reach the Altay. In its later stages, not unexpectedly, it has been connected with the early Scytho-Saka, i.e. Iranian peoples.[3] In the Minusa region we find the **Karasuk culture** (ca.1300-800 B.C.) which appears to have been of a transhumant or semi-nomadic character (breeding camels, among others, and hence indicating Central Asian connections). The population also shows some Mongoloid elements indicating that at least part of the population came to the area from the east. The **Tagar culture** (ca.800-1st century A.D.), which is subdivided into 4 stages, supplanted the Karasuk. Not having fully developed the nomadic pattern, it constitutes something of an exception to the culture of this region which is often termed **Early Nomad.** Outside of the Minusa region, the latter was associated with equestrian pastoral nomads of probable Scytho-Saka origins, organized in tribal unions. The famous Pazyryk burial sites in the Altay are a good example of this Early Nomad culture. This era also marks the coming of the iron age to the region. Archaeological finds indicate sophisticated patterns of trade with both east (China) and west (Iran). To the east of this region, in the area of Trans-Baikal-Northern Mongolia, there were also horse-riding, stockbreeding populations of Mongoloid somatic type which appear to have moved from hunting-gathering to nomadism. Although they possessed a distinct culture, nomadism, as well as other elements, may well have been borrowed from populations to their west. Here too, we find a well-developed metallurgy.[4] Among the nomads of the Altay of this period, this equestrian culture (aided, certainly, by the development of the bridle, ca. 7th century B.C.) found reflection in their spiritual life. Horses, ritually slaughtered, were buried with their owners. These nomads lived in transportable huts (Herod. IV.46[5], the technical literature often refers to them by the Russ. term **kibitka**, itself a borrowing from Turkic, ultimately going back to Soǧdian[6]). Patterns varied,

3 On the early Indo-Iranians associated with these cultures, see Mallory, **Indo-Europeans**, pp. 223-231.

4 On the Pre-historic cultures of the steppe, see Chard, **Prehistory**, pp. 145,148-50,156,163-65; Gryaznov, **South Siberia**, pp. 46,51,61,66-69,97-98,102; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 43,45,47-48,50,58-63; Okladnikov et al., **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 159-196,227-233. A somewhat different schema is given by Viktorova (**Mongoly**, pp. 118-119) who concludes that there were, in the 2nd-1st millennia B.C. three ethno-cultural groupings in Inner Asia and the adjoining areas of Trans-Baikal and Southern Manchuria : 1) ancient stockbreeders and hunters of Mongoloid type extending as far west as Kobdo, in the northeast to the Eastern Trans-Baikal and in the southeast to Southern Manchuria. They formed the nucleus of peoples that were later associated with the Mongols (e.g. the Tung-hu), 2) a predominantly Europoid population in Northwestern and Western Mongolia, sharing many common features with the populations of Eastern Kazakhstan and Kirghizia. These she identifies with the Ting-ling of Chinese sources whom she believes to be "genetically related to the

however, in some seasons and regions birch-bark tents and log cabins were also used.[7] In addition to horse-breeding, their primary occupation, these nomads also raised cattle and sheep. The outlines of the clanal and tribal organization that we associate with the Eurasian nomads is also in evidence.[8] It is not unlikely that these nomads of the Altay exerted a strong cultural influence on the Turkic peoples or elements that would become Turkic peoples. Thus, the nomads of Tuva of this period (7th-6th century B.C.), predominantly Europoid in type, show close affinities to those of the Altay.[9]

Pastoral nomadism, it is now believed, developed in lands marginal to agriculture in the 4th-3rd millennium B.C. The causes of the transition to the type of pastoral nomadism that we today associate with Eurasian steppe societies remains the subject of speculation. This was an economic adaptation that developed unevenly, over a long period of time and in response to a variety of local stimuli, out of primitive pastoralism-animal husbandry in communities that engaged in both stockbreeding and agriculture. The archaeological evidence appears to indicate, as one school of thought believes, that it spread, in Eurasia, from west to east. Others connect the development of a livestock-dependent and then pastoral nomadic economy with South Siberia and Northern Mongolia. Still others view it as arising out of specific economic and ecological conditions at more or less the same time throughout the Eurasian steppe.[10]

Crucial to the evolution of nomadism was the domestication of the horse (certainly by the 3rd and perhaps even as early as the 4th millennium B.C.) in the Ponto-Caspian steppes.[11] But, it was only ca. 1500 B.C. (the dating is uncertain) that equestrian technology was sufficiently developed to produce a true culture of mounted riders. These skills were not necessarily applied to military purposes at this time. Undoubtedly, there were a number of factors that finally came together to create Eurasian pastoral nomadism : the full mastery of horse technology (which probably occurred much earlier in the Western Eurasian zone and then spread eastward), the growth of human and

7 Rudenko, **Frozen Tombs**, pp. 62-63; Grač, **Drevnie kočevniki**, pp. 41-42; Basilov (ed.), **Nomads**, p. 97.

8 Gryaznov, **Southern Siberia**, pp. 134-6,153-58, 193.

9 Gryaznov, **Southern Siberia**, pp. 219,233.

10 Simmons, **Changing**, pp. 100,145; Jacobson, **Burial Ritual**, p. 2. Barclay, **The Horse**, p. 21, places the emergence of pastoral nomadism at the "end of the second millenium." Lattimore, **Inner Asian**, pp. 54-65,158-163, attributes the development of "steppe society," on the Chinese frontier, largely to environmental factors, moving populations away from agriculture to "pastoral resources," and choice, as the land could be exploited in several ways. Its origins, he argues, are to be found in sedentary society.

animal populations, various technological advances in metallurgy and changes in climate, especially increasing aridity in the late 2nd millennium B.C. The appearance of sedentary states or their outposts on the periphery of the Eurasian steppes were almost certainly a factor in this process as well.[12] Interpretations, however, vary as to the nature of their role. The transition to pastoral nomadism, which has been placed at the end of the Karasuk period, led to some shuffling of tribes and hence dislocations and migrations in the steppes as different groups struggled for control of the pasturelands.[13]

The precise ethnic origins of these early equestrian pastoral nomads, whose appearance, in a military capacity, is noted in both East Asian (Chinese) and Middle Eastern (Assyrian) sources, cannot everywhere be determined with absolute certainty. Indeed, their ethno-political components, particularly in the Inner Asian context, are likely to have been diverse, but most probably Indo-European. In Central-Inner Asia, in time, they came to form what has been termed the "Scytho-Siberian" cultural community.[14] Closely associated with this culture is cavalry warfare. It is attested in the 8th century B.C. in the Inner Asian-East Asian borderlands (the fall of the Western Chou dynasty in 771 B.C. has been attributed to the attacks of Scythian raiders) and by ca. 690 B.C., if not earlier, in Western Eurasia, where it is clearly associated with the Cimmerians (see below) and Scythians who supplanted them.[15] Some scholars, however, have suggested that the Assyrians, not the steppe peoples, were the first society to develop cavalry for military purposes. The Assyrians, however, who, it is true, carefully organized and husbanded their equine resources, never made full use of this new "technology." Indeed, they were not entirely comfortable with it. Rather, they continued to rely on the war chariot. Despite these claims for a Near Eastern priority, a Eurasian point of origin for mounted warfare seems more likely. The Eurasian steppe always remained its natural home. Fearsome Cimmerian (reflected in Assyrian sources) and then Scythian raids were directed against the Near East in the 8th-6th centuries B.C. These first reverberations of the new society taking shape in the steppe, certainly brought home the importance of the new "technology" and perhaps spurred on its further development.

It should be noted, however, that it was a system of economy and attendant cultural style and political organization, not one particular ethnos, that spread to those areas of marginal use to agriculture that became the habitat of the nomads. The process by which this culture was acquired by

12 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 91-95.

different ethnic groups to form what became a "Scytho-Siberian cultural community" has yet to be determined. Scytho-Saka elements seem to have taken the lead, but there are elements of their culture that are of non-Indo-European origin.[16] Clearly, there was interaction with local, Siberian cultures. It is possible that by the late 5th century B.C., equestrian nomadism had been adopted by elements of the Turkic and possibly other Altaic-speaking peoples.[17]

**The Iranian Nomads**

Our brief discussion of the Early Nomads has already introduced an ethnic dimension : the Scytho-Saka or Eastern Iranian peoples. The chronology of their entry into the region, with the cultural and ethnic consequences arising therefrom, is of some importance. We will examine it in somewhat greater detail.

The Iranians, as we have noted, belong to the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. Controversy continues to swirl around the question of the "Urheimat" of the Indo-Europeans.[18] The older theories, still stoutly defended, place it in the Balkan-Carpathian region[19] or more generally Central and Southeastern Europe and the adjoining "South Russian" steppes extending as far as the Caspian or perhaps even the Urals.[20] This community took shape or was already on the scene in the 5th-4th millennia B.C. and gradually began to split apart in the third millennium B.C.[21] although elements of it could and did recombine and interact thereafter. According to Mallory, some elements advanced eastward, the Afanas'evo culture becoming its eastern border. These may have been the ancestors of the Tokharians who then migrated southward in the face of pressure from the people of the unrelated Okunevo culture.[22]

Debate has also focused on whether Indo-European unity ended in a gradual process of diffusion or large-scale migrations, the earliest of which

16 Jacobson, **Burial Ritual**, pp. 1-2.

17 Barclay, **The Horse**, pp. 95-96; McGovern, **Early Empires**, pp. 100-101; Lattimore, **Inner Asian**, pp. 60-61.

18 See the survey in Mallory, 1973, pp. 21-65 and his **Indo-Europeans**, pp. 143-185 which discusses, briefly, the hypotheses of Renfrew and Gamkrelidze and Ivanov (see below). Cf. also the recent sketch of Drews, **Coming**, pp. 25-38.

19 Diakonov, 1982b, pp. 11-25.

20 Cf. the discussion in Renfrew, **Archaeology and Language**, pp. 9-19 and Filin, **Obrazovanie**, p. 86. The Ponto-Caspian homeland hypothesis is best represented by Gimbutas, 1985, pp. 185-202.

21 Gornung, **Iz predystorii**, pp. 10-11. Mallory, **Indo-Europeans**, pp. 145-146, sets the chronological limits at 4500-2500 B.C. in an area that [illegible]

has been dated, by one school of thought, to the 5th millennium B.C. Several recent studies have offered a new perspective. Although these have not found universal acceptance, indeed, some aspects have been severely criticized, they are worth examining in more detail. The Soviet scholars Gamkrelidze and Ivanov have suggested that the Indo-European homeland is to be sought in a region in which they could have interacted with Semitic and K'art'velian as well as Sumerian and Egyptian. Such interaction would have had to have taken place while Semitic unity (i.e. before the 4th millennium B.C) and K'art'velian unity (ending ca. 4th-3rd millennia B.C.) still existed. An examination of the linguistic, cultural and historical data, according to this theory, points to Eastern Anatolia, the region south of Transcaucasia and Upper Mesopotamia of the 5th-4th millennia B.C. as the Indo-European "Urheimat."[23] This linguistic community gradually began to come apart in the 4th-3rd millennia B.C., probably in connection with economic changes associated with animal husbandry. A "second Urheimat" was established for the "European" branches of the Indo-Europeans by migrations through the Caucasus to the Ponto-Caspian steppes and extended from there into Central Asia. From here some groups migrated to Europe while others went further eastward (e.g. Tokharian). Ancient Indo-European loanwords in Uralic, Altaic and Kettic (cf. Kettic **kus** "mare" Lat. **equus**), it is argued, give evidence of these contacts in ancient times.[24]

Colin Renfrew also places a "Proto-Indo-European" homeland, sometime before 6000 B.C. in Eastern Anatolia and adjoining regions "and probably nowhere else." He eschews the migrationist model based on the movement of bellicose nomads. The movement of speakers of Indo-European, he argues, is to be linked to the "adoption of a farming economy." Nomadism, he suggests, developed later out of sedentary animal husbandry in the "western part of the Russian steppes." Thence it spread eastward.[25]

Thus, the chronology and geography of these events is by no means certain. By 4000-2000 B.C., Indo-European unity gradually appears to have come to an end. Clearly, some groups moved off earlier than others, later reestablishing contact with some groups. It is unclear when and by what route the ancestors of Tokharian, which shows closest linguistic affinities to the Western Indo-European languages, migrated to Eastern Turkistan. They are noted in Chinese sources of the 1st millennium B.C. Some Indo-European loanwords in Chinese probably come from them, e.g. Arch. Chin. ***miĕt** "honey" < Tokh.B. ***miāt**, Chin. k'üan "dog," Old Chin. k'iwen < Tokh.B. **ku**, acc. **kwem**.[26] The Indo-Aryan tribes were clearly in motion ca. 2000 B.C. They not only invaded the Indian subcontinent (ca. 1500 B.C.), but Indic

23 Gamkrelidze-Ivanov, **Indoevropeiskii**, II, pp. 866-895.

elements may have reached the Iranian plateau before the coming of the Iranians ca. 1500-1000 B.C.[27] The eastward movement of Iranians into Central Asia can be traced, imperfectly and in large measure only conjecturally, in the shifts in archaeological cultures noted above. It is also reflected in loanwords in the languages of their neighbors, e.g. Chin. *g'wân "martial" Proto-Iran. *g$^{w}$ban- "to kill," Chin. *swən "grandson" < Proto-Iran. *sunu "son,"[28] Common Permian *sarid'ź [Udm. zarid'ź, zariź "sea," Komi-Zyr. sarid'ź "sea"] < Avest. zrayô, zrayah "sea," Old Pers. drayah; Perm. *porśas/porćas, Udm. parś, Finn. porsas, Mord.-Erz. purtsos, Mord.-Mok.purts "pig," cf. Xotano-Saka pâ$^{ə}$sa < *parsa "pig;" Perm., Ugr. śarsa/śasra, Udm., Komi Zyr. śurs, Manśi sôtər, Hung. ezer "thousand" < Iran. jasra > žasra > *zahra, Soġd. z$^{ə}$r, Xotano-Saka ysâra, New Pers. hazâr "thousand"[29] Kettic [Kott] kuos "cow" < Iran. *g$^{w}$âus.

In Western Eurasia we find the Cimmerians [Gr. Κιμμέριοι, Akkad. Gâmîr(e), Arm. gamir-k', cf. Georg. gmiri "hero"], an equestrian nomadic people who held this region, ca. 1000-800 B.C., before the advent of the Scythians. Their ethnic identity has yet to be determined. D'jakonov argues that "Cimmerian" was not an ethnonym but rather an appellative designating a "mobile, equestrian band of Iranian-speaking nomads of the Eurasian steppes."[30] However this may be, their successors in the Western Eurasian steppes (8th-7th century B.C.), the Scythians, who seem to have entered the region from the east[31], were Iranian or, at least, dominated by an Iranian-speaking military-political elite : Gr.Σκύθαι, Semitic Ažkuzai, Iškuzai, Aškenaz etc. = Iran. skuda, skuδa "archer" < Indo-Eur. *skeuta (cf. Germ. skutjan, Old High Germ. skuzzo, Old Eng. scytta "shooter, archer"). The name of the Scythian grouping called Σκολόται may also be derived from this same root ( Σκολοτ- < skula, with l < δ from skuda). Similarly, the name Soġd may be interpreted as coming from this term (swġδa < suġδa < suxδa < sukda < sukuda < skuda.[32] The eastern, i.e. Central and Inner Asian groupings of these Iranian nomads, according to Herodotos (VII.64), were called Saka by the Persians > Śaka in Sanskrit, Sai ( < sə < sək, səg) in Chinese.[33] Szemerényi has derived this term from Iran. sak- "to go, flow, run"

27 On the complexities of early Iranian movements, see discussion in Dandamaev, Lukonin, **Kul'tura**, pp. 39-71; D'jakonov in the **CHIr., II**, pp. 41-47; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 46-52,61-63.

28 Harmatta, "Proto-Iranian," p. 81.

29 Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, **Indoevropejcy**, II, pp. 921-922.

30 D'jakonov, 1981, pp. 97-99 and Khazanov's comments on Cimmerian ethnicity, Khazanov, 1982, p. 59. On the Cimmerian problem, see El'nickij, **Skifija**, pp. 24ff.

31 El'nickij, **Skifija**, pp. 74-76.

(Old Pers. **θakatâ**, Parth. sxt, Soǧd. sǧty[3], ***Saka** "running, swift, vagrant, nomadic," i.e. "nomad."[34] As we shall see, this is a not uncommon semantic category for nomadic ethnonyms. The Sakas were not limited to the Central Asian steppes. At some still undetermined period, probably the first centuries B.C., they entered Iran proper and settled in the region called in Old Pers. **Zranka**. This now became known as **Sakastan** (Mod. Seistân, Sîstân).[35] This movement was in response to dramatic migrations of Iranian and other tribes in Central Asia.

Outside of the Iranian plateau, where the Median and then Persian (Achaemenid) states formed, we have only an imperfect picture of these Iranian tribes. They stretched from the Pontic steppe zone to the Altay and Eastern Turkistan. Later Chinese sources (the **Han shu**) report of this region that "there are many different languages spoken, but they are in general the same and people understand each other clearly."[36] Some of them sedentarized, forming oasis city-states in Southern Central Asia. Typical of these were Xwârazm and Soǧdia in Western Turkistan and the Xotanese Saka settlements in Chinese Turkistan. Other tribes settled in Bactria (Afghanistan). The earliest of these sedentarized polities, ca. 8th-7th century B.C., may have been Xwârazm which has been identified (not without disagreements in many quarters) with the ancient Iranian/Aryan homeland, **Airyanəm vaêjah**. Their contemporaries were the tribes that founded the Bactrian state whose early history is equally conjectural.[37] Soǧdia, lying to the north of Bactria and west of Xwârazm, may have served as a kind of frontier buffer with the turbulent nomads of the steppes beyond.[38]

Iranian and Greek sources mention a number of these nomadic Saka groupings : the **sakâ tigraxaudâ** ("Saka with sharp-pointed caps"), located in Kazakhstan, perhaps north of the Syr Darya. Some scholars connect them with the **Massagetae**,[39] one of the largest such tribal confederations. It has been suggested that the Turkic peoples of South Siberia acquired equestrian, pastoral nomadism from them.[40] There can be no doubt that tribes belonging to the Scytho-Saka cultural world, and presumably Iranian-speaking, were in the Altay (cf. the much-discussed Pazyryk culture[41]). The **sakâ haumavargâ** ("Saka who use/prepare **haoma**"), were to be found, it would seem, in the

34 Szemerényi, **Four Old Iranian**, p. 45. For a survey of other etymologies, see Litvinskij, **Drevnie kočevniki**, pp. 156-158. Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**,VII, pp. 131,137 rejects this explanation.

35 Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 57,62, 193-4 and his **Heritage**, p. 47.

36 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, **China**, p. 136.

37 **Ist. Tadžik**, I, pp. 151-159; Marquart, **Wehrot**, pp. 8ff.; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 61-62 and his **Heritage**, pp. 37-38.

Murgab region. There were also the **sakâ tyaiy para sugdam** ("Saka beyond Soġdia"), the **sakâ tyaiy paradraya** ("Saka beyond the sea") the latter, referring, perhaps, to Saka beyond the Aral Sea or the Pontic zone. The **Dahâ** were located east of the Caspian, the **Issedones** were, probably, their neighbors, in Eastern Kazakhstan. The **Arimaspi** were to their east.[42] Xwârazm, Soġdia, Bactria and some of the Saka tribal groupings came under Achaemenid rule. How much of this territory was conquered by the founder of the Iranian state, Cyrus, who, according to some accounts, died in 530 B.C. while on campaign in Central Asia, is uncertain. Some regions may have already previously submitted to the Medes. By the time of Darius I (522-486 B.C.), however, Haraiwa [Herat], Uwarazmiy [Xwârazm], Sug(u)da [Soġdia) and the frequently troublesome Saka were listed among the satrapies of his realm. His attempt to subdue the Pontic Scythians, however, was less than successful.[43]

Achaemenid influence ended with Alexander's conquest of Iran. In 330 B.C., the Macedonian conqueror, in pursuit of the fugitive Darius III, brought Xwârazm, Soġdia and Bactria to submission. As was his custom elsewhere, he built cities and spurred on cultural symbiosis. After his death in 323 B.C., the Seleucids, were eventually able, in 312 B.C., to lay claim to much of his Iranian empire. By the middle of the 3rd century B.C. (247 B.C.), however, the eastern part of Iran had been retaken by an Iranian dynasty, the Parthians, who, not without setbacks, began the process of reuniting Iran under a native dynasty. In Central Asia, however, we find a more complicated picture. Ca. 256 B.C., a Graeco-Bactrian kingdom had come into being in the east. This was, in essence, an Iranian state over which a Graeco-Macedonian military elite held sway. Although they engaged in successful wars of conquest in Northwest India and perhaps Eastern Turkistan[44], they also were prone to much internecine strife.[45] In addition, they were continually confronted with Saka raiding, set off, in part, by movements of peoples in Inner Asia. Eventually, the Graeco-Bactrian state was overrun by the Iranian nomads in the course of the 1st century B.C. These nomads came to be led by the Kušan dynasty. Before turning to the nomadic migrations which produced the Kušan state, we must examine briefly the nomadic groupings of Western Eurasia.

We are slightly better informed about the western branch of these Iranian nomads because of Herodotos. The Scythians, as Herodotos called this

42 Oranskij, **Vvedenie**, p. 64; Dovatur, **Narody**, pp. 108-111,253-257; Litvinskij, **Drevnie kočevniki**, pp. 158-174.

43 Cook, **Pers. Empire**, pp. 24ff.,78; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 93-94,103,112; Dandamaev

grouping of the Saka, coming, perhaps, by way of Western Siberia, assumed the mantle of political supremacy over the Western Eurasian steppes from the Cimmerians probably in the late 9th-early 8th century B.C.[46] They soon made their presence felt in the Near East with destructive force. Such raids were also typical of the "Royal Scythians," the ruling tribe in Herodotos' day, who appear to have migrated to the region ca. 600 B.C. Attempts by Achaemenid Iran to conquer the Scytho-Saka nomads met with limited success. We need not examine in detail the scraps of Scythian history communicated by our sources who, in any event, viewed them as bloodthirsty savages. But, a few words about their customs have some relevance to the Turkic world. Herodotos (IV.71-72) mentions horse-sacrifices (using impalement), a ritual hardly unexpected in a horse-based economy and observed among the Altay Turkic peoples as recently as the last century. The Scythians also practiced a water taboo (Herod. IV.75), a custom subsequently found among Central Asian pagan Turkic (e.g. the Oğuz) and Mongol tribes alike. The Scythians had the gruesome custom of fashioning drinking goblets out of the skulls of slain enemies (Herod. IV.65), a custom that was observed among the later Hsiung-nu, Bulğars and Pečenegs, among others.[47]

Scythian hegemony in the Western Eurasian steppelands was challenged, in the course of the 5th-4th centuries B.C. and gradually brought to an end, probably early in the 4th century B.C. or 3rd-2nd century B.C., by the Sarmatians. They are, in all likelihood, to be connected with the Sauromatians, known already to Herodotos (IV.21), as a nomadic people who occupied the steppe zone beyond the Τάναϊς (the Don River) to the east of the Scythians and spoke Scythian "incorrectly" (Herod. IV.117).[48] Like many nomadic confederations, they contained a variety of ethnic elements which changed over time and in the course of their migrations.[49] Their movements westward came as a result of pressures in the steppes to their east. In the 4th century B.C. these came from the Massagetae or others. This was probably a consistent pattern, for in the second century B.C., we again have evidence of movements that were touched off in the west by the Massagetae but had their originating point in Inner Asia. This turbulence resulted from a series of migrations prompted by the activities of the Hsiung-nu, a tribal confederation in Mongolia, which looms very large in the opening pages of Turkic history.

These migrations had a profound effect on the ethnic composition of Eurasia. Before turning to them, however, there are some additional comments that we may make about the Iranian nomads of Western Eurasia.

46 On the chronology, see Khazanov, 1982, pp. 55-56,61.
47 For the texts of Herodotos, see Dovatur, **Narody**, pp. 122,126,128.

The Sarmatians were joined, as a consequence of these migrations, by their eastern kin, the Roxolani/'Ρωξολανοὶ (Iran. **rauxšna** "light" Alans), Alani/'Αλανοί (Iran. **ariyana**), Aorsi/"Αορσοι (Iran. **auruša** "white").[50] The Aorsi and then the Alans (by the 1st century A.D.) came to dominate the Iranian nomads of Western Eurasia.[51]

These changes were due, in large measure, to the continuing turmoil among the tribes of Central Asia produced by the activities of the Hsiung-nu. It would be too much to call the Sarmatian polity of the late 2nd century B.C., when it received these new elements from the east, a state. We know that they were organized in tribes and may presume that they had one or several royal tribes or clans. In contrast to their predecessors, the Scythians, early Sarmatian society seems to have been matrilineal. On the whole, in the steppe world, women were much freer than in sedentary society. This is not to say that there were uniform standards applied here. The social position of women varied,[52] but on the whole, Central Asian Saka society appears to have given them an important place. Thus, the **Han-shu** reports that among the population west of Fargâna (Ta Yüan) as far as Iran, "they hold the women in honour and what the women say the men act upon."[53] This appears to be true of Sarmatian society, or more probably early Sarmatian society, where, it seems, women enjoyed such a high status that the Greek sources call them "women-governed" (γυναικοκρατούμενοι). They took part in military expeditions, ruled tribes and performed priestly functions.[54] Their economy appears to have been typical of Western Eurasian pastoral nomads. They undertook seasonal migrations and practiced limited agriculture. Some, probably impoverished nomads, sedentarized or mixed with sedentary (subject) peoples. This, of course, was always a last resort. The Sarmatians, Strabo notes (VII.4,6), had contempt for such pursuits.[55]

## The Yüeh-chih and Saka Migrations

According to the **Han shu** (c.96A), the Yüeh-chih who occupied Ta Yüeh-chih, a region some 49 days' travel east of An-hsi (Aršakid Iran) which was very much like the latter and was noted for producing the one-humped camel, were originally nomads who lived between Tun-huang [Dunhuang] (in Kansu) and "Ch'i-lien." The latter region may be the T'ien-shan [Tianshan]. They suffered a series of attacks from Mao-tun/Mo-tun (***Bağatur** ?, reg.

50 Sulimirski, **Sarmatians**, pp. 111-118; Harmatta, **Studies**, pp. 12,18,33-34,78-79,82-85; Oranskij, **Vvedenie**, pp. 65-66; Xazanov, 1978, pp. 96-98.
51 Sulimirski, **Sarmatians**, pp. 142-144; Xazanov, 1978, pp. 99-101.
52 Grač, **Drevnie kočevniki**, p. 54; Jacobson, **Burial Ritual**, pp. 16-17.

209-174 B.C.), the Shan-yü of the Hsiung-nu and his son, called in our source Lao-shang (174-161 B.C.). These attacks occurred in the early years of and towards the end of Mao-tun's reign and during the early years of that of his son, Lao Shang. The latter apparently killed the Yüeh-chih king, "making his skull into a drinking vessel. The Yüeh-chih thereupon went far away," beyond Farġâna (Ta Yüan) and "proceeding west to attack and subjugate Ta-Hsia" (Bactria).[56] Other Yüeh-chih groupings, the so-called "Lesser Yüeh-chih" took refuge in the mountainous fringe of northeastern Tibet.[57] Elsewhere, this same source reports that the Yüeh-chih migration caused the "King of the Sai" (Saka) to move to the south where he established himself in "Chi-pin" (the location of which is uncertain). "The Sai tribes split and separated and repeatedly formed several states."[58] According to the **Han-shu** (c.61), sometime before the Hsiung-nu attack on them, the Yüeh-chih had attacked their neighbor, the Wu-sun (Arch. Chin. *o/*uo-swən), whom some scholars would connect with the Issedones of Herodotos.[59] They were also nomads who lived in felt tents, ate meat and drank fermented mare's milk, as a Han princess sent to them in a marital alliance with their ruler, the **k'un-mo/k'un-mi** (kwən/kuən-mâg/muo or mâk or măk/mək - kwən/kuən-mjăr/mjie) lamented.[60] Their ethnic affiliations are unclear. They are described as stereotypical "barbarians," by the Chinese, with green eyes and red hair.[61] The Yüeh-chih assault brought about the death of the Wu-sun **k'un-mo** Nan-tou-mi. His infant son, who, the legend relates, was suckled by a wolf (an important motif we will encounter in the Türk ethnogenetic myth) was then brought up by the Hsiung-nu ruler. As an adult he asked permission to take revenge on the Yüeh-chih.[62] He attacked the latter driving them further westward. The **Han-shu** (c.61) then further states that the Yüeh-chih attacked the King of the Sai and the latter "moved a considerable distance to the south and the Yüeh-chih then occupied his lands." This account says that the Wu-sun "despoiled the population of Ta Hsia" (Bactria) whither the Yüeh-chih had fled and then remained there in "occupation," becoming independent of the Hsiung-nu.[63] The other **Han-shu** account has them take

56 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, pp. 120-121. For the parallel account of the **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, pp. 264ff. It is also translated in Narain, **Indo-Greeks**, p. 129.
57 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 268; Czeglédy, 1983, p. 47; Yü, **CHEIA**, p. 127.
58 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, **China**, pp. 104-105.
59 For a survey of the theories of their identification and ethnic affiliations, see Gardiner-Garden, 1986, pp. 28-2,40.
60 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, **China**, pp. 143,148,214; **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 267.
61 Eberhard, **Çin'in şimal komşuları**, p. 105.
62 Pulleyblank, 1970, p. 159 dismisses the **Han-shu** account as largely unreliable. The tale of

over the Yüeh-chih lands (Ili region) and mixing there with Saka and Yüeh-chih elements, while the Yüeh-chih went on to conquer Ta Hsia.[64] The first phase of these events which brought the Yüeh-chih to the borders of Bactria, occurred probably around 160 B.C. The Wu-sun attack on the Yüeh-chih may be dated to sometime between 133-129 B.C.[65]

Thus, it would appear that the Wu-sun raided the Yüeh-chih and perhaps Bactria. We have no other confirmatory data that they settled in Bactria. Indeed, the land of which they "remained in occupation" must have been the lands held up to that point by the Yüeh-chih prior to their movement into Bactria. The new Wu-sun habitat had the Hsiung-nu to the east, K'ang-chü (the Samarqand region) in the northwest, Ta-yüan (Farġâna) in the west and the "states of the walled towns" of Eastern Turkistan in the south. This was probably the Ili River valley and Semireč'e.[66] The Wu-sun established ties with China and they jointly frustrated a Hsiung-nu attempt, in 127 B.C.[67] to bring them back to submission. Subsequently, ca. 120 B.C., now out of harm's way, the Wu-sun politely rebuffed further Chinese overtures to draw them into yet another confrontation with the Hsiung-nu.

Confirmation for some of these events comes from Western sources. Strabo (XI.511), in his description of the "Scythian" peoples says that "especially well-known of the nomads have become those who took away Bactria from the Greeks, the Ἄσιοι, Πασιανοὶ (perhaps a corruption of Ἀσιανοί), Τόχαροι and Σακάραυλοι, having set off from beyond the Jaxartes, opposite Saka and Sogdiana which the Saka had occupied."[68] The surviving fragments of Pompeius Trogus note that the "Scythicae gentes" Saraucae (a corruption of Sacarauli or Sacaraucae) and "Asiani" occupied Bactria and the land of the Sogdians. Another fragment gives the heading of a report on the "Asiani" who are the "kings of the Tochari" and the destruction of the Saraucae (Sacaraucae).[69]

The Yüeh-chih are usually equated with the Tokhars of the Western sources from whom the Ṭuxâristân of the Islamic authors, a term designating various parts of Afghanistan stems (usually Qunduz and Baġlân).[70] The Sai/Saka are clearly the Σακάραυλοι/Sacaraucae. Saka elements, thus dislodged, entered Iran (Sakastan/Seistân), India (the Śaka, 1st century B.C.) and Eastern Turkistan. Still others may have gone westward, perhaps as far as the Caucasus.[71]

64 **Han-shu/Hulsewé, China**, p. 144.
65 Czeglédy, 1983, p. 47; Gardiner-Gardner, 1986, p. 39.
66 **Han-shu/Hulsewé, China**, pp. 143,n.376,144; **Ist. kirgiz.**, I, p. 146.
67 Samolin, **East Turkistan**, p. 21.
68 Strabo, ed. Meineke, II, p. 718.

The Ἀσιοι and Asiani refer to the people of K'ang-chü. The latter constituted another nomadic polity in the region beyond the Syr Darya which later expanded south of it. Its people, capable of putting forth 80-90,000 "skilled archer fighters," resembled the Yüeh-chih. They recognized the "nominal sovereignty" of both the Yüeh-chih and Hsiung-nu.[72] The As tribes extended quite far into the western steppes and more elements were undoubtedly propelled into this region where they joined with kindred tribes, the old Aors confederation that in the 1st century A.D. came under the leadership of the Alans. This connection was also made clear in the Chinese sources. The **Han-shu** (c.96A) reports that "K'ang-chü is the state of Yen-ts'ai (*jam/jăm-ts'âd/ts'âi)... It (Yen-ts'ai) is situated on the Great North Marsh" (= Aral or Caspian Sea). The "History of the Later Han" (**Hou Han-shu**) says that Yen-ts'ai was a "dependency of K'ang-chü....Later Yen-ts'ai took the name A-lan-liao."[73] The latter form consists of two separate elements, Alan and Liao. A third region, Yen, was also associated with the Alans. Yen-ts'ai, in any event, is connected with the Ἀορσοι, the tribal union later known by the name Alan.[74] The **Shih-chi** reckoned the military strength of this far-flung confederation at over 100,000 archers.[75]

Those As that came to the Ponto-Caspian steppes continued to be known by that name. The Islamic geographers referred to them as al-Lân (Alan) and Âṣ. Thus, Ibn Rusta (10th century) in his description of the Alano-As groupings of the North Caucasus (the probable ancestors of the Osetins, whose name derives from **As**), reports that "kingship among them is in the tribe called Dxsâs" (Duxs-As).[76] The medieval Rus' and Hungarians termed them **Jas/Jász**. The outlines of the history of these Western As can be traced. They were an important element in the Khazar state and constituted one of the substrata in the composition of the Turkic peoples in Western Eurasia. Other As groupings, however, less well reflected in our sources, remained in the Central Asian steppes. Czeglédy suggests that the Turkic tribe Tuxs, part of the Western Türk confederation, was of As origin (cf. the Dxs of Ibn Rusta). He also connects the **Az** people, noted in the Orxon inscriptions (Bilge Qağan,E26, Kül Tegin,E19, N2,3 etc.) with the Iranian As.[77] We shall have occasion to refer to these Central Asian/Trans-Volgan As, as well, in our disucssions of the Turkic tribes of Western Eurasia. Meanwhile, we may note that the "Asiani who became kings of the Tochari" were, in all likelihood, the grouping led by what became the Kušan dynasty.[78]

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72 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 267; Czeglédy, 1983, p. 35; Gardiner-Garden, **Apollodoros**, pp. 37-40.

73 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, **China**, pp. 129 and n.316,130,n.318.

74 Czeglédy, 1983, p. 53.

75 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 267.

The Yüeh-chih-Tokharian relationship is still not fully understood. Were the Tokhars of what the Islamic authors termed "Ṭuxâristân" of the same ethno-linguistic stock as the "Tokharian"-speakers of Eastern Turkistan ? The latter, as we know, spoke a form of Western, i.e. **centum**, Indo-European, while the Kušan state (see below) which arose in former Graeco-Bactria used an East Iranian language. Frye thinks it probable that some of the nomadic invaders spoke Tokharian, but in time assimilated the local Iranian speech.[79] In point of fact, we do not really know if the speakers of what has been termed Tokharian A and B called their language by this name. An Uyğur colophon on a translation from Tokharian of a Sanskrit work calls it **toğrı tili**. A Sanskrit term, **Tokhârikâ** "a woman of Kuča," found in a Buddhist Sanskrit-Tokharian bilingual text, points to the use of this ethnonym in East Turkistan as well.[80] Speakers of Tokharian A, however, appear to have called themselves **Ârśi** (cf. the toponym **Toquz Ersin** of the Kül Tegin inscription, S3). Maenchen-Helfen attempted to connect the two, suggesting that Yüeh-chih (*ngi̯wăt-tia : gwat, gwot, got, gut or ngi̯ĕu-tśie < ngiu-tie = gut-tia) = Kuča/Kuša and concluding that the Yüeh-chih were a composite people consisting of Iranian and Tokharian elements.[81] Narain, in a recent study, also reads Yüeh-chih as Guti (Kuci etc.) and places their early habitat in "Chinese Central Asia...from times immemorial." He views this region as the Indo-European "Urheimat." The Tokharians, then, left the "Urheimat" last. **Tuxâra**, he believes, was the "self-designation" of this grouping.[82] Bailey, who has Iranian etymologies for Ârśi and Kuči, explains the Uyğur **toğrı tili** by suggesting that the name **Tuğara** was used instead of Argi and Kuči (local terms for regions in which Tokharian A and B were used, these two toponyms are also relics from the previous, pre-Tokharian, i.e. genuine Tokharian population) because the Iranian Toğara had earlier held this region and the name continued to be in use by foreigners.[83] He reconstructs Yüeh-chih as ngwiwăt-ti̯eg = *g(w)aδ-čik, *garčik, Tuxara, Thogara < Iran. **tau-**, **tu-** "to increase in size," "great" = ***tau-ġarā*** "great Gara place." or "mountain folk" (cf. Iran. **ġar** "mountain"[84] The difficulty with this explanation is that the Western Indo-European speaking (Tokharian A and B) speakers were probably in this region before the Iranians.[85] The Tokharian problem is of some relevance to the origins of the Türk state.

79 Frye, **Ancient Iran**, p. 250; see also Narain, **Indo-Greeks**, p. 132; Gardiner-Garden, **Apollodoros**, pp. 44-50.
80 Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 125; Narain, **CHEIA**, p. 152.
81 Maenchen-Helfen, 1965, pp. 71-72,77-78.
82 Narain, **First Indo-Europeans**, pp. 1-28.
83 Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, pp. 1-4,123.
84 Bailey, **Culture**,, pp. 94-97 and his **Khotanese Texts**, VII, pp. 110-130.137-138.

## The Kušan State

Sometime after 128 B.C., the Graeco-Bactrian state succumbed as much to its own divisive internal strife as to the impact of successive nomadic invasions. It is quite likely, as Narain suggests, that the nomadic invaders not only came from different directions but at different times as well.[86] The earliest pages of Kušan history remain uncertain. According to the **Han-shu** "more than one hundred years" after the nomadic migrations, the **hsi-hou** (a rendering of the title **yavuga**, the Turkic title **yabğu** derives from the same, probably Iranian, source[87]) of Kuei-shuang, Ch'iu-chiu-ch'üeh (Kujula Kadphises) "attacked and destroyed the four (other) yabghus and established himself as king of Kuei-shuang" (=Kušan).[88] Thus, in the 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D., a new state emerged, Iranian in speech and led by the Kušan dynasty.

The question of Kušan ethnic identity, of great relevance to our theme, is, as we have noted, far from resolved. Tokharian, Iranian, Turkic and even Mongol origins have been suggested.[89] Whatever their ethnic background may have been, they appear little differentiated from the other Iranian nomads of this period. They adopted the Eastern Iranian literary language of the region, written in the Greek script (reflecting Graeco-Bactrian traditions).[90] In this respect, as in the rich and sophisticated Kušan culture that developed under their auspices, they built on the earlier traditions of syncretism.

The broad contours of Kušan history, despite some chronological problems and with a number of lacunae, can be reconstructed.[91] At the height of their political-military power (especially under Kaniška I 78-106/103-125 A.D., who styled himself **devaputra** "son of a divine being"), the Kušans held Northern India (with centers at Peshawar and Mathurâ), Bactria and projected their power, with varying degrees of success, into Western and Eastern Turkistan. In the former, diplomacy, marital alliances and force brought some regions temporarily under their control or influence. In the latter, they, at times, came into conflict with China. To their southwest they faced Parthia. It was Parthia's conqueror and successor, Sâsânid Iran, that, in

86 Narain, **Indo-Greeks**, p. 138.
87 Frye, **Heritage**, pp. 192-193,271n.84; Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 32.
88 **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, **China**, p. 122n.292.
89 These views are summarized in Konukçu, **Kuşan**,pp. 1-3.
90 Narain, **CHEIA**, p. 168 is of the opinion that although they adopted the Iranian speech and Greek script of their subjects in Graeco-Bactria/Afghanistan, they retained their

242-243 or perhaps as late as 265 A.D., brought Kušan power to an end. Some dynasts of Kušan origin lingered on in India, others may have been brought into Sâsânid service.

The impact of Kušan political traditions on the Turkic peoples, given the many lacunae in our knowledge, is difficult to assess. It was the last and perhaps the most successful of the polities associated with the Iranian nomads. Frye has compared the Kušan role in the east to that of the Achaemenids in the Near and Middle East.[92] The presence in our earliest Turkic linguistic monuments of many Iranian political terms, especially titles (e.g. **yabğu** noted above), is an indication of very close Turkic interaction with Iranian peoples. But, it is not clear that these terms necessarily derived directly from Kušan traditions. The Soġdians, who although within the Kušan orbit largely kept their independence, are a much more likely source.

The economic and cultural impact of the Kušan state, however, was important throughout the region. The Kušans were a vital link in the silk route, one of the major items of international, east-west trade. The Kušans shipped silk from Indian ports to the Roman world, effectively cutting out Parthia as middleman. Through Kušan or Kušan-controlled lands furs from the Ural region, precious stones and other luxury goods as well as western manufactures went to China.[93] In this respect, they were typical of many nomadic states. They also played an important role in organizing large-scale irrigation, in particular the trunk canals that became the dominant feature of agricultural life in Central Asia.[94]

The Kušan realm was the home of many religions : Zoroastrianism, Hinduism, Buddhism and various syncretistic cults. With Bactria as a major center, "Iranized Buddhism" spread in Central Asia, where it had mixed success and, more importantly, in China whence it radiated out to East Asia.[95] This mix of religions was not untypical of later, Pre-Islamic Turkic nomadic states.

The extent of Sâsânid domination of the Kušan realm is also problematic. In any event, the greatly weakened Kušans and their Sâsânid overlords soon faced a new nomadic threat. This danger, as the earlier one that had brought about the end of the Graeco-Bactrian state, arose as a consequence of the activities of tribes in Inner Asia set in motion by the Hsiung-nu.

92 Frye, **Ancient Iran**, p. 269.

## The Hsiung-nu

The Turkic tribes coalesced into distinct political entities in the course of the state-formation and decomposition of three nomadic empires : the Hsiung-nu, Türk and Činggisid Mongol. Hence, we will want to pay close attention to the first of these nomadic empires.

Hsiung-nu origins and affiliations remain the subject of debate and speculation. Their connection with later groupings that bore the name **Hun** in one or another form and may have been Turkic in speech or at least contained Turkic-speaking elements, has often been asserted, but never conclusively established. They appear to have emerged from the Mongoloid population, with some Europoid admixture, of the Trans-Baikal region and Mongolia. Some scholars, however, would reverse this formulation.[96] In later periods, the 4th century A.D., some Chinese accounts indicate that elements of them were Europoid. These, however, may represent conquered, i.e. politically Hsiung-nu, populations. When the Later Chao (329-352) ruler, Shih-min (Wei Jan Min, 350-352), a dynast of Hsiung-nu origin, in 350 ordered the massacre of all Hsiung-nu in his realm, there was some difficulty in determining who was a Hsiung-nu. Many of the latter had thoroughly assimilated the Chinese language and clothing. The only possible and somewhat uncertain distinguishing marks were a high nose or heavy beard growth. Officials were told to kill anyone about whom there were doubts. As a consequence, many Chinese perished as well.[97] In short, then, the Hsiung-nu, even at this late date, contained some Europoid elements, but were largely indistinguishable from Chinese.

The name **Hsiung-nu** [Xion-nu] is not very helpful either in resolving the question of their ethnic affiliations. The oldest Chinese form of this ethnonym may have been **Hun-chu** (ḫiuən tiuk), later **Hsien-yün** (ḫiäm-iüĕn), **Hsün-yü** (ḫiuĕn-iuk) and finally in the 3rd century B.C. **Hsiung-nu** (ḫiwong-nuo) = ***Huntuk** or ***Hunnu** according to von Gabain.[98] Pritsak took it back to an ancient form (ca. 1000 B.C.), **kwan/g'wən** = ***gun** which became (before the 5th century B.C.) ***kwən** = ***kun** , (ca. 4th-3rd century B.C.) **kwən**

96 Goxman, 1980, p. 29. Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 120-123 places the boundary between the Mongoloid Tung-hu peoples and "their Europoid neighbors," the northwestern grouping of which were the Turkic (?) Ting-ling, along the western borders of the modern day Xubsugul aimak. Along their eastern borders (the Xingan) were the Tung-yi, ancestors of the Manchu-Tungusic peoples. In the southeast were the Koguryŏ. The home habitat of the Hsiung-nu she places in the Ordos. She concludes that the somatic type of the Northern Hsiung-nu was Palaeo-Siberian Mongoloid alongside of Europeoid, but suggests that the

= *kun and xi̯wən = *xun, (2nd-1st century B.C.) kwən/ki̯wən/xi̯wən = *xun. The whole of this formulation was sharply criticized by Maenchen-Helfen[99] and Pulleyblank. The latter suggested a reconstruction from hi̯ong-nou < *flông-nah = Gr. Φροῦνοι (a people noted in Dionysios Periegetês and Strabo in connection with the Tochari and Seres).[100]

Most scholars see the form rendered by the Chinese sources as the source for the Soǥd. xwn (perhaps early 4th century A.D., the later Soǥd. form was ǥwn[101]), the **OIONO** of the Hephthalite script documents, the **Chunni, Hunni,** Χοῦνοι, Οὖννοι, Χουννί, Οὐαρχωνῖται etc. of the Latin and Greek authors (2nd century A.D. and thereafter), the **Hyaona, Hyôn [Xiyon]** of Middle Persian (cf. the Lat. **Chionitae**), the Syriac **Hûn, ʾUn,** the Armenian **Hon-k'**, the Ḫûna of the Indic texts, Xwârazmian **Hun** and the **Huna** of the Khotanese texts.[102] Németh, comparing **hun, kün** etc. with Turkic **kün** "people," Mong. **küm(un)** "human being," and Ugric, Vog. **xum** "human being," Hung. **hím** "man," Zyryan **komi** "person" etc. concluded that it must have meant "man, human being."[103] Bailey proffers an Iranian etymology from **hyaona** < **hyauna**, cf. Vedic **syona-** "possessor, lord," which he believes indicates their western origin.[104] Pulleyblank reconstructs the name of a Hsiung-nu royal clan, Luan-ti as ***vlân-teh** or ***vlôn-teh**.[105] Its meaning and ethnicity are unclear. In any event, it appears very un-Altaic. The name of one of the Hsiung-nu ruling tribes of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. is noted as Tu-ku (d'uk-kuo) = ***Tuǧqu** or (*d'o-klâk) = ***Tuǧlaǧ** "tribe of the **tuǧ**" ?[106] If this reconstruction is correct, it might point to well-known steppe traditions, but still provides no clues regarding ethno-linguistic affiliations.

The linguistic evidence provided by our Chinese sources is equally problematic. First of all, there are the problems of transcription and reconstruction of the Medieval Chinese pronunciation[107] of certain characters which are themselves ususally imperfect renderings of foreign words. Pulleyblank, two decades ago, concluded that it was very unlikely that Hsiung-nu was Altaic. He did not rule out the possibility, suggested, in a tentative fashion by Ligeti,[108] that a Palaeo-Siberian, perhaps Kettic

99 Pritsak, 1959, pp. 33-34; Maenchen-Helfen, 1961, pp. 249-256.
100 Pulleyblank, pp. 226-227,240; Bunbury, **Anc. Geograph.**, II, p. 485 and review of the question by Gardiner-Garden, **Apollodoros**, pp. 26-28.
101 Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 25; Sinor, "Hun Period," **CHEIA**, pp. 178-179.
102 Pritsak, 1959, pp. 27-34; Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 25; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 85-86; Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 158-159,236-237.
103 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 147-148.
104 Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, pp. 39-40.
105 Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 240-241.
106 Bazin, 1949-1950, pp. 280-281.

connection is to be sought.[109] In addition to the much discussed Hsiung-nu word for "boot," **so-to** (sâk-d'âk, in Pulleyblank sɑk-dɑk < *sɑk-ðɑk, cf. Kettic **sâgdi/sâgdi**), Pulleyblank attempted to connect Hsiung-nu **ku-t'u** (kou-dou < kwɑh-ðah) "son" (cf. also **ch'eng-li ku-t'u** "son of Heaven" = Chin. **t'ien-tzu**) with Kettic **-kjàl, qalek'** "younger son, grandson," Hsiung-nu **chüeh-t'i** (kwet-dei < *kwet-deh) ***küti** "horse" with Kettic **kus,huś, kut,** Hsiung-nu **chieh** (kịat < *kât ) "stone" with Kettic **khes, kit** etc.[110] Doerfer pointed out that although Hsiung-nu had some probable borrowings from Turkic, e.g. **ch'eng-li** ( < **tengri** ) "heaven," **eu-ta, wo-lu-to, ao-t'o** < **ordo** (actually these may be borrowings in Turkic as well from some other, common source), the majority of the words cannot be etymologized on the basis of Turkic. The Kettic theory, then, in his view, despite its difficulties has some points in its favor.[111] Bailey, not unexpectedly, argues for the Iranian origin of the Hsiung-nu, cf. the names of the early Hunnic dynasts: **T'ou-man** (d'eu-muân, d'u-mịwăn, cf. the Hûṇa ruler Toramâṇa), < Iran. **tora-**, ***taura** < **tu-**, **tau,** "to increase in size or power" + **mâṇa** (Xotan. Saka **mâna** "delight"), **Mao-tun** (mâu-tuən < mək/môg-twən < Iran. ***baka-tura** "truly strong), **Lau-shang** ( lâu-źịang, lôg-dịang < Iran. **rauxš** "to be bright" or **rauk-** "to rule," **ch'eng-li** ( ʦ'əng-li < t'œng-liei "heaven," cf. Turk. **tengri**, < Iran. **čaṅgaraka, ku-t'u** "son" (kuo-d'uo, kwo-d'o < **kudu, kutu** < Iran. **kau-, ku-** "to be small."[112]

The linguistic data is, at best, ambiguous. Indeed, our knowledge of the ethnic proto-history of Southern Siberia and Mongolia is still in its infancy. It may be that the Kettic-speaking peoples played a significant role in shaping the early culture of the Hsiung-nu and hence that of the Altaic nomads. It is also possible that some entirely different ethnic groupings were involved. If they were not themselves Indo-Europeans, it seems very likely that elements of Hsiung-nu equestrian culture, came from the Inner Asian Indo-Europeans. Iranians or Yüeh-chih may have served as the transmitters of this horse culture coming from the western steppes.[113] This may also have entailed elements of political culture as well. Whatever the source, it is in the Hsiung-nu/Hunnic era that the Altaic peoples, who would be most identified with this culture, increasingly come to the fore. By the end of the Hunnic era, they clearly are the predominant political-military power in Inner Asia.

Although the Hsiung-nu are noted in the Chinese sources in the late 4th century B.C., it is only during the reign of T'ou-man (? -209 B.C.) that they begin to attract the steady attention of the Chinese chroniclers. It was at

109 Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 242-243 and his 1983, p. 451.

110 Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 239ff. Clauson, 1969, pp. 114-115, reads the phrase **ch'eng-li ku-t'u shan-yü** [Arch. Chin. t'ăng-liər kwo-d'o dịan-gịwo = Anc. Chin. t'ăng-liei kuo-d'uo źịan-

about this time that they appear with the full panoply of weaponry that, with variations, was characteristic of the Central Asian nomadic warrior. Among their weapons we find the compound bow, bronze and bone arrowheads (their arrows also contained beads that gave them a whistling effect), broadswords, short swords, lances, and maces. For body covering they used fur or leather. It was their ability with the compound bow that gave them the military edge against their nomadic opponents. Against China, these were not as effective.[114]

For China, these nomads were indeed alien. As the **Yen-t'ieh lun** ("Discourses on Salt and Iron") comments, the Hsiung-nu possessed no permanent houses, did not distinguish between men and women, robed themselves in animal skins, "eat meat raw and drink blood. They wander to meet in order to exchange goods and stay (for a while) in order to herd cattle."[115] The emphasis on migratory movements both to pasture their herds and to trade is significant. It underscores one of the principal questions of Sino-Hsiung-nu relations. Early on we witness a familiar pattern. A strong China, under the Ch'in dynasty (256-206 B.C.), pushed the Hsiung-nu chieftain T'ou-man and his "barbarians" northward,[116] away from the frontiers and the choice grazing lands of Inner Mongolia. Defensive fortifications were undertaken, which, it has long been argued, culminated in the "Great Wall."[117] In accomplishing these tasks, the Ch'in are credited with uniting China, but they played a role in the unification of the nomads as well. Ch'in expansion provided the catalyst for tribal union-formation among the nomads. Although attempts have been made to find the causes for Hsiung-nu polity-formation in the internal dynamics of the nomads on China's borderlands, it seems much more likely that the nomadic polity was a response to the stimuli provided by this the most powerful and highly developed of the sedentary states on the borders of the steppe world.[118] When the Ch'in collapsed, the tribes, now better organized, returned. The Han (202 B.C.-220 A.D.), who wrested the "mandate of heaven" from the Ch'in, proved to be, from the nomads' perspective, much more formidable foes.

T'ou-man was assassinated by his son Mao-tun (209-174 B.C.). Having defeated the **Tung-hu** "Eastern Barbarians," the grouping from which the Mongols derived, who were encroaching on his territory, Mao-tun then turned his energy and cunning to the subjugation of the Inner Asian nomads.

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114 Xudjakov, **Vooruženie**, p. 48.
115 Cited in Yü, **Trade and Expansion**, p. 40.
116 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 160.
117 This unilinear approach has recently been subjected to critical scrutiny by Waldron, The

Ca. 201 B.C., the Hun-yü, Ch'ü-she, Ting-ling, Ko-k'un and Hsin-li were brought under his control. This early campaign may have been undertaken not only to secure his rear, but also to assure access to the valuable metal deposits in the north.[119] Shortly thereafter, he defeated the newly established Han ruler, Kao-tsu, nearly capturing him. Later, when relations with China were now regulated by favorable (for the Hsiung-nu) peace treaties, Mao-tun, in a letter to the Han court in 176 B.C., reports of his attacks on the Yüeh-chih (who may have been the onetime overlords of the Hsiung-nu), Lou-lan, Wu-sun and Hu-chieh, noting that "all of them have become part of the Hsiung-nu nation." He had united the nomads ("all of the people who live by drawing the bow") into "one family."[120] We have already discussed some of these groups (Yüeh-chih, Wu-sun). The Ting-ling, about whom more will be said later, were located to the north of the Hsiung-nu. They may have been Oğuric Turkic. The Ko-k'un (kerjk-kwəen = Qırqır, according to Pulleyblank) are the Qırğız and the Hsin-li [sin-li] are the Sir who were also among the subjects of the later Türk state. The Hu-chieh (or Wu-chieh [ʔ-giat] = *Hagar) may have been the Oğurs or Oğuz.[121] This process of consolidation of the nomadic and peripheral population of the northern Chinese borderlands was completed by Mao-tun's son, Chiu-chu (174-161 B.C.), known as the "Old Shan-yü," who crushed the Yüeh-chih. China, which he invaded in 166 B.C., now acquiesced, for a time, in an arrangement in which the Hsiung-nu dominated the northern, nomadic zone and China the sedentary region. The Hsiung-nu polity that thus developed, came to encompass Mongolia, Southern Siberia and Jungaria.

Hsiung-nu-Chinese relations were centered around nomadic raiding, which brought booty to the nomads, enabled them to pressure for trading rights, enhanced the Shan-yü's power and strengthened the bonds of their union. The Han attempted to rein in the nomads through their control over the access to markets and goods and a combination of diplomacy and force.[122] Under the Emperor Han Wu-ti (141-87 B.C.), however, a more military-minded policy was adopted to secure not only China's border zones, but to maintain or regain control over the Central Asian trade routes. More immediately, it has been argued, China sought to deprive the Hsiung-nu of the human and economic resources of the "Western regions," thereby "cutting off the right arm" of their steppe foes. Han interest in gaining access to the "blood-sweating" or "heavenly horses" of Ta-yüan (large Iranian horses of Farġâna rather than steppe ponies) was also a factor in this westward orientation.[123]

119 **Shih-chi**/Watson,II, p. 165; Kyzlasov, **Ist.južn. Sib.**, p. 10.
120 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, pp. 162-163,165,167-168.

Han power reached as far as Farġâna and China tried to create alliances with the Yüeh-chih, Wu-sun and later others, directed against the Hsiung-nu. Diplomatic, economic and cultural activities undertaken in this connection laid the groundwork for the "Silk Route."[124] Major Han offensives were launched in 127 and 121 B.C. In 119 B.C., Han troops penetrated as far as Lake Baikal. This aggressive policy weakened but did not destroy the nomads who were pushed deeper into the steppe. They retaliated with devastating raids. Although Wu-ti's successors were unable to hold his Central Asian conquests, the continuing warfare finally began to take its toll on the Hsiung-nu. The "Western regions," an important source of foodstuffs and manpower, were lost to them.[125] Han unwillingness to make peace and reestablish the subsidies and border trade, so necessary to the Shan-yüs and their followers and the increasing difficulty Hsiung-nu raiders encountered in China, produced fissures in the nomadic polity. The greater resources of a powerful sedentary state, despite its own domestic troubles, ultimately proved too much for the Hsiung-nu confederation. In 71 B.C. the vassal tribal unions of the Wu-huan, Ting-ling and Wu-sun attacked them, causing considerable loss of life and livestock.[126]

Internecine strife, surfacing ca. 60 B.C., further contributed to their decline. The southern Hsiung-nu tribes under Hu-han-yeh (d.31 B.C.) submitted to China, after 54 B.C., cleverly exploited the "tributary" system (which required symbolic submission while offering many economic inducements) and promoted the process of political reconstruction. The Northern tribes, under Chih-chih (56-35 B.C.), proved unable to manipulate this system as successfully as their kinsmen. Ultimately, under Chinese pressure, they migrated westward whither other tribes that had been part of the Hsiung-nu confederation had already gone. Chih-chih succeeded in imposing his authority over the Wu-chieh/Hu-ch'ieh, Chien-kun (Qırğız) and Ting-ling. But was unable to conquer the Wu-sun. His quest for allies against them led to an agreement with K'ang-chü. Some of Chih-chih's army moved here as well. Chih-chih never succeeded in vanquishing the Wu-sun. Rather, Chinese power was again projected deep into the steppes and he met his end at their hands. The result of this was to bring some Hsiung-nu tribal groupings westward while the Southern Hsiung-nu, under Hu-han-yeh, reestablished a united Hsiung-nu confederation.[127]

124 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, pp. 185,189-190; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 58-59; Adshead, **China**, pp. 24-25..

125 Yü, **Trade**, pp.135ff. and **CHEIA**, pp. 128-134.

126 **Han-shu**/Taskin, p. 28; Yü, **CHEIA**, p. 135.

In the mid-1st century A.D., the Hsiung-nu, as a result of internal strife over succession, again divided into mutually hostile northern and southern confederations. The southern confederation was brought increasingly under Chinese control, to be used against their nomadic kinsmen. Under the brilliant military leader, Pan Ch'ao (32-102 A.D.), the Han again asserted Chinese power well into Central Asia (Eastern Turkistan), a move under way since ca. 73 A.D. Expeditions were sent as far west as the Caspian. It is in the context of this expansion of Chinese power that the Northern Hsiung-nu, in 87, 89, 91-93 A.D., already weakened by defections, were attacked by the Han and its barbarian allies, the Hsien-pi and Wu-huan. The Northern Hsiung-nu, or significant elements of them, as a result of this defeat migrated westward, a route already known to previously defeated Hsiung-nu groups. The Hsien-pi replaced them as masters of Northern Mongolia, the region that became the center for successive nomadic states.

In 109, the hitherto submissive Southern Hsiung-nu revolted and were joined by the Wu-huan and elements of the Hsien-pi. This drive for independence was quickly put down (although disturbances and raiding would occasionally trouble the Chinese borders). These and similar activities in Tibet had weakened the Chinese hold in Turkistan. Pan Ch'ao's son, Pan Yung, now led a series of expeditions into Central Asia, attacking Hsiung-nu chieftains and reasserting Chinese authority (by 127). In 150, the Northern Hsiung-nu, sensing some weakening of the Han (the Southern Hsiung-nu were again causing disturbances, often joined by the Wu-huan), attempted to reestablish themselves in some of their old territories. This effort was crushed in 155 by the Hsien-pi, setting off yet another wave of migrations to the West.[128] With this the Northern Hsiung-nu fade from view. The name continues to appear in Chinese sources to indicate tribes that had been part of the Hsiung-nu confederation or in an archaicizing sense as a general term for "nomads of the North." In the latter sense, it mirrored the usage of the ethnonym "Scythian" in Byzantine sources.

The Southern Hsiung-nu were drawn into the maelstrom of Chinese politics that followed the collapse of the Han (220 A.D.) and ended with the coming to power of the Sui (581-618). They, the Hsien-pi and various Tibetan tribes established a number of short-lived "barbarian" dynasties in Northern China. There were some sixteen kingdoms of the "Five Barbarians" dominating Northern China from 304-439 when much of the region was brought under the rule of the T'o-pa/Tabğač/Northern Wei.[129] Of these barbarian statelets, the Former Chao/Northern Han (304-329), Later Chao

(319-353), Hsia (407-431) and Northern Liang (398-439) were of Hsiung-nu origin.[130] The Hsien-pi states will be briefly discussed below.

The Hsiung-nu polity, surrounded by powerful neighbors (China, the Ting-ling, Yüeh-chih and Tung-hu confederations), had its origins in warfare that was both defensive and offensive. One of its primary goals was to secure access to the goods of China.[131] There is some disagreement, however, as to whether the Hsiung-nu actually formed a state. On the one hand, there is evidence that regular taxes or tribute were collected from subject peoples, nomadic and sedentary. A special agency, the **T'ung-p'u tu-wei** ("Commandant in charge of Slaves") was set up to exploit the fiscal and human resources of the "Western Regions."[132] If these were more than **ad hoc** arrangements, perhaps misunderstood and mislabeled by our Chinese sources, then we might well be justified in seeing in institutions such as this and others, evidence of a governmental apparatus. On the other hand, it has been argued that the Hsiung-nu polity was, in essence, a military confederation in which the **shan-yü** was the supreme warlord with some judicial authority. His primary function was to deal with China in the diplomatic, military and economic spheres. This military-diplomatic organization, according to this argument, was not translated into a state-administrative apparatus. Barfield, as was noted, has termed it and similar Inner Asian polities "an imperial confederacy, autocratic and statelike in foreign affairs, but consultative and federally structured internally."[133] This was typical of many of the nomadic polities which we will examine.

Terming the Hsiung-nu polity, which was basically a tribal union, a "confederation," is certainly appropriate for the early period of its history. In time, however, faced with the example of China, as well as the imperatives of constant warfare, this confederation became an early state. It should be borne in mind, however, lest we put too great an emphasis on Hsiung-nu "statehood," that nomads could slip in and out of this condition with relative ease. It was only when they conquered and occupied a sedentary state that this condition tended to become more permanent. The Hsiung-nu, we must emphasize, never attempted to conquer China. This was far beyond their capabilities. Rather, as has been noted, their primary purpose was to secure and exploit their access to the goods of China.[134]

The supreme leader of the Hsiung-nu was the "**Shan-yü** whom Heaven has set up" (Mao-tun) or "the great **Shan-yü** of the Hsiung-nu, born of Heaven

130 See Eberhard, **China**, pp. 121-133; McGovern, **Empires**, pp. 311-355 and the study of Gumilëv, **Xunny**.

131 Barfield, 1981, pp. 46-47; Yü, **Trade**, pp.40ff. and CHEIA, p. 139.

and Earth and ordained by the sun and moon" (Lao-shang).[135] It is difficult to determine if this usage, the **Ch'eng-li ku'tu shan-yü**, with its reference to a heavenly mandate, was a borrowing from China or part of the common cultural traditions of Inner Asia (the Tibetans held similar notions). It remained a consistent element in the formal statements of divine right ideology of the nomadic rulers from the Hsiung-nu to the Činggisids. Various attempts have been made to connect **Shan-yü** with a number of titles subsequently used by the Turkic and Mongolic peoples (e.g. < źi̯än-ji̯u/d'yan-gi̯wo < źyän-yi̯u = **ðabğu** > **yabğu**,[136] < ji̯en-hi̯ou < *dân-hwâh = **darxan/tarxan**[137] and others),[138] but none of them has found universal acceptance. The office of Shan-yü, an hereditary position, combined supreme military, diplomatic, judicial and sacerdotal functions.[139] Succession to the rulership early on combined both lineal and lateral succession. The former was favored in the period prior to the civil strife of the 1st century B.C.-1st century A.D. and the latter (i.e. older to younger brother) thereafter.[140] Under the Shan-yü were the **t'u-ch'i** (Hsiung-nu "wise," cf. the later Türk usage **bilge**) kings of the left and right and a series of "Lu-li kings," generals, commandants and other administrators all divided along a bipartite, left-right, principle. The "high ministerial offices" were hereditary in several clans (the Hu-yen, Lan and Hsü-pu). Each of the 24 leaders had a force of 10,000 which was subdivided and officered along decimal lines.[141] It is unclear if these divisions were made according to tribal or clanal lines. Beneath them were the local chieftains. The whole system, Barfield contends, was marked by flexibility, permitting considerable autonomy on the local/tribal level. This, in his view, accounts for the longevity of Hsiung-nu domination of the steppes.[142]

The ruling strata gathered in the first and fifth month annually to perform sacrifices to the "Hsiung-nu ancestors, Heaven and Earth, and the gods and spirits." It may be presumed that in addition to these cults, some form of North Asian shamanism was practiced.[143] A Heaven and Earth cult (**Tengri, yer-sub** ["earth-water"]) is specifically noted in the Orxon inscriptions of the Türks.

Significantly, another major meeting was held in the autumn, "when a reckoning is made of the number of persons and animals."[144] Clearly, we

135 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, pp. 167,171.
136 Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 32; Menges, **Turkic Peoples**, p. 88.
137 Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 256-257.
138 Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 305-306.
139 Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte**, I, pp. 44-45; Davydov,1975, p. 142.
140 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 42.
141 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, pp. 163-164.

have evidence here of some kind of rudimentary census of human and livestock populations, probably for the purpose of taxation and perhaps military recruitment. Conquered or vassal states apparently paid tribute.[145] This bespeaks, perhaps, a more state-like structure.

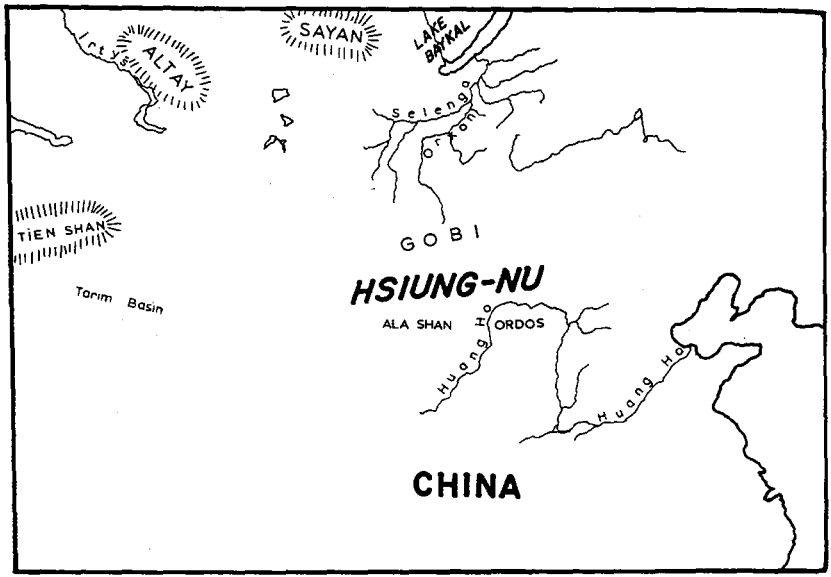
Hsiung-nu society was not entirely nomadic, there appears to have been sedentary, agricultural elements among them.[146] A number of their camps (Lung-ch'eng, Tai-ling, Pei-ting in the Orxon and Ordos regions) had more permanent structures for religious, political and food-storing purposes and were becoming cities.[147] The nomadic sector and with it the mores of such a society, however, were clearly dominant. Thus, the levirate, an institution associated with the nomadic world was well-known among them.[148] Moreover, like all the Eurasian nomads, the Huns were fierce warriors. As the **Shih-chi** reports : "The Hsiung-nu make it clear that warfare is their business."[149] The raids were often conducted with deliberate terror to break resistance and make the opponent more malleable.[150]

No small effort was required of the Hsiung-nu to keep the other nomads, who were only at times under their control, more or less contained. Faced with a powerful sedentary state to their south, this situation only became worse. In time, it led, as we have seen, to the collapse of the Hsiung-nu polity. Typical of these difficulties is the episode described in the **Han-shu** (c.94a). In 71 B.C., following a campaign in which the Wu-sun aided the Chinese who took 39,000 captives (including Hsiung-nu of very high rank), the Shan-yü retaliated against the Wu-sun only to be caught in winter storms and cold from which only one out of ten of his force survived. Whereupon, "taking advantage of the weakness of the Hsiung-nu, the Ting-ling attacked them from the north, the Wu-huan invaded their lands from the east and the Wu-sun from the west." Tens of thousands of people and cattle were captured. "In addition," we are told, "three out of every ten Hsiung-nu died of hunger and five head of cattle out of every ten."[151]

This system of relationships, raiding and trading with a neighboring sedentary state and the latter's use of "barbarians" to kill "barbarians" is a consistent theme of not only Chinese relations with the Hsiung-nu and their successors, but of the other great empires to the south of the steppes, Iran/Arabian Caliphate, Rome/Byzantium, with their nomadic neighbors. The nomads that moved west, of course, had served their apprenticeship on the Chinese borders.

145 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 185.
146 **Han-shu**/Taskin, pp.22,24; Davydova, 1978, pp.55-56.
147 Kyzlasov. **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 12-13.
148 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 156; Xazanov, **Social'naia ist.**, pp. 79-82.

The Hsiung-nu set the style and tone in organization and governance for succeeding Turkic and Mongolic nomadic states in Mongolia. To what degree their institutions represent original contributions or borrowings from the Iranian nomads is unclear. It seems very likely that at one point or another, the early Turkic peoples fell under the sway of the Hsiung-nu. Their role in the ethnogenesis of the Turkic peoples, however, cannot yet be assessed fully. Clearly, they provided the catalyst for not only distant migrations that ultimately affected Europe, but smaller ones which put into motion the Iranian and Altaic peoples of Inner Asia.




MAP I THE HSIUNG-NU AND CHINA

# EMPIRES AND MIGRATIONS : THE HSIEN-PI AND THEIR SUCCESSORS : THE TABĞAČ, JOU-JAN/AVAR AND HEPHTHALITE STATES

## The Hsien-pi Confederation

In the aftermath of the defeat and collapse of the Northern Hsiung-nu, a number of tribal groupings that we may with reasonable confidence term Altaic, attempted to fill the power vacuum along the steppe borderlands of China. Thus, in addition to the Southern Hsiung-nu, we find mention made of groups such as the Wu-huan, Hsien-pi (or Hsien-pei) and tribes deriving from them. The **History of the Later Han Dynasty (Hou Han-shu)** reports that both the Wu-huan and Hsien-pi came out of that mass of northern tribes that the Chinese called the Tung-hu ("Eastern Barbarians"). They had been defeated by the Hsiung-nu of Mao-tun and fled to Liao-tung.[1] The Tung-hu appear to have been Proto-Mongolic in speech or in any event to have contained tribal groupings that would later on be associated with Mongolic (including the Mongols proper). The sparse remnants of the Hsien-pi language have been best explained as Mongolic, akin to Qitan/Qitañ : e.g. Hsien-pi **niao-hou-ts'in** (Anc. Chin.* tieu-ġəu-dz'i̯en, Arch. *tiôg-g'u-dz'i̯ĕn = **toġusin** "earth, dust"/**t'o-ho-chen** Anc. t'âk-ġuət- ź i̯ĕn **taġušin/t'u-hu-chen** Anc. t'uo-ġuo-t'śi̯ĕn **toġočin** = Qitan t'ao-wei-ssŭ Anc. d'âu-uâi-si = *tawus, cf. Mong. **toġosun/to³osun** "dust, powder," **toġoraġ, toborag** "powder, dust, earth"); Hsien-pi **ho-chen** (Anc. Chin. ġuət-t'śi̯ĕn = **ġuččin/ġučin** "thirty," cf. Mong. **ġučin** "thirty").[2] The ethnonym Hsien-pi (*siän-pijie = *Särbi) is considered a dialect variant of the later form Shih-wei (śi̯ĕt-jwe̯i, *cit-wij according to Pulleyblank) which may have rendered *Šerbi/ *Širvi/*Širbi. This ethnonym has yet to be etymologized.[3] The **-bi** ending should be compared with the **-bı** of the ethnonym **Tatabı**,[4] noted in the Orxon inscriptions of the Türks. Tatabı was the Türk designation for the people known as Hsi (or K'u-mo-hsi) in the Chinese sources. The Chinese form Hsi (Anc. Chin. ġiei) rendered Qay/Ġay, an important, also apparently Proto-Mongolic, Inner Asian people, about whom more will be said later.[5] Pulleyblank has suggested that within the Tung-hu confederation, the Hsien-pi occupied the northern zone and the Wu-huan (= Avar in his view) were in the South.[6] The **Hou Han-shu** says that their language and customs were

1 Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 63,70.
2 Ligeti, 1970, pp. 287-291.
3 Liu, 1989, p. 104 connects them with the **Otuz Tatar** ("Thirty Tatars") of the Orxon

alike with a few minor exceptions.[7]

As the Hsiung-nu weakened, the Wu-huan came to be overshadowed in importance by the Hsien-pi who were becoming ever more deeply enmeshed in events on China's frontier. Although noted, by the Chinese sources, as stereotypical steppe mounted archers, their economy contained an important sedentary, agricultural component.[8] It is unclear whether this points to increasing sedentarization on their part or their recent transition to nomadism. This circumstance may be an explanatory factor in the seeming lack of political organization which our sources attribute to them. Barfield has suggested that the Hsien-pi confederation followed the "Manchurian pattern." That is, it had a mixed economy and a form of political organization which was "egalitarian" and lacked the ranked clan, hierarchical structure and hereditary leadership of the Hsiung-nu. China's willingness to deal individually with the numerous Hsien-pi petty chieftains helped to preserve the fragmented nature of this polity.[9] It would have required some time and pressing outside stimuli for the maturation of politcal bonds and forms of organization beyond that of a tribal war-band. Even these were no guarantee that a more advanced level of political organization, once attained by the nomads, would be permanent. In any event, the absence of an effective central authority, at this time, precluded their posing a more serious threat. The Han purchased their services against the Hsiung-nu, their traditional enemies, and against their kinsmen, the Wu-huan. In the late 80's-early 90's, as we have seen, after the Northern Hsiung-nu had suffered several crushing defeats, the Hsien-pi, according to the **Hou Han-shu**, absorbed some "100,000 tents" of their vanquished foes who now "began to call themselves Hsien-pi,[10] and within a short time were themselves causing disturbances in China. In the aftermath of these sustained relations with their powerful southern neighbor, they started, under one of their chieftains, Ch'i-chih-Chien (d.133 A.D.), to lay the foundations of what promised to be a more advanced polity.

This process was greatly furthered by T'an-shih-huai (136 ?-181) who began to raid China in the 150's. He occupied the lands of the Hsiung-nu who fled after the disaster of 155 and then set about creating a coalition of the remaining Hsiung-nu, Wu-huan and Hsien-pi elements to direct against the Middle Kingdom. This steppe warlord who beat off Chinese attempts to crush him, rejected Han peace overtures and spurned their offer of recognition of his royal status. He expanded his authority to the north and west, defeating the Ting-ling and Wu-sun. Predatory raiding was the mechanism that provided a degree of political unity and economic rewards in

7 Taskin, **Materialy**, p. 70.

a polity with no indigenous tradition of central political authority. As a consequence, T'an-shih-huai's creation, held together by his brilliant leadership, successful predatory raiding and wars, did not long survive him. After his death, the Hsien-pi appear to have reverted to their customary decentralized organization.[11]

Although Hsien-pi political structure, as we have seen, does not appear to have had, at this time, any institutionalized, central political direction, it is interesting to note that the title **qağan**, which we may translate as "Emperor of the nomadic, steppe peoples," and which is so intimately associated with charismatic, centralized authority in Inner and Central Asia, is first recorded among them. It appears ca. 265 A.D., if not earlier, in connection with a Hsien-pi tribe, the Ch'i-fu (*kịət-b'ịuk). In 310 it is mentioned in connection with the T'u-yü-hun ruler, another people of largely Hsien-pi origins.[12] Subsequently, this title appears in virtually all the major sources dealing with the Turkic peoples : Chin. **k'o-han** (*k'â-ġân, k'â-g'ân), Soġd. **ġ'ġ'n**, Greek **χαγάνος**, Arm. **xak'an**, Georg. **xaqan-i/xağan-i**, Lat. **chacanus**, Arab. **xâqân**, Syriac **kgn**, Hebr. **ךגן kgn**, Khotanese Saka **khaba:nā, ha:h:nā**.[13]

However significant the role of the **qağan** and the institution represented by this title in the history of the Altaic-speaking nomadic polities may be, its origins have yet to be successfully traced. It would appear to be a term of foreign, i.e. non-Altaic provenance. This raises interesting questions regarding the sources of Turkic political institutions. Pulleyblank attempted to connect the word with the Hsiung-nu **hu-yū (houᶜ-hịou , hwax hwâh** = ***ġwaġwâ** [?]). Bailey proposed an Iranian etymology from **han-, hâta-** a root connoting "gain, victory," from which he also derives **qan/xan** and **qatun**.[14] In the absence of more material, none of these can be considered philologically satisfactory explanations.

Since Iranian nomadic confederations were very much in evidence in these regions and the Iranians, in their pioneering of equestrian pastoral nomadism and subsequently with their trans-contintental commercial networks, played and continued to play an important role as culture-bearers and political advisers in the Turkic steppe, an Iranian source, as Bailey suggests, might well be indicated. We should bear in mind, however, that while we may see structural patterns in steppe Iranian, i.e. Scytho-Saka, nomadic society that are very much like those of the Turkic nomads, there were also differences. Most significantly, perhaps, is the fact that the institution of the qağanate, with that term, has yet to be attested among

11 Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 75-81,306; McGovern, **Empires**, pp. 304-307; **Wei-shu**/Holmgren, pp. 7-10; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 88-90.

them. Since we do not know the language of the other great source of influence on the early Turkic peoples, the Hsiung-nu, Pulleyblank's suggestion must also be viewed, perforce, as an interesting conjecture that still awaits philological and historical substantiation.

Not having found any candidates in more familiar territory, attempts have been made to seek the origins of the term **qağan** and perhaps other elements of advanced Inner Asian nomadic culture in lesser known and still relatively unexplored ethnic groupings. Such attempts may yet prove fruitful, but it does not seem likely, at present, that we should ascribe **qağan** to some Palaeo-Siberian language (e.g. Kettic). First of all, we know very little about these languages and their distribution in the 3rd century A.D. Undoubtedly, there were many more Palaeo-Siberian groupings in Southern Siberia than at present, but we can only speculate as to their interaction with speakers of Altaic. Secondly and most importantly, we know virtually nothing about their political and social development in this era. The Chinese accounts, which were fairly well-informed about the tribal polities to their north and west that possessed the manpower to present some danger to the Middle Kingdom, give no indication of any political formation lurking in the forests that was sufficiently evolved politically to have served as the source of early Turkic political institutions. Rather, the latter owed much, as we have noted, to their immediate predecessors, Iranian, Hsiung-nu, Jou-Jan and perhaps others, in the Mongolian steppelands. This is only to be expected.

The immediate source of the qağanate among the Turks was undoubtedly the Jou-Jan Empire. This, in turn, points to the Hsien-pi political tradition. Beyond that, we cannot find references to it. It is possible that **qağan** was an innovation in Hsien-pi organization and evolved with the development of the Jou-Jan state. But, the absence, thus far, of an Altaic etymology for this term remains troubling. Thus, the ultimate origins of this title and the system it came to represent remain shrouded in mystery.

In the chaos that followed the fall of the Han (221 A.D.), the Hsien-pi tribes, like the Southern Hsiung-nu, filled the political vacuum. We will not concern ourselves with the history of the T'u-yü-hun/*Tuyuğun,[15] the most successful and long-lived of these lesser, border states nor with that of their semi-sinicized kinsmen who founded a number of statelets (the Former, Western, Southern, Northern and Later Yen, the Southern Liang, the Western Ch'in) of the 4th and 5th century. Much more important were two states that derived from Hsien-pi tribes along with other elements : the T'o-pa/Tabğač and Jou-Jan/Avar.

## The Tabğač

At the time that the Orxon inscriptions of the Türks were written (early 8th century), the name **Tabğač** designated China. This association continued into the Qaraxanid period. Thus, Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî writes that "Tawğač" was the name for "Mâṣîn" which was some four months' travel beyond "Ṣîn." The latter was originally divided into Tawğač, Xiṭây and Barxân. "But now Tawğač is known as Mâṣîn and Xiṭây as Ṣîn." He further comments that it was the "name of a tribe of the Turks who setled in those regions. From this word comes the expresssion **tat tawğač** meaning 'Uyğur' (which is **Tat**) and Ṣînî (which is Tawğač)." He later cites a variant of this in which **Tat** denotes "Persian" and **Tawğač** "Turk". The word is also used in connection with "any manufactured item that is ancient and imposing" and associated with "great and inveterate rule" (**tawğač xân**).[16] In the Qaraxanid realm, it also figured in the titulature of the ruling dynasty (cf. Tafğač/Tabğač/Tamğač Xan).[17]

The Chinese T'o-pa (*t'ak-b'uât) would appear to render *Taġbat or perhaps Taġbar/Taġbal). Ligeti suggested ***Taġbar** < **taġ** "terre, sol" = "maitre de la terre, du sol." The Orxon Türkic form, Tabğač, may be viewed as a metathesized variant which may have come to the Türks through Soġdian mediation.[18] The Byzantine Greek form of this (for them) ethnotoponym, recorded by Theophylaktos Simokattes, was Ταυγάστ[19], clearly taken from a Turkic source. The fragments of the Tabğač language known to us are found in scattered words, titles, personal, clan and tribal names in Chinese sources. Needless to say, they have been interpreted in various ways by different scholars. Boodberg, Bazin and Clauson view them as basically Turkic, while Ligeti has asserted their Old Mongolic character.[20] A few examples are noted here : Chin. k'o sun (k'â-suən) = ***qasun** < Turk./Mong. **qatun** < **qaġatun** "wife of the sovereign," Chin. k'i-wan-chen (k'i̯ĕt-mi̯wən-t'śi̯ĕn) = **kelmürčin** "interpreter," Mong. **kelemürči**, Chin. fu-chu-chen (pi̯ᶜuət-t'i̯uk t'śi̯ĕn) = **pürtükčin** "footman, valet of the relay postal service," cf. Mong. **örtegeči(n)** (with the well-known Mongol **p-** > **h-** > **0**), Chin. hien-chen (ġam-t'śi̯ĕn) **ġjamčim**, **ġam** > **ġjam**, Mong. **jamčin** "person of the postal relay system," cf. Turk. **yam**, Chin. k'o-po-chen (k'a-b'âk-t'śi̯ĕn) = **qabaqčin** "porter, doorkeeper," Turk. **qapağčı**, Mong. **qaġači** "he who closes,"* **qabaġčin**, Chin. pi-tê-chên (b'ji-tək-t'śi̯ĕn) = **bitekčin** "secretary" Turk. **bitigüči, bitikči**, Mong. **bičeči, bičigeči** < **bitigeči**, You-lien "name of a

16 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, 341.
17 Pritsak, 1953-54, pp. 20-21.
18 Ligeti, 1970, pp. 278,290; Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie**, p. 112. See also Boodberg, 1936, p.

Southern Tabğač clan," in Chinese Yun ("cloud"), (jiəu-lien) = **üglen** "cloud," cf. Mong. **egülen, e²ülen** etc.[21] As this very brief survey shows, the ethno-linguistic picture is not clear. Given their close connections with the Hsien-pi, from whose midst, they appear to have emerged and the probable location of their ancient habitat in Eastern Inner Mongolia or Heilungchiang,[22] their ruling clans, at any rate, were probably of Hsien-pi, i.e. Mongolic origin. It also seems very likely that there were Turkic elements among them.

Whatever their ultimate origins, they are important for Turkic history. It is likely that the ancestors of the Türks had direct contact with China before the rise of the T'opa Wei state in North China. Nonetheless, China, during and considerably after the period of the Orxon Türk state, as we have seen, was known to the Turkic peoples by the name Tabğač. Clearly, then, for the Turkic nomads, Tabğač represented China and its politico-cultural traditions. Outside of the nomadic world, the Türks accorded the imperial title **qağan** only to the rulers of Tabğač (China) and Tüpüt (Tibet).

The Tabğač, as a polity, emerged from the western tribes of the Hsien-pi confederation in the 3rd century A.D. In the course of the 4th century A.D., an era of political uncertainty in North China, they formed the strategically located statelet of Tai (338-376)[23] in Northern Shansi which controlled one of the major points of entry into China. They then set about swallowing up their neighbors. With their capital established at Ta-t'ung, they took the Chinese dynastic name of Northern Wei (386-534). In the course of their expansion, the Tabğač put together a military- governing caste consisting of some 119 tribes and tribal fragments ruling over a population that was overwhelmingly Chinese. Of the individuals mentioned by the Chinese annals in their discussions of T'o-pa affairs, at least 60% are Chinese and perhaps 20% Tabğač.[24] These statistics are probably more illustrative of the ethnic composition of the governing elite. When compared with the total population, the Tabğač were, undoubtedly, an even smaller minority.

The T'o-pa government, drawing on the dual organizations of its predecessor, the Yen, sought to make both nomadic and sedentary elements obedient subjects. It managed its resources, including humans, with a kind of ruthless efficiency. Populations were shifted about, like herds, to settle newly conquered regions or, in the case of the nomads, to breed new sources of military manpower. The Chinese bureaucratic gentry were induced to participate in the government which, not unexpectedly, became increasingly sinicized. This process of cultural assimilation spread to the dynasty and

21 Boodberg, 1936, pp. 223-224,231; Ligeti, 1970, pp. 292-300.

22 Eberhard, **Çin'in simal komşuları**, p. 79-80; **Wei-shu** (Holmgren, pp. 22-51,80n.8; Liu, 1989

ruling elite as well. The pattern so clearly in evidence here is one that will frequently repeat itself in nomadic-sedentary relations. The nomadic dynasty establishes itself in a capital city, largely leaves intact the pre-existing fiscal system of the conquered sedentary state and comes to rely on the bureaucratic servitors of that state. In time, as the dynasty and sedentarized elite further assimilate, the gulf between them and their tribesmen grows. It was this growing estrangement of the tribesmen (some of whom were forced to sedentarize) from the dynasty that led to the downfall of the T'o-pa.[25]

Tabğač power moved toward its zenith under T'o-pa Tao (Shih-tsu T'ai-wu-ti, 423-452) who brought all of North China under his control, defeated the Jou-Jan in 429 and extended his authority to Inner Mongolia, Eastern Turkistan (and with it control over the silk routes), the Wu-sun and other regions.[26] Continuing warfare against the nomads and in South China, proved to be increasingly less satisfactory. As booty from conquests decreased and their herds began to decline, more T'o-pa sedentarized. Sinicization continued apace, becoming compulsory under Yüan Hung-yen (Kao-tsu Hsiao-wen-ti, 471-499). The Tabğač language, names and national costume were banned. The dynasty took the name Yüan.[27]

A similar pattern of cultural change may be observed in the evolution of T'o-pa attitudes towards religion. Early on in their history, they appear to have worshipped a sky-god (tengri), typical of many of the Eurasian nomads, and to have had a cave cult, another familiar theme in Inner Asian ethnogenetic legends. Unwilling, as sinicization proceeded, to lose themselves completely in the Confucian system of their subjects, the T'o-pa promoted Buddhism as a state religion.[28]

Ethnic tensions in the Wei state, often expressed in the formation of politcal cliques, in part derived from conflicts over land grants and a variety of economic abuses. These sources of friction, combined with the mutual alienation of dynasty, aristocracy and tribesmen, fatally undermined the state. Gumilëv, however, arguing that this Sinicized dynasty appeared "Chinese" to the steppe nomads and "barbarian" to the Chinese, concludes that the Chinese never accepted foreign rule and they were responsible for the dynasty's overthrow.[29] In 523, the T'ieh-lê, Jou-Jan and Hsien-pi tribal elements in T'o-pa service revolted. In the aftermath of the ensuing war (524-534), the declining Wei fragmented into two short-lived dynasties : the Eastern Wei (534-550) and Western Wei (535-557).[30] With the collapse of

25 Eberhard, **Conquerors**, p. 131; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 119.
26 Eberhard,1978, pp. 42-73 gives a listing of T'o-pa tributary states and tribes.
27 Gernet, **History**, pp. 186,190-193; Eberhard, **History**, pp. 138,140.142-144; Eberhard, **Toba-**

the T'o-pa/Wei, the Jou-Jan confederation in Mongolia, traditional enemies and only in the closing decades of the Wei opportunistic allies of the Tabğač, now came to the fore. It was within the confines of the Jou-Jan polity and the broader political context of T'o-pa-Jou-Jan relations that the Türk state took shape. The collapse of the Jou-Jan, as we shall see, had far-reaching repercussions throughout the steppe zone, bringing about a realignment of tribes from Mongolia to Eastern Europe.

**The Jou-Jan [Avar] Qağanate**

The self-designation of the Jou-Jan is unclear. Chinese accounts claim that **Jou-Jan** [ńźi̯əu-ńźi̯ăn] is the correct form, but that the T'o-pa Emperor, Shih-tsu T'ai-wu-ti (423-452) changed the Chinese characters to **Juan-Juan** [ńźi̯wän-ńźi̯wän] signifying "wriggling insect."[31] It has been suggested that this is really a reference to either a hair-style among them (this could serve as an ethnically distinguishing trait) or their totem. This is, in turn, connnected with Mong. ***abarğa*** (cf. **abari-** "to climb, clamber or crawl"[32]) "Schlange, schlangenartige Bewegung." The latter form, according to this formulation, is to be identified with a people bearing the name Apar or Abar/Avar.[33] It is not entirely clear, however, that the Apar and Abar/Avar/Awar, who appear in different places, at different times, are necessarily one and the same people.

It has been suggested that the ethnonym **Avar/Awar** was earlier found in Chinese sources in the form Wu-huan (*ɔ-ɣwan < á-ɣ$^{W}$án).[34] This would tie them to the Tung-hu grouping from which, as we have seen, the Mongolic Hsien-pi also sprang. The identification of the **Apar**, found in the Bilge Qağan, Kül Tegin (Orxon) inscriptions (in association with the **Purum**, a Türkic rendering of "Rome," cf. Tibet. **Phrom**, Chin. **Fu-lin** < Soğd. **From** < Middle Pers. **Hrom** etc.) and in an inscription in the Northern Altay, with the Abar/Avar/Awar, if correct, would point to the Jou-Jan origins of the European Avars. This is an extremely tangled problem that will be discussed later. The proposed formulation is further complicated by the presence of a tribe among the T'ieh-lê, called in some Chinese sources A-pa or A-po (=

31 Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 267,399,n.7. Uchida's reconstructions (Olbricht, 1954, p. 93), in addition to the forms noted above, are : Ju-ju [ńźi̯u-ńźi̯u], Jui-jui [ńźi̯wäi-ńźi̯wäi], Ju-ju [ńźi̯wo-ńźi̯wo], Jou-juan or Jou-ju [ńźi̯əu-ńźi̯wän or ńźi̯u]. Haussig, 1953, pp. 326,356 also notes Juei-Juei (* ńźji̯ $^{W}$äi-ńźji̯ $^{W}$äi) and Ju-Ju (*ńźi̯$^{W}$o-ńźi̯$^{W}$o) = Nu-Nu. The form Jou-Jan he views as a Chinese rendering of Altaic (?) **jojin** "foreigner, stranger, alien." This seems very unlikely as a self-designation.

32 Lessing **MED**, p. 3

Apar). This latter form, however, may well be a corruption of the tribal name A-tieh.[35] This same name, Awar, rendered in other Chinese sources as Hua, Huo (*ġwât, *ġuât = War), represented one grouping of tribes who together with Hsiung-nu/Hunnic remnants formed the War-Hun (cf. the Οὐὰρ καὶ Χουννί and Οὐαρχωνῖται of Theophylaktos Simokattes and Menander, discussed below). This tribal union formed the base for both the Jou-Jan/Awar state in Inner Asia and the Hephthalite state.[36]

The Wei-shu says that the Jou-Jan were of Tung-hu origin and that the name of their ruling clan was derived from that of their eponymous ancestor Yü-chiu-lü, a slave acquired during the reign of T'o-pa Shen Yüan (Lieh-wei, 220-277) by a Wei cavalryman. It then relates a story that since this slave did not remember his own name, he was given the name Mu-ku-lü which meant "head has become bald." This name was changed by his descendants. Manumitted, he became a mounted warrior, who because of an infraction commited during the reign of I-lu (307-316), was forced to flee to the steppe. Here he formed a band which his son, Chiu-lu-huei, forged into a people.[37] The tale related here, almost formulaic in its contents for the genesis of Inner Asian nomadic polities as reflected in regional sources, is well-known to the steppe. Given their Tung-hu--Hsien-pi origins, it is presumed that the Jou-Jan were Mongolic in speech.

Notwithstanding the highly circumstantial nature of the evidence, Czeglédy's reconstruction of Jou-Jan origins which underscores their War/Awar and Hunnic origins, has a certain plausibility. It would appear, then, that certain Hsien-pi tribes, under the dynamic leadership of the house of Yü-chiu-lü, formed a union with Hunnic remnants. This confederation clearly constituted a menace to Northern China, for by the late 4th century, we find the T'o-pa emperors already directing campaigns against them. In the course of the early 5th century, the Jou-Jan set about making themselves masters of the Inner Asian steppe world. The cause of their rapid expansion may only be conjectured, but much of Mongolia, from the Gobi, northwards to Lake Baikal, came under their domination. They extended their sway westwards to Eastern Turkistan (Yen-ch'i/Qarašahr) and eastwards to the region north of Ch'ao-hsien/Korea. The Turkic Kao-chü grouping (from whom the Uyğurs derived) of the far-flung T'ieh-lê confederation, who had migrated to northern and western Mongolia to escape or at least mitigate the severity of T'o-pa overlordship, now fell to the Jou-Jan ruler Shih-lun (402-410). The latter also defeated Hsiung-nu elements to his north and raided Eastern Turkistan. Caught between the severities of T'o-pa rule and the

35 See the discussion in Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie**, pp. 72-73; Liu, **CN**, II, pp. 527-528.

expanding Jou-Jan confederation, many nomads chose the less confining ties of the latter.[38]

These activities and depredations on Chinese territory called forth a number of T'o-pa campaigns into the steppes. Thus, in 429, the T'o-pa administered a serious defeat to the Jou-Jan and the Kao-chü rose in revolt against them and submitted to the Wei, a tactic often employed by the unhappy subject confederations of steppe emperors. At this critical juncture, the hitherto largely successful Jou-Jan qağan, Ta-t'an (414-429) died.[39] The discomfiture of his followers was, apparently, only short-lived. The Jou-Jan quickly recovered and by ca. 434 were attacking the Kidara "Huns" in Bactria, a campaign that, undoubtedly, heralded the emergence of the Hephthalites (see below). The war with the Wei, touched off by Jou-Jan raiding (436), soon resumed and the T'o-pa, following the military-diplomatic patterns established by earlier ruling houses of China, attempted to create a coalition of Kao-chü, Wu-sun, Yüeh-pan and other northern and western neighbors of their steppe foes in the hope of checking them. These continuing disturbances undoubtedly contributed to that complex concatenation of events that brought the Oğuric tribes (see Chapter Four), one of the constituent elements of the T'ieh-lê confederation, to the Western Eurasian steppes.[40]

During the reign of Tou-lun (485-492), whom the **Wei-shu** characterized as particularly "inclined to murder," the T'ieh-lê under Jou-Jan control revolted and migrated further to the north and west. At a safe distance, under their chief, A-fu-chi-lo, they now declared themselves independent. Tou-lun, unable to defeat his erstwhile subjects, was toppled and killed. His uncle, Na-kai (492-506), who was more successful in military affairs, followed him to the qağanate. The T'ieh-lê, however, remained a problem. Despite a devastating attack on them by the Hephthalites who may have been acting in coordination with the Jou-Jan, the T'ieh-lê, ca. 500, are again to be found in alliance with the Wei against Na-kai and his successor, Fu-t'ou (506-508) who perished leading an expedition against them. It was only in 516 that Ch'ou-nu (508-520) managed to bring this important tribal union temporarily under control. Four years later, however, A-fu-chi-lo invaded his lands and defeated him. The hapless Ch'ou-nu was murdered by his mother and courtiers who placed his brother A-na-kuei on the throne.[41]

By this time, however, both the Jou-Jan, who were frequently attacked and kept off-balance by the T'o-pa, at least until ca. 490, and the T'o-pa

38 Taskin, **Materialy**, p. 268; Kollautz-Miyakawa, **Geschichte**, I, p. 113; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 120-122

themselves were fading. Indeed, it was the growing debility (to some degree self-induced by sinicization and harsh ethnic policies) of the Wei, who had access to far greater resources than their opponents in Mongolia, that had permitted the Jou-Jan to continue. Thus, when A-na-kuei (520-552), the last Jou-Jan qağan, faced serious domestic threats, he declared himself a vassal of the Wei and sought their assistance. This tie was confirmed by a marital alliance. In the course of the 530's, as the Wei collapsed and divided into two mutually hostile statelets, the Eastern and Western Wei, the Jou-Jan again asserted their authority over the T'ieh-lê.[42] The Eastern Wei ruler formed an alliance with A-na-kuei. The Western Wei Emperor, seeking an ally, in 545 turned to Bumın (Chin. T'u-man), chieftain of the Türks and a vassal of the Jou-Jan. Nonetheless, when the T'ieh-lê, in 551, attacked the Jou-Jan, the Türks loyally supported their overlords and defeated the invaders. Bumın, perhaps in an act of provocation, but clearly in imitation of a policy of marital ties that the Jou-Jan themselves had been pursuing with the dynasts of Northern China, requested a Jou-Jan royal bride. When this was haughtily refused, he secured the hand of a daughter of the Western Wei ruler and then, in 552, defeated A-na-kuei who committed suicide. This was followed, over the next few years, by several mopping up operations. Some of the Jou-Jan tribes came under Türk overlordship. Others fled to China only to be expelled from there in 555 and again badly beaten by the Türks.[43]

Before turning to the history of the Türk qağanate, we must first trace the movement of Altaic peoples in the 4th-6th centuries into the western steppes. In particular, we will want to survey briefly the formation and history of the Hephthalite state which appears to have been connected, at the very least in terms of certain shared ethnic components, with the Jou-Jan. The sparse and circumstantial evidence at our disposal suggests that the Hephthalite state was, in essence, the western wing of the Jou-Jan state. Precedents for such a political division have been suggested for the Hsiung-nu and are more clearly in evidence for the Türk Qağanate.[44] Moreover, Hephthalite history has a bearing not only on the ethnogenesis of a number of Turkic peoples associated with the Central Asian Iranian world, but has ramifications for the peoples of the western steppes as well.

## The Hephthalites

In the middle of the 4th century A.D., a people termed **Xiyôn/Hyaona/Hyon** in Middle Persian, the **Chionitae** of Latin authors, began to trouble the eastern borders of the Sâsânid Empire. **Xiyôn** and its

42 Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 280-288; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenii**, I, p. 219.

variants is, in all likelihood, a rendering of the ethnonym that was transcribed in Chinese as Hsiung-nu.[45] In the course of their advance, these Huns, whom we may presume to have derived, at least in part, from Hsiung-nu groupings[46] displaced in wars with Han China and the Hsien-pi, brought other elements, undoubtedly Iranian, both nomadic and sedentary, into their tribal union. By 350, they appear to have overrun Soǧdia and were soon engaged in predatory activities along Iran's borders. Šâpûr II (309-379) attempted to convert them into allies to be used in his wars with Rome. Indeed, in 360, the Hunnic "king" or chieftain, Grumbates, participated in Šâpûr's Roman war.[47]

At about this time, an important nomadic group appeared under a chieftain named Kidâra. Whether Kidâra was a successor of Grumbates, a Kušan (Ta Yüeh-chih of the Chinese sources[48]), as he appears to have claimed, or perhaps the founder of a local dynasty that came to lead a mixed group of Xiyôn and Kušans is uncertain. In any event, a distinct grouping of nomads termed by our Byzantine sources "Kidarite Huns" (Κιδαρῖται, Οὖννων τῶν Κιδαριτῶν etc.) now surfaces. Towards the end of the 4th century, new bands of nomads, probably War-Huns, entered the region.[49] This grouping which, undoubtedly, increased the Altaic-speaking element in the area, was probably associated with the movement of Jou-Jan tribes or those elements that would later make up the core of the Hephthalite ruling tribes. The "Kidarite Huns" gave way before them as well as to ongoing pressure from the Sâsânids. Thus, in the early 5th century, these "Kidarite Huns" appear to have been driven westward to Balkh and Northern India.[50] As was previously noted, Jou-Jan campaigns against the "Kidarite Huns" were taking place in the 430's in what was probably an ongoing pattern of aggression. Confirmation of their being driven towards the Indian subcontinent in the late 5th-early 6th century is found in the references to the "White Huns," the **Śvêta Hûṇas** of the Indian epigraphical sources. Under Toramana (d.502 ?) and his son Mihirkula (d. ca. 542 ?) these "Huns" seized much of Northern and Central India, defeating the once mighty Gupta dynasty.[51] In contrast to these "White Huns," Byzantine sources (Theophanes

45 Aalto, Pekkanen, **Latin Sources**, I, p. 151; Pulleyblank, 1962, p. 260.

46 Sinor,"Hun Period," **CHEIA**, p. 179 sharply distinguishes them from the European Huns, commenting that Ammianus Marcellinus, one of our most important sources, does not connect them.

47 Aalto, Pekkanen, **Latin Sources**, I, pp. 151,191; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 78-79,82; Bivar, **CHIr.**,III/1, p. 211.

48 Chin. Chi-to-lo. Narain, **CHEIA**, pp. 171-172 views him as the "founder of a new Kuṣâṇa dynasty."

49 Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, p. 159; Frye **Ancient Iran**, p. 345; Bivar, **CHIr.**3/1, pp. 211-

Byzantios) called the western groupings of these Huns, or elements of them, Κερμιχίωνες (Middle Pers. **Karmîr Xiyôn** "Red Xiyôn).[52] It is unclear whether any significance should be attributed to these ethnic designations with respect to color symbolism which does have political implications in the Altaic world.

By the mid-5th century, in the aftermath of the successful defense of his kingdom by the Sâsânid ruler, Bahrâm Gôr (420-438), from a large Xiyôn attack in 427 and probably in connection with Jou-Jan activities in the region, the Hunnic and Iranian nomads on the borders of the Sâsânid realm came under the leadership of the **Heftal** dynasty (Byz. Ἐφθαλῖται, Ἀβδέλαι, Pers. **Heftal, Heptal,** Arm. **Hep't'al, T'etal,** Arab. **Hayṭal,** pl. **Hayâṭila,** Chin. **Yeh-ta, Yeh-tai-i-li-t'o** and **Hua**).[53] The latter, the Chinese rendering of Var/War ( < Arch. Chin. ɣwât), clearly connects them with the War-Huns. Their Hunnic origins are also reflected in the form **OIONO (Hiono)** which appears on their coinage.[54] Their linguisitic affiliations, however, are far more complex. The **Liang-shu** indicates that their language could only be understood by speakers of T'u-yü-hun, i.e. Proto-Mongolic. Yet other sources say that their language was different from that of the Jou-Jan, who, it is believed, also spoke a form of Proto-Mongolian deriving from the same Hsien-pi milieu. Once established as an organized polity, they, not unexpectedly, used the local Bactrian Iranian language,[55] i.e. the language of the sedentary population and bureaucracy they had conquered. In this, their behavior was typical of nomads. Prokopios (**De Bello Pers., I,** 3) says that the Hephthalites were a people of "Hunnic stock" (Οὐννικὸν μὲν ἔθνος) but goes on to qualify that by noting that they had lived separately from the Huns, "for a long period have been established in a goodly land" and "are the only ones among the Huns who have white bodies and countenances." The **Chou-shu,** however, reports that they are of Ta Yüeh-chih origin, but notes that their "penal laws and customs are about the same as those of the T'u-chüeh" (Türks). The Chinese report goes on to remark that "they also have a custom by which elder and younger brothers both marry one wife" who wears horns on her headdress according to the number of her husbands. Prokopios further comments that their aristocrats form personal retinues of servitors, a kind of comitatus tradition, which is well known to the Iranian and Turkic world.[56] The reference to polyandry, if it is not a garbling of the well-known

52 Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica,** II, pp. 158-159.

53 Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica,** II, pp. 127-128; Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte,** I, p. 93; Chavannes, **Documents,** pp. 222-223; Samolin, **Turkistan,** p. 53,n.30.

54 Markwart, **Wehrot,** p. 45; Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 258-259; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 73,75-76,93,95-96.

nomadic levirate, is quite exceptional for the Altaic and Iranian peoples. The Hephthalites, then, should not be viewed as a distinct ethno-tribal grouping, but rather as a confederation of nomadic and semi-nomadic ethnies, including Altaic, Iranian and perhaps other elements, brought together under under the leadership of the Heftal dynasty and a core of War-Hun tribes. This type of ethnically mixed polity (Altaic and Iranian) was not uncommon to the region (cf. the later Ġaznavids).

The pattern of relations that the Chionites and then Hephthalites developed with Sâsânid Iran provides an excellent illustration of nomadic-sedentary state interaction in Eurasia. The nomads continually probed and raided the Sâsânid borderlands. These predatory activities, on occasion, netted them considerable booty. At other times, they were beaten off. In addition to these adversarial relations, nomadic military skills could also be sold to the rulers or would-be rulers of sedentary states. Thus, contenders for the Sâsânid throne often turned to the steppe for allies. Later, these same monarchs, in search of glory or the accumulated treasures of the nomads, occasionally ventured into the steppe where they were frequently frustrated and sometimes perished. This is illustrated by the career of Peroz (459-484) who gained the crown from his brother Hormizd III (457-459) with the aid of the Hephthalites only to die in combat against his onetime allies.[57] The Hephthalite ruler, at this time, appears to have borne the name (title ?) Axšunwâr. Peroz's successor, Kavad (488-531) regained his throne with Hephthalite assistance and may even have had to acknowledge their overlordship. [58]

Sâsânid involvement in wars in the "country of the Honk' who are called Kušans", or "Honastan" as it was termed in Armenian sources (cf. Eliše), frequently permitted subject peoples, such as the Armenians, to revolt or wring concessions from a beleaguered Persian government. The Caucasian Albanians, in their revolt against Peroz, went so far as to bring in "Huns" to aid their cause. The Sâsânid government, however, in the face of a nomadic threat could also demand soldiers from their Transcaucasian vassals to fight these same nomads.[59] The latter were also hired by the government to terrorize their rebellious vassals. The nomads, then, were an uncertain and frequently unpredictable element in Sâsânid domestic affairs.

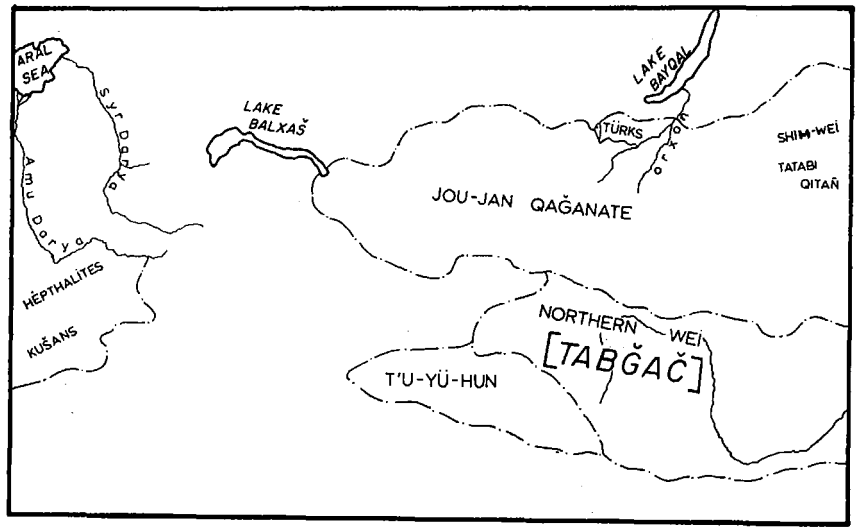
At the zenith of their power, in the early 6th century, the Hephthalites controlled Soġdia and much of Central Asia from their base in what is today Afghanistan. Their sway extended to Northwestern India and Eastern Turkistan whose city-states had become their vassals. Their dominion here

57 Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, pp. 82ff.; Ṭabari/Nöldeke, pp. 117ff.; Procopius, **De Bello Pers.**, ed.

may have been established in conjunction with the Jou-Jan, whom some scholars view as their overlords.[60] This state was brought to an end, in 557, by the combined might of the Sâsânids and Türks. Xusraw Anôširvân (531-579), in alliance with the Western Türk Qağan, Sinjibû (= Ištemi, see Chap. 5), crushed the Hephthalites in 557 and slew their ruler. According to aṭ-Ṭabarî, the Hephthalite king was named Wrz, but al-Masᶜûdî calls him Axšunwâz (cf. Axšunwâr noted above).[61] Their territory was then divided by the victors. We will discuss Sâsânid-Türk relations, which soon soured, elsewhere. The subsequent fate of the Hephthalites is unclear. Petty dynasts of Hephthalite origin may have continued in the region. It has been suggested, on the basis of a notice in al-Xwârazmî, that the Turkic-speaking Xalaj and the probably Iranian Kanjîna (= Kumîdî/Kumîjî) are perhaps to be connected with them.[62]

The collapse of the Hephthalites, which marked the end of the War-Hun tribal confederation-based states, opened the Western Eurasian steppes to the Türks. Before turning to the history of the Türks themselves, however, we must trace the movement of Hunnic, Turkic or Altaic tribes into the Caspo-Pontic zone which had enormous consequences for European history and the realignment of these tribes as a consequence of the migration to this region of the tribal confederation that bore the politico-ethnonym Avar.

As was noted earlier, the Sino-Hsiung-nu wars resulted in the migration of Hsiung-nu tribes to the west and the displacement of still other tribes with which they came into contact. It was this explosion of the Hsiung-nu and Hsiung-nu dominated or propelled groupings that brought Turkic peoples to the Western Eurasian-East European steppes in sizable concentrations. It also ultimately produced the European Hunnic state which had a profound impact on the course of late Roman history.




MAP II THE JOU-JAN, HEPHTHALITE AND TABĞAČ STATES

# THE EARLY TURKIC PEOPLES OF WESTERN EURASIA

The Western Eurasian or Ponto-Caspian steppelands constitute one of the principal habitation zones of the Eurasian nomads, alongside those of Central and Inner Asia. All three zones looked toward the rich sedentary states and societies to their south for trade, plunder and occasionally military employment. Of the three zones, the steppes of Central Asia were largely oriented toward the Iranian oasis city-states of the southern agrarian fringe of the region, Iran itself and on occasion China. It was the beneficiary of commercial contacts and cultural influences stemming from Iran (and more distantly the Mediterranean world), China and the Indian subcontinent. The Inner Asian nomads of the Mongolian steppes, as we have seen, were drawn to the riches and culture of China and the Iranian and Tokharian oasis city-states of Eastern Turkistan. The economic and cultural focus of the nomads of Western Eurasia was largely directed toward and divided between the Roman world as represented by the Late Roman or Byzantine Empire and later the Christianized Slavic and Hungarian states of Eastern Europe, and the civilizations of the non-Roman, Irano-Semitic Near East i.e. the Sâsânid Empire and its successor state the Arabian Caliphate. Transcaucsia, whose history was profoundly influenced by the Turkic peoples, was one of the strategic foci of this Western Eurasian world, hotly contested by the Great Powers on its borders.

From the nomadic perspective, Western Eurasia was ideal territory. Its pasturages were extensive and excellent. It fronted on important sedentary cultures with which it could trade or raid as circumstances dictated. It was both spacious, providing the room for maneuver and retreat that nomadic defense stratagems required and sufficiently distant from the centers of military power of the sedentarist states to remove, for the most part, the fear of sustained attack from that quarter. The Byzantines never mounted an expedition of their own into the area. The Arabs, with the exception of one daring raid to the Middle Volga, were understandably reluctant to venture beyond their Caucasian defenses. The Rus' state centered at Kiev (late 9th-early 13th century) had the capacity to inflict serious damage on the nomads. On a number of occasions it did so, destroying several nomadic polities. But, Rus' became increasingly caught up in its own internecine strife and less frequently, albeit sometimes devastatingly, focused on the steppe. Thus, on the whole, there was little in their immediate circumstances to compel the nomads of this region, especially in the period prior to the formation of the Rus' state, to create forms of political organization more advanced than the tribal union. Statehood, in this region, was invariably imposed from without, usually introduced by nomadic conquerors coming from the East.

nomads defeated in internecine or inter-nomadic struggles in Central and Inner Asia fled. Driven westward by more powerful tribes and unable to break the barriers of the sedentary empires, the Ponto-Caspian steppes provided the final refuge. It is in the context of these transcontinental migrations touched off by the activities of the Hsiung-nu and others that we encounter our first notices on what we may, with some degree of conjecture, view as the early Turkic peoples of the western zone. How early this process began cannot be determined. The Hsiung-nu state, which was ethnically complex, in the course of its expansions and contractions undoubtedly propelled some Altaic elements westward. But, this was not the sole causal factor. Iranian groupings already showed traces of intermixture with more easterly peoples. Thus, it seems very likely that the movement to Western Eurasia of Altaic speakers or elements of populations coming from Mongolia, the northern borders of China, Manchuria and perhaps the Taiga zone even antedated the rise of the Hsiung-nu state.[1]

Although their movements cannot be traced with absolute certainty, Hsiung-nu elements, in either the ethnic or political sense, following their defeat and expulsion from their homeland in the late 1st century A.D., appear to have made their way to Central Asia. They occupied parts of the region called K'ang-chü in Chinese sources, an ill-defined area which seems to have corresponded, at this time, to the steppe zone extending from the Middle Syr Darya to the İli river.[2] The name **xwn** is noted in a 4th century (or possibly earlier) Soġdian letter.[3] It seems likely, but cannot be proved as yet, that this, along with **Xiyôn**, **Hunni**, Οὖννοι etc. (see Chap. 2) were all variants of the name rendered in Chinese as Hsiung-nu. Into this hitherto largely Iranian nomadic zone, they probably brought Turkic elements and assimilated Iranian pastoralists. In this fashion, the Hunnic presence, whatever may have been the ethnic affiliations of the Hsiung-nu or those bearing that name into Central Asia, brought about the ethnic transformation of the southern Kazakh steppes. The era of Iranian predominance came to an end and the coalescing of tribes that would form the core of the European Hunnic union took place. These changes also affected the westward moving Hsiung-nu/Huns ethnically, for they had now become differentiated from the Hsiung-nu of Mongolia. We must presume that the Hsiung-nu intermarried with local Iranian and perhaps Turkic

1 Jettmar, 1951, pp. 207-208.

2 A precise definition of K'ang-chü (k'âng/k'âng-kio/kiwo = Tokhar. **kank** "stone," see Pulleyblank, 1963, pp. 247-248; **Han-shu**/Hulsewé, p. 123,n.298, cf. Taškent), both philologically and geographically, is difficult. I have largely followed Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 35,45-47, who notes that the geographical regions associated with this term have changed

elements (the latter carried with them to the West) and were thus transformed. We do not possess an unbroken chain of evidence that directly links the Hsiung-nu to the Huns.[4] But, such a chain seems likely. The Hsiung-nu core (whether ethnic or political is unclear) remained, retaining its prestigious name while undergoing the ethnic and very likely linguistic changes noted above. The Huns remained in Central Asia and poised on the border of Western Eurasia until ca. 350, when, under pressure from groups associated with the Jou-Jan, they began to move westward once again.[5] We need not presuppose, however, that all the Huns moved westward.

Sometime ca. 370, those groups that comprised the European Huns, having crossed the Volga, moved to subjugate the "Alpidzuri, Alcildzuri, Itimari, Tuncarsi and Boisci" according to the 6th century Gothic historian Jordanes. The survivors of the 'Αμίλζουροι, 'Ιτίμαροι, Τούνσουρες and Βοΐσκοι, as we know from a fragment of Priskos, a 5th century Byzantine diplomat and historian who wrote an account of his embassy to the Huns (undoubtedly the source for some of Jordanes' information), were, in the 430's, still clustered in resistance to the newcomers around the Danube.[6] A number of Turkic etymologies have been hesitantly proffered for **Alpidzur**/*'Αλπίζουροι (< 'Αλμίζουροι < 'Αμίλζουροι = **alp il čur**), **Tuncarsi** etc. (= **Tungur** ?), but the Boisci have been linked with the Celtic Boii and the Itimari are unknown.[7] If any of these were, indeed, Turkic speakers, it seems most likely that they were pushed hither as part of the general movement of peoples touched off by Hunnic activities. Moreover, whatever small Turkic groupings may have existed prior to this period might well have Iranicized by this time. We know nothing else about them. We are only slightly better informed about the "gens Acatzirorum," noted by Jordanes, the 'Ακάτζιροι or 'Ακάτιροι of Priskos. Attempts have been made to see in this name the Turkic **ağač-eri** "forest people," a tribal name still found among the Türkmen of the Middle East,[8] the Khazars (**Qacir** etc.) or "White Khazars" (**Aq-Qazir**) and least likely **Aqa-čeri** "senior army."[9] These "etymologies" remain little more than conjectures.[10] It is unclear if the Akatiri were already in the Ponto-Caspian steppes when the Huns arrived on the scene. Our

4 Sinor, "Hun Period" **CHEIA**, pp. 178-179, in particular, discounts a Hsiung-nu-European Hun connection. As for the origins of the latter, he remarks that we cannot go beyond Ammianus Marcellinus' comment that they came from the area east of the "Maeotic marshes" (i.e. Sea of Azov).

5 Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 64-66,74-75, 88-91; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 39-40.

6 Jordanes, ed. Skržinskaja, pp. 151, 273n.287; Priskos, EL, p. 121, Blockley, **Fragmentary**, pp. 224/225.

7 See the explanations of Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 23, 402-403,438-439,453-454.

sources describe them as a powerful nomadic people who lived from their herds and hunting. They were at that time a loosely organized confederation torn, in the early 440's, by a faction that was pro-Hunnic and one that was pro-Roman. The principal chieftain, Κουρίδαχος,[11] aggrieved that the Romans had not treated him with what he considered proper courtesy, invited in the Huns. Κουρίδαχος, then managed to maintain the independence of his lands while his fellow chieftains, defeated in battle ca. 445, had to submit. Attila's eldest son, Ellac (**elek**, cf. Khazar and Khazaro-Hung. 'Ιέλεχ < Turk. **ilig/illig** "prince") from his wife Κρέκα (var. 'Ηρέκαν, if not Germanic, perhaps < Turk. ***anǧ qan** "pure ruler" or ***kreken-kerken**, cf. Mong. **gergen** "wife"[12]) was sent to rule over them.

We know nothing of the history of the Akatirs under Hunnic rule. They briefly resurface in our sources only after the death of Attila and Ellac and the break up of the Hunnic confederation. Sometime around or just after 463, they were attacked by the Šarağurs, one of the Oğuric Turkic tribes that entered the Ponto-Caspian steppes at that time as the result of migrations set off in Inner Asia. The Akatirs, in all likelihood, were incorporated into the new, Oğuric tribal unions coming into Western Eurasia. Before turning to their history, however, we must first examine the East European Hunnic state.

## THE HUNS OF EUROPE

The 4th century Roman historian of Antiochene Greek origin, Ammianus Marcellinus, a hardened military veteran, gives, in his "History" (XXXI.2.1) an important, if highly prejudiced, account of the Huns as they appeared to European observers. He places their habitat "beyond the Sea of Azov near an icy ocean" (ultra paludes Maeoticas glacialem oceanum accolens). Physically, he finds them "prodigiose deformes," living their whole lives on horseback, without benefit of permanent houses, consuming the roots of plants and half-raw meat warmed by the heat generated by their thighs (under which the meat is placed) and their horse's body. He does not note the institution of kingship among them. Rather, matters are discussed by a general council (omnes in commune) conducted on horseback.[13]

The question of the linguistic affiliation of the European Huns is every bit as complicated as that of the Asian Hsiung-nu. Both were ethnically diverse

11 Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 437-438 suggested Turk. **qurt** dim. **qurtaq** "wolf" but this seems unlikely as the word is limited to Oğuz Turkic in this meaning. In the other Turkic languages it means "worm," see Clauson, **ED**, p. 648.

12 Priskos, **EL**, p. 130, Blockley, **Fragmentary**, II, pp258/259; Moravcsik. **Byzantinoturcica**

formations that undoubtedly shared some Inner Asian elements in common, but in different degrees. In addition, the European confederation contained important Iranian groupings acquired as they gained control over Iranian nomadic territories (these, of course, were not absent from the Hsiung-nu union) and then Germanic and Slavic subject populations that politically were reckoned Hunnic. The sparse relics of the Hunnic language, or at least of languages spoken in the Hunnic state, scattered in our sources in the form of names, titles and some substantiva, display a variety of possible linguistic affiliations : Altaic, Indo-European (Iranian, Germanic, Slavic and others) and those that are simply unknown.[14] The undoubtedly polyglot nature of the Hunnic state is confirmed by the evidence of archaeological and palaeo-anthropological finds which indicate a mixed population as well.[15]

In the 360-370's we have some indications that Hunnic groups were beginning to raid Transcaucasia. The "North Caucasian Huns," as we may term this grouping, would prove to be a formidable force, requiring, in time, an accommodation between the mutually hostile East Roman and Sâsânid empires. The two states jointly undertook the upkeep of the forts guarding the Caucasian passes.[16] By 375 A.D., the Huns, perhaps due to pressures in the east, had crossed the Volga, as we have seen, crushed the Alanic tribes of the Don region, brought the survivors into their union and forced the migration to the Danube of the Alpidzuri et al. The powerful Acatiri were not yet subjugated. Under their "rex Hunnorum," Balamber, the Huns then fell upon the Ostrogothic (Greutungian) tribal confederation led by (H)Ermanaric/Ermenrich who, after some resistance, committed suicide. According to Jordanes, the aged king was weakened by a wound inflicted on him by the treacherous Rosomonni and unable to withstand the Hunnic onslaught. Most of these Goths came under Hunnic rule, the rest fled.[17] The defeat of the Visigothic (Tervingian) union soon followed. The Gothic tribes now sought safety in Roman territory, setting into motion that chain of events that resulted in their defeat of the Roman army at Adrianople (9 August 378) and the death of the Emperor Valens.[18] Hunnic pressure continued, but their hold over the conquered tribes was not complete. Thus, in 386, Ostrogothic (Greutungian) tribes broke away and gained sanctuary in Imperial lands.

14 Németh, **Attila**, pp. 217-226; Doerfer, 1973, pp. 1-51, the Russian edition of this article, Doerfer, 1986, pp. 71-134, contains some additional comments; Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 376-455. Pritsak, 1982, pp. 428-476, concluded that European Hunnic was an Altaic language, "between Turkic and Mongolian, probably closer to the former than the latter."

15 Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, p. 364.

16 Váczy, 1940, p. 64; Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 63-64 : the Hun champion "Hunagur" defeated in single combat by Babik of Siwnik', representing the Sasanid Šapur II; Bury,

It would probably be a mistake to view this activity as a well-planned effort directed at the conquest of territory. Huns appear, in our scant accounts, as raiders and mercenary troops of the defenders. Although probably lacking an overarching central leadership, they soon came to control much of Pannonia, the natural region of settlement for a succession of Eurasian nomads.

In 395, the Huns, apparently driven by famine in the steppes, staged a devastating raid through the Caucasus into the adjoining regions of the Sâsânid Empire and the Roman East (Syria, Cappadocia in Anatolia).[19] Thereafter, Hunnic raids into Sâsânid holdings become more frequent. In particular, Armenian sources make note of the Hunnic tribe or grouping called **Xailandur**, some elements of which were being drawn to Christianity.[20] Hunnic interaction with the Roman Empire was also increasing. In both theaters of activity, we find a similar pattern, typical of that of nomadic-sedentary relations. The nomads raided, often trying to use the threat of violence to extort trading rights, special commercial relations or tribute. On occasion, in return for suitable rewards, they became "allies," or simply mercenary soldiers. Thus, the Huns were also able to exploit the ongoing Roman-Sâsânid wars.

Regrettably, our sources for the period prior to Attila are very fragmentary. Mention is made of Hunnic chieftains or rulers (the extent of whose authority is unclear), e.g. Uldin/Huldin /Οὔλδης/Οὔλδις (late 4th-early 5th century), Χαράτων (early 5th century) Βασίχ and Κουρσίχ (dating uncertain)[21] and raids on Imperial territory. It is only with the rise to prominence of Attila, son of "Mundzucus," who succeeded, together with his brother, Bleda, their uncle Ruga/Ruas (d. 434) to the rulership of a sizable Hunnic confederation (including many non-Hunnic elements) that we are somewhat better informed.[22] Attila (whose name has been connected with the Turkic word for the Volga, Atıl/İtil[23]), murdered his brother (ca. 444-

19 Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 51-57; Sinor, "Hun Period," **CHEIA**, pp. 182-184; Isaac, **Limits**, pp. 75-75,230..

20 Egiše/Orbeli, pp. 31,127.

21 Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 230,341; Aalto, Pekkanen, **Latin Sources**, I, p. 212. Pritsak, 1982a, pp. 435-438 for these names suggests : ***basíġ** < ***barsig** "feline-like," ***kūrsig** < ***küresig** "brave-like, noble-like," ***xaraton/*qaraton** "black-clad, with black coat," cf. Čuvaš toponyms of anthroponymic origin, **Xaratum**. According to Priskos (in Blockley, **Fragmentary**, II, pp. 278/279) Basix and Kursix were members of the "Scythian royalty" (i.e. Huns) who had "reached the land of the Medes." This would appear to place them in the 395 raid into Asia.

22 Pritsak, 1982a, pp. 438-445: ***munjuq** "jewel, flagpole," ***blida** < **bildā** < Turk. **bil-** "to know" hence "wise", cf. Turk. **bilge**, ***hər** ōge "man-wise counselor." Priskos, as preserved in Jordanes (see Blockley, **Fragmentary**, II, pp. 280/281) reports that Mundzucus' brothers were Ruas and Octar "who are said to have held the kingship before Attila, though by no

445) and appears to have extended his authority to the majority of the Hunnic groupings. It cannot be determined, with any degree of certainty, whether his coming to power was part of some larger strife within the ruling clans, beyond the murderous deeds committed within his own family and whether his authority encompassed the "North Caucasian Huns" as has been claimed.[24] As early as 441, Hunnic raids had been directed, by the new leadership, against the Romans. In the aftermath of a major victory, in 447, Attila, having disposed of his possible rivals, emerged supreme. Maenchen-Helfen has pointed out that the extent of Attila's power has been exaggerated. He controlled Pannonia and some adjoining lands and was master of the Huns, Goths, Gepids and perhaps some other elements. He was "for a few years more than a nuisance to the Romans, though at no time a real danger."[25] In 451 he attacked Gaul and was defeated. The next year he launched an expedition into Italy and after some initial successes in acquiring booty, he withdrew under pressure from Roman forces and the threat of pestilence in his army.[26] His aim had been to force the Romans into regularizing the payment of tribute. This much is clear from his communications with the Eastern Emperor, Markian (450-457) from whom, according to Jordanes, he demanded the tribute that had been promised him by the Emperor Theodosios II (408-450) and threatened, in its absence, to plunder the realm.[27] The campaigns, then, were certainly not attempts at conquest. Rather, they were the typical nomadic attempts to gain a steady source of supplies and income. In this he failed. One of the explanations for the notable lack of success of the Huns suggests that, having settled in Pannonia, they became semi-nomads and finally ex-nomads. Their forces were largely no longer mounted and deprived of the famous nomadic mobility, were not a match for the Romans.[28] Given the conditions of the Hungarian Puszta, this is not an unlikely scenario. But, it should be borne in mind that while the rank and file nomads sedentarized, the aristocracy, in these situations, as would later happen with the Magyars,[29] went over to semi-nomadism and continued an essentially equestrian culture. Moreover, even sedentarized nomads can retain a horse-oriented culture and attendant martial traditions for some time.

Following Attila's death, purportedly at his wedding feast[30], in 453, his

24 Jordanes, ed. Skržinskaja, pp. 159-160; Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.**, p. 50.

25 Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 125-126.

26 See discussion of the campaigns in Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, pp. 129-141 and Sinor, "Hun Period" **CHEIA**, pp. 189-196.

27 Jordanes, ed. Skržinskaja, pp. 166-167.

28 Lindner, 1981, pp. 8-16.

29 Cf. the system described by Györffy, 1975, pp. 45ff. Hungarian scholars view this system of

hastily constructed confederation (it can hardly be called a state, much less an empire) collapsed. The subject Germanic tribes revolted, defeating his sons' army at a battle on the Nedao river (still not identified, probably in Pannonia) in 454. Ellac, the eldest son perished here. The Huns were driven out of Pannonia which ultimately fell to the Ostrogoths. Hunnic fragments apparently returned to the Pontic steppe zone. Some groups, however, coalesced in Scythia Minor (Dobrudja) under the Attilid Hernach/'Ηρνάχ (the Ирникъ of the Bulgarian Prince List) and in Dacia Ripensis. Further attempts to put pressure on or negotiate terms out of the Romans (e.g. the embassy, ca. 466, of Hernach and his brother Denzicis/Dintzic/Δεγγιζίχ/ *Δινζιραχος/Δινζίριχος < *Δινγιρζιχ[31]) were spurned.[32] The fate of Hernach is unclear. Dengizix, who had gathered about him a number of tribes, the "Ultzinzures,[33] Angiscires, Bittugures[34], Bardores," attacked and been defeated by the Goths, as was noted by Jordanes,[35] was for a time permitted in Imperial lands. He proved to be too unruly and perished in 469, in battle with Roman forces. His head, we are told by Marcellinus Comes,[36] was brought to Constantinople. The bulk of the Hunnic tribes of nomadic origin (and still capable of mobility) apparently streamed back to the steppes and were incorporated into new tribal groupings. Although one might be tempted to see in the Bittugures, noted above, the tribal name **Oğur**, the latter do not appear to have come on the scene until ca. 463 and then somewhat to the east of the regions in which Dengizix was active.

## THE COMING OF THE OĞURIC TURKIC PEOPLES

Priskos, (frag. 30), tells of a migration of tribes into the Ponto-Caspian steppes, ca. 463, that had its origins in Inner Asia. Representatives of the Σαράγουροι, *'Ωγούροι (text : Οὔρωγοι) and 'Ονόγουροι came to the Romans seeking to orient themselves in a new political environment. They explained that they had been driven out of their abode by the Σάβιροι who, in turn, had been expelled from their habitat by the Ἄβαροι. The latter had been forced to migrate by people coming from the coast of the Ocean. These, in turn, had been driven out by sea mists and man-eating griffins. The griffins are a mythical detail taken from Herodotos, the source of many such

31 Pritsak, 1982, pp. 446-447 : ***erngāk** < **eren** < **er** "man, hero," "little (lucky ?) man," ***dengirčig/dengičig** < **tengir** "sea" (Com. Turk. **tengiz**). For the forms, see Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 117,132.

32 Priskos, **EL**, p. 588, Blockley, **Fragmentary**, II, pp. 352/353-354/355.

33 Pritsak, 1982a, pp. 436-437,448-449 : **öltinčür/ölčindür** < **öl-**, cf. Mong. **öljei-** "favorable."

34 Agathias, ed. Keydall, p. 57, mentions a 'Ράγυαρις who was "of those called ΒΙΤΥΌΓΟΥΡΟΙ"

Byzantine ethnographic flourishes.[37] The other peoples mentioned are all historical. The groups sending the embassy to the Emperor in Constantinople, were the **Šarağur, Oğur** and **Onoğur** tribes or tribal unions that were, it has been conjectured, part of the western grouping of the T'ieh-lê. Elements of this far-flung and still imperfectly known confederation may have touched off the movement of Hunnic peoples out of Kazakhstan, ca. 350, which then set off the interaction of the Huns with Europe. The T'ieh-lê, or at least the Oğuric tribes, now moved into the Kazakh steppe zone and the Sabirs who, as we have seen, propelled them westward, appear to have occupied the İli river region and Jungaria (or perhaps extended into Western Siberia), the earlier abode of these T'ieh-lê or elements of them. Movements of the War-Huns associated with Jou-Jan expansion, ca. 450, apparently set off further migrations which culminated in the appearance of the Oğuric tribes in Western Eurasia and the migration of the Sabirs to Kazakhstan.[38]

Finding the earliest notices on the Oğuric peoples and tracing their ethnogenesis is no easy task. The identification of the Oğur tribe(s) with the people called Hu-chieh (x$^{ə}$-giat) or Wu-chieh (?$^{ə}$-giat = *Hagar),[39] in the Chinese sources (noted in Chap. 2) is by no means clear.[40] The relationship with the T'ieh-lê is far from resolved. Before proceeding further, we should quickly review the data on the T'ieh-lê as it pertains to the Turkic peoples who migrated to Western Eurasia.

### The Ting-ling–T'ieh-lê Problem

The T'ieh-lê (dək-lɑk/t'iet-lɑk = *ti-lig, *teg-reg) of the 6th century Chinese sources are connected by Chinese historians with the earlier Ti-li (d'iek-liek, tig-lig, teg-reg; Pulleyblank : dejk-lejk, drịk-lək, dək-lək, t'et-lək), Ch'ih-le (t'iək-lək) and T'e-le (d'ək-lək). They, in turn, are identified with the Ting-ling in whose habitats we later find them.[41] All of these forms have been viewed as renderings of an Altaic term meaning "cart," cf. Mong. **telegen, terge, tergen** ("cart") and connected with the Kao-ch'ê/Kao-chü (Chin. "High Carts"), a later term used for the T'ieh-lê. These are to be connected with the earlier Ting-ling. Pulleyblank suggests : tejng-lejng = **tägräg** which he renders as "circle, hoop. "[42] Actually, **tegrek** ( < **tegre** "(all)

37 Priskos, **EL**, p. 586, Blockley, **Fragmentary, II**, pp. 344/345; Dovatur, **Narody**, pp. 110/111; Németh, **HMK**, pp. 98-100,107ff.; Sinor, 1946-47, pp. 1-77, who examines the notice in detail; Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte, I**, p. 141.

38 Pigulëvskaja, **Sirijskie**, p. 51; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 97-102.

39 Pulleyblank, 1983, p. 456; Németh, **HMK**, pp. 114-115. Sinor, 1946-47, pp. 11-12 : Hu-kie (*xuo ġât), Wu-kie (*tieu ġat) Hu-ho (*ġuo$^{ə}$ *kuət).

40 Hamilton, 1962, pp. 32-33.

41 Cf. the **Wei-shu** in Bičurin, **Sobranie**, I, p. 214 which also notes that their (the T'ieh-lê)

around, surroundings") originally appears to have meant (earliest attestation is in 11th century Qaraxanid) "the rim of anything." In 15th century Qıpčaq it came to designate "ring, circle."[43] This is a less than perfect match. Moreover, it has become common in many studies, since the early years of this century, to identify the T'ieh-lê with the Töles/Tölis[44] [recte ? Töliš] of the Orxon inscriptions, seemingly on the basis of phonological similarity alone. Ligeti has recently hinted at this possibility again : Tölis/Töliš, cf. Middle Mong. Tö'eles < Tögeles[45] without indicating what this could mean ( ? < tõgeli "spot on the forehead of an animal"[46]). In any event, T'ieh-lê, Ting-ling etc. cannot be both Tölis and Tegrek. If **tegrek** did, indeed, mean "cart" in some Turkic language at this time, a considerable, but not impossible semantic stretch, then the Chinese calqued form, Kao-ch'ê, certainly strengthens this identification. Nonetheless, the identification is conjectural and must await further substantiation. Attempts to connect this ethnonym with the name **Türk**[47]are even less convincing.

The reconstruction of the early history of the Ting-ling is equally problematic. Kyzlasov connects them with the Tagar culture (7th-3rd century B.C.) in the Xakas-Minusa Basin and believes that they extended to the lesostep' region from the Ob' to Lake Baikal. In the period from the 3rd century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D., they remained in South Siberia, from Lake Baikal to the Middle Yenisei, the source of the Čulym, north of the Chien-k'un (Qırğız) and westward to the Irtyš. They appear to have been distributed in two groups, heavily concentrated in Northern Mongolia, north of the Hsiung-nu and another branch, northwest of the Hsiung-nu, around the Irtyš. It would also appear that they had an equestrian culture. Kyzlasov, however, does not necessarily view them as Turkic.[48]

The Ting-ling were conquered, along with the Hun-yü, Ch'ü-she, Ko-k'un (Qırğız) and Hsin-li, ca. 200 B.C. by the Hsiung-nu under Mao-tun.[49] They were pushed northwards and perhaps mixed with Chien-k'un (Qırğız) elements (the Taštyk culture according to Kyzlasov). They revolted against the Hsiung-nu several times in the 1st century B.C. until being brought more or less under control by Chih-Chih in 49 B.C. These activities brought the Kien-kun to what became their Yenisei habitat.[50] This seems to have opened

43 Clauson, **ED**, p. 485.
44 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 14.
45 Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, p. 334.
46 Lessing, **MED**, p. 832.
47 Masao Mori, 1978, p. v.
48 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južnoj Sib.**, pp. 7-16; see also Savinov, **Narody**, pp. 11-13; Czeglédy, 1983, p. 63 and the comments of Sinor, 1946-47, pp. 9-14 who does not view them as Oğuric Turkic.

the path to the Ting-ling to occupy the Kazakh steppes. The **Wei-lüeh** by Yü Huan (mid-3rd century A.D.) places them north of K'ang-chü in a region that provided access to the fur trade of the forest and lesostep' zone. They are described as nomads, capable of producing 60,00 soldiers. Subsequently, the Chinese accounts identify their southerly groupings with the T'ieh-lê. What role, if any, they may have played in the Hunnic migrations in the mid-4th century is not clear. But, after 350 A.D., they are in possession of the Kazakh steppes and adjoining regions. In 463, they appear in Europe. Clearly, then, the Oğuric tribes are to be associated with the Ting-ling[51] who by this time are called in the Chinese sources T'ieh-lê. They were pushed out of this region by the Sabirs who, previous to this, were probably to their east, in the Íli river region and Western Jungaria. They were dislodged from here by the Jou-Jan and their habitat was apparently taken by the eastern groups of the T'ieh-lê.[52] In its listing of the T'ieh-lê tribes, a subject to which we shall return in our discussion of the subject peoples of the Türk Qağanate and the origins of the Uyğurs, the **Sui-shu** (7th century), mentions the Su-lu-chieh (*suo-luo-kịăt), San-so (*sâm-sâk), Yen-mie (*i̯en-miet), Ts'u-lung-ho (*ts'i̯wok-li̯ung-xuət) and other tribes around the Tê-i Sea (*tək-ngji = Turk. **tengiz** "sea" ? = Caspian Sea) and notes that east of Fu-lin (Rome = Byzantium) live the En-ch'ü (*ən-k'i̯uət, in whom some scholars see the Onoğurs), A-lan (*â-lân, clearly the Iranian Alans), the Pei-jou (*pək-ńźi̯wok), Chiu-li, Fu-wu and Hun (read as Chiu-li-fu [*ki̯əu-ljie-b'iuk] and Wu-hun [*uət-xuən] by Hamilton).[53] Presumably, some of these tribes are Oğuric.

### Oğuric Turkic

The Oğuric tribes also spoke a form of Turkic that was substantially different from the Turkic known to us from the earliest Runic inscriptions. Scholars have long debated whether this is a separate branch of Altaic, an earlier form of Turkic or simply a distinct dialect subgrouping. Claims have been made, thus far without substantiation, that these peoples were Turkicized Ugrians.[54] This seems unlikely, although the possibility of Ugric elements being present should not be excluded. There is no evidence, adduced thus far, that would indicate that we should attribute Oğuric's linguistic divergences from Common Turkic to some as yet unidentified substratal element. The Oğuric languages are known to us today only from Čuvaš and the scattered fragments of Volga and Danubian Bulğaric. There are many problems associated with each and the chronology of those features

51 Hirth, 1901, 99-94

that make Oğuric so distinct from Common Turkic is still the subject of discussion. In brief, following the work of Róna-Tas, we may summarize these features as follows :

| Common Turkic | Oğuro-Čuvašic |
|---|---|
| z | r |
| š | l |
| s | š ( < šia < sâ ) |
| č | ś |
| k/q | ğ > 0 |
| y | j, ś |
| d, ð | ð (10th cent. >) z |
| | (13th cent. >) r |
| ğd | z (14th cent. >) r |
| a | ı (after 9th cent.)[55] |

Examples of the differences can be seen in the name **Oğur** itself which corresponds to the ethnonym **Oğuz** attested from the time of the Orxon inscriptions. This is not to say that the Oğurs and Oğuz were one and the same. Clearly, when we first encounter them, they were not, although it is possible that they may have belonged to some common tribal confederation prior to the 5th century. Such a tribal union was, in all likelihood, the T'ieh-lê.[56] The names **Oğur/Oğuz** derive, in my view, from Turk. ***oğ/uq** which denotes the idea of "kinship, being akin to," as in **oğul** "offspring, child, son," **oğlan** "boy" (originally plural of **oğul**), **oğlaq** "kid, young goat," etc., **oğuš/uğuš** "tribe, clan."[57] The verb **oğša-/oqša-** "to be like, akin to, resemble"[58] is probably from the same root. The names Oğur/Oğuz "the kindred ones," may have served as a term for a tribal union. The hydronym, Δαΐχ, the name for the Ural River (Turk. Yayıq, cf. the Pečeneg era form Γεήχ Yäyıq in Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos) reported in Menander which is perhaps to be connected with the Δάιξ of Ptolemaios (2nd cent. A.D.), represents, it has

55 Róna-Tas, 1982, pp. 144-145 and his **Bevezetés**, pp. 82-89; Scherner, **Arabische u. Neupersische Lehnwörter**, pp. 9-15.

56 Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 109-112 posits **Oğuz** as the collective name for the union led by the Uyğurs, i.e. the grouping also known as the **Toquz Oğuz** (see Chap. 6), one of the constituent elements of the far-flung T'ieh-lê confederation. Czeglédy sees in the Wu-ho and Yüan-ho of the Chinese sources the Oğur and Onoğur and suggests that the separation of the Oğuz-Uyğur and Oğur subgroupings of the the T'ieh-lê took place in the 3rd century B.C. An intermittent, loose political unity continued long after that time.

57 For these forms, see Clauson, **ED**, pp. 83-85,96; Sevortjan, **ÈtSL**, I, pp. 411-412,414-417, 582-583. Cf. Mong. (Lessing, **MED**,p. 863) **uğ** "base, root, origin." On this etymology, see

been suggested, an Oğuric **Jayıq**.[59] This formulation is not without a number of philological difficulties as well as questions of attribution. Balkan-Danubian Bulğar has **d/δ** for Com. Turk. **y**, cf. диломъ = **δilâm** - Com.Turk. **yılan** "snake").[60] Hungarian has a considerable number of borrowings from one or more Oğuric languages, e.g. Hung. **tenger** < Oğur. ***tengir**, Com.Turk. **tengiz** "sea" Hung. **gyűrű** "ring" (Čuv. **śĕrĕ**) < Oğur. **jürük**, Com. Turk. **yüzük** "ring."[61]

## The Early Oğuric Tribes

The Oğuric tribes very quickly made their presence felt in the Ponto-Caspian steppes. The Šarağurs (Oğur. **šara** "white," cf. Čuv. **šură** "white," Com. Turk. **sarığ/sârığ**, Com. Mong. **šira**, Hung. **sárga** "yellow"[62]) attacked, ca. 467, the Akatirs and other tribes that had been part of the Hunnic union, and then, perhaps prompted by Constantinople, raided Sâsânid-held Transcaucasia, ravaging Georgia and Armenia.[63] They also appear in a listing of tribes in the supplement to the Syriac translation of "Pseudo-" Zacharias Rhetor's **Ecclesiastical History**), composed ca. 555 and based on a Middle Persian version of a Greek original. But, the data given here on the ethnonymy of the tribal population, some of it clearly conflated from a variety of sources, may not necessarily be a reflection of the ethnic composition of the steppes in the author's time. Some of this material may have come from Priskos. The supplement mentions the tribes : **ʾwngwr** (Onoğur), **ʾwgr** (Oğur), **sbr** (Sabir), **bwrgr** (Burğar=Bulğar), **kwrtrgr** (Kutrigur), **ʾbr** (Abar), **ksr** (Kasar ? Kasir ? Akatzir ?), **srwrgwr** (Sarurgur = Šaruğur/Šarağur), as well as the **dyrmr** ([i]di[r]mar = Ἰτίμαροι ?), **bʾgrsyq** (not elsewhere attested), **kwls** (Xwâlis), **ʾbdl** (Abdel = Hephthalite), **ʾftlyt** (Hephthalite). They are described in the cliched phrases reserved for nomads in the ethnographic literature of the period. They "live in tents, they subsist on the flesh of animals and fish, wild animals and (what they obtain by their) weapons."[64] Beyond these scant notices, we know nothing of the later history of the Šarağurs. They were probably incorporated into other more powerful tribal unions. Their amalgamation was induced by the movements of other steppe peoples, perhaps the Sabirs, who came to the region by the late 5th-early 6th century.[65]

The Western Eurasian steppes were now filled with a bewildering array of

59 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 112-113; Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, p. 116.
60 Pritsak, **Bulg. Fürstenliste**, pp. 43,46,71.
61 Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, pp. 14,18,21,78 ,305.

nomadic peoples. Thus, Agathias (d.ca. 579-582), commenting on the Οὖννοι, writes :

> "...all of them are called in general Scythians and Huns and in particular according to their nation. Thus, some are Κοτρίγουροι or Οὐτίγουροι and yet others are Οὐλτίζουροι and Βουρούγουνδοι and others (are called) as has become customary and usual for them...the Οὐλτίζουροι and Βουρούγουνδοι were known up to the time of the Emperor Leo and the Romans of that time and appeared to have been strong. We, however, in this day, neither know them, nor, I think, will we. Perhaps, they have perished or perhaps they have moved off to very far places."[66]

Jordanes, the keen observer of Gothic history, also paints, in somewhat dramatic colors, a picture of the busy life of the steppe:

> "Located towards the south are the people of the Acatziri, a most powerful (people), ignorant of the fruits of the earth, who live from their flocks and by hunting. Beyond them, above the Pontic Sea, is the habitat of the Bulgari, whom the evils of our sins have made famous. There too are the Hunni (who), like the most fecund soil of the most powerful peoples, sprouted up a rabid duo of peoples. Some are called Altziagiri, others Saviri who, nonetheless, have different habitats : next to Cherson are the Altziagiri, to which the greedy merchants bring the goods of Asia. (They are the ones) who, in summer, wander through the fields, (their) far-flung habitats, according to (where) food for their herds draws them. In winter, they bring themselves back to (the region) above the Pontic Sea. The Hunuguri, however, are famous because from them comes the trade in marten skins.."[67]

From this notice, it appears that the Altziagiri, who are otherwise unattested, controlled trade access to the Crimea and the Onoğurs played an important role in the fur trade. This would also indicate that their habitat extended to the forest-steppe zone.

A few confederations or tribal unions, however, were strong or bold enough to cause the Byzantine government some concern. For these peoples we have some brief accounts. The unhappy tale of the Kutrigurs and

Ut(r)igurs may serve as an illustration. The name of the former appears as **Kwrtrgr** in Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor and in Byzantine sources as Κουτρίγουροι, Κοτρίγουροι (Agathias, Prokopios, Menander) and corruptions therefrom (cf. the Κοτζαγήροι of Theophylaktos Simokattes ?) and that of the latter as Οὐτ(τ)ίγουροι, Οὐτούργουροι, Οὐτρίγουροι (Agathias, Prokopios, Menander).[68] Németh saw in both of these ethnonyms forms of the term Oğur: **Kuturgur** = **Quturğur** < metathecized from ***Toqur(o)ğur** < **toqur** "nine" (Common Turk. **toquz**), the "Nine Oğur" tribal union, **Uturgur** = **Uturğur** < **utur/otur** "thirty" (Com. Turk. **otuz**), the "Thirty Oğur" tribal union.[69] Their origins are obscure. It has been suggested that they had been part of the Šarağurs who had split into two groups. Their relationship to the Onoğurs and Bulğars who lived in this same region or in its immediate propinquity is also unclear.[70] According to Prokopios, these two "Hunnic" tribal unions were of common origin and occupied the Tanaitic-Maeotic (Don-Azov) steppe zone, the Kutrigurs in the western part and the Ut(r)igurs towards the East.[71] Presumably, they arrived here with the initial waves of Oğuric peoples entering the Pontic steppes. Attempts to connect them with the "King of the Huns of the Bosporos" (perhaps actually a Sabir), Γορδᾶς/Γρώδ, whose conversion to Byzantine Christianity in 528 (and hence a pro-Byzantine stance) resulted in his deposition and murder and the elevation of his anti-Christian brother, Μουάγερις/Μοῦγελ (in whose names some Hungarian scholars would see **(O)ğurda**, with the Hung. dim. suffix **-d**, and **Magyar**)[72] have yet to be substantiated.

Nomadic raids on Byzantine territory always held out the threat of even more violent disruptions. Byzantium, like China at the other end of the steppe, was continually looking for "barbarians" that might be employed against other "barbarians." Kutrigur raids were becoming troublesome in the Byzantine Balkan territories. Thus, when the "Tetraksitae" Goths in the Crimea, in a mission (548) to Constantinople ostensibly to sort out their religious affairs, sought Imperial protection against the Ut(r)igurs, the Emperor Justinian (527-565) listened with favor to plans to sow discord among the nomads. The plan was put into action when, in 551, the Kutrigurs, under Χινιαλών, allied with the Gepids, attacked Imperial territory.

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68 See Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 171-172,238-239.

69 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 90-91. Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, p. 342, suggested an etymology for the latter from **utur-** "to resist" (Clauson, **ED**, pp. 38,67. Bazin, 1981-1982, p. 69 has **uturkar** (**uturgur**) "les vainqueurs," **Quturgur** "les enragés," cf. **qudurmaq** "etre enragé."

70 Halasi-Kun, 1943, p. 80; Gadlo, **Etničeskaja. ist.**, pp. 79-80. Zlatarski, **Istorija**, I, pp. 68-83 viewed them as Bulğars. Recent Bulgarian scholarship (cf. Angelov, **Obrazuvane**, pp. 132-133), however, while claiming that they and the Bulğars belonged to the same tribal union,

Justinian, through diplomatic persuasion and bribery, induced the Ut(r)igurs, under Σανδίλ(χος), to attack their kinsmen. Following the resultant slaughter, the defeated Kutrigurs made peace with Constantinople. Some were now permitted to enter imperial service and received lands in Thrace. In 558, when the Kutrigurs under Ζαβεργάν, perhaps reacting to the entrance of the "European Avars" into the Eastern European steppes, raided the Empire again, Justinian called once more on Σανδίλχος. The latter, who felt all along that the Kutrigurs, whom he had helped to defeat, had received better treatment than his people, readily complied. In the ensuing warfare, the two peoples decimated one another.[73] Remnants of these two peoples were brought into the Avar union which briefly established its dominance over the Pontic steppes.[74] When the Avars fled from the oncoming Türks to Pannonia, they brought Kutrigur elements with them. Other Kutrigurs (if the Κοτζαγηροί of Theophylaktos Simokattes are, indeed, to be identified with them) may have joined them later, together with the tribes Ταρνιάχ and Ζαβενδὲρ.[75] The Ut(r)igurs came under Türk rule for Menander notes their chieftain, 'Ανάγαιος, among the Türk forces that attacked Bosporos in 576.[76] One of the tribes subject to Anağay was ruled by a woman called 'Ακκάγας (Aq Qağan ?).[77]

While the Kutrigur-Ut(r)igur groupings destroyed themselves, other, kindred tribal unions, the Onoğurs and Bulğars, were coalescing into more formidable nomadic polities.

## OĞURS, ONOĞURS AND BULĞARS IN WESTERN EURASIA

The mid-6th century compiler, Pseudo-Zacharias Rhetor notes the ʾwgr (Oğur), ʾwngwr (Onoğur) and Bwrgr (Burğar) among the nomadic tribes of Western Eurasia. The Oğurs are mentioned further only by Menander Protector (6th century) and Theophylaktos Simokattes (early 7th century) in connection with the Avar and then Türk conquest of the region.[78] The Onoğurs, however, appear in these sources and a number of others which, from the 8th century on, connect them with the Bulğars. A brief review of these notices is in order. The **History of the Caucasian Albanians** of Movsês

73 Prokopios, **DGB** (LCL), pp. 84-95,235-251; Agathias, ed. Keydall, pp. 176-179; Menander/Blockley, pp. 42/43-44/45.
74 Menander/Blockley, pp. 138/139.
75 Theoph. Sim. ed. de Boor, p. 260; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, p. 504.
76 Menander/Blockley, pp. 178/179.
77 Menander/Blockley, pp. 172/173; Németh, **HMK**, pp. 67, 191.
78 Cf.the early 14th century ecclesiastical historian Nikephoros Kallistos Ksanthopulos

Dasxuranc'i (or Kałankatuac'i, a work that was put together by a number of authors, over many centuries, the form in which we have it today probably stems from the late 11th-early twelfth century[79]), in a notice that may describe events of the late 4th century, tells of the "Hun," Honagur, "from [the land of] the Honk'," who challenged Šapur of Iran.[80] If "Honagur" does, indeed, represent the Onoğurs and not the Huns, it would place them, before 463, within raiding distance of Iran, perhaps in the Volga-Ural mesopotamia. Theophylaktos Simokattes reports that they once had a city, Βακὰθ which was destroyed by an earthquake.[81] The Soġdian kaṯ "city" points to an area near Iranian Central Asia. This reference also appears to refer to a period prior to their arrival in the Ponto-Caspian steppes. Jordanes (see above) comments on their interest in the fur trade. This would indicate that in his day (6th century) their camping lands at some point touched on the forest steppe zone. It would appear from a notice in Agathias (d. 582) that they were also able to raid into Transcaucasia as this time. Agathias mentions a city 'Ονόγουρις, in Lazika, which had "in olden times," probably received its name when "Huns" called Onoğurs were defeated here.[82] Subsequently, together with the Oğurs, they fell successively under the domination of the Avars and the Türks, as was noted by Menander Protector[83] and Theophylaktos Simokattes. The latter writes, in a passage that has been much-discussed, but remains highly problematic, that the Türk Qağan

> "...subjugated all the Oğor ('Ογώρ). This people is (one)of the most powerful both because of their numbers and their training for war in full battlegear. They have made their abodes towards the East, whence flows the river Til, which the Türks have the custom of calling the "Black." The oldest chieftains of this people are called Οὐὸρ and Χουννί..."[84]

These War-Huns then passed themselves off as the Avars in the Eastern European steppes. The account appears to telescope Western Eurasia and Inner Asia. If the river "Til" is to be identified with the Volga (Atıl/İtil), then the Oğor of this account could only be the Oğurs and we may interpret their "oldest chieftains," War and Xunni, as their presumed Jou-Jan overlords in the period just prior to their entry into the Ponto-Caspian steppes. It is, of course, possible that Oğor is a garbling of Uyğur, which might place the "Til"

79 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. xv-xx. The author of the recent Russian translation dates the original text to the latter half of the 8th century and believes that subsequent additions were made in the 10th and perhaps the early 11th century, see Kalankatuaci/Smbatjan, p. 16.

80 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 63-64; Kalankatuaci/Smbatjan, pp. 66-67.

81 Theoph. Sim., ed. de Boor, p. 260.

clearly in Inner Asia. Simokattes goes on to note that after the subjugation of the Oğors, "the Qağan gave over the chief of the Κὸλχ to the bite of the sword."[85] If Kolx is to be identified with Kolxis in Transcaucasia, it would appear to indicate that the text is, indeed, dealing with the Oğurs who, in the 6th century, were in a region that was close to the Caucasus. The 7th century Ravenna Anonymous places the **patria onogoria** near the Black Sea. A Byzantine episcopal listing dated to the mid-8th century, but hearkening back to an earlier period, notes a bishopric ὁ 'Ονογούρων, alongside of the metropoly of Doros for the Eparchate of Gothia (Crimea) and the bishoprics of the Χοτζήρων, 'Αστήλ, Χουάλης, 'Ρετὲγ, Οὔννων and Tamatarcha.[86]

Byzantine sources mention them in close connection with the Bulğars : Agathon[87] (early 8th century) notes the "ἔθνος τῶν Οὐννογούρων Βουλγάρων." The Patriarch-historian Nikephoros[88] (early 9th century) termed the founder of the Pontic Bulğar state, Κούβρατος, the "lord" of the Οὐνογουνδούροι. Theophanes,[89] the contemporary of Nikephoros, refers to them as the Οὐννογουνδούρων Βουλγάρων : Onoğundur-Bulğars. Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos[90] (mid-10th century) remarks that the Bulğars "formerly called themselves 'Ονογουνδούροι." This association is mirrored in Armenian sources as well, cf. the so-called "Armenian Geography" attributed to Movsês Xorenac'i, i.e. Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i (Ananias Širakac'i, 7th century) which notes the **Olxontor Błkar**, and the **History** by Movsês Xorenac'i in which a later hand (late 9th century ?) added a comment on "the colony of the **Vlĕndur Bułkar.**"[91] Marquart[92] made the connection between these forms and the ʾIgndr (*Uluğundur) of Ibn Kalbî (ca.820), the **Vnndur** (*Wunundur) of the **Ḥudûd al-ʿÂlam** (982), the **Wlndr** (*Wulundur) of al-Masʿûdî and the Hungarian name for Belgrad **Nándor Fejérvár**. To this listing should be added the **nndr** (*Nandur) of Gardîzî[93] (11th century) and the form from the Letter of the Khazar King Joseph : רננחר (*Wununtur).[94] These forms all show phonetic changes typical of later Oğuric (prothetic **v-**).

The Onoğurs have often been connected with the Pre-Conquest Hungarians (i.e. the Hungarian tribal union before it took possession of its

85 Theoph. Sim., ed. de Boor, p. 259.
86 Moravcsik, 1930, pp. 64-65.
87 Moravcsik, 1930, pp. 67-68; Beševliev, **Periode**, p. 302.
88 Nicephorus, ed. de Boor, p. 24.
89 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 356.
90 **De Thematibus**, ed. Pertusi, p. 85.
91 Xorenac'i/Thomson, p. 135; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, pp. 57,500.
92 Marquart, 1924, p. 275; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 466-70.

present-day homeland). Indeed, the name "Hungarian," as it appears in most European languages (their self-designation is **Magyar**) is usually derived from Onoğur. There can be no doubt that the Hungarians had very close contacts with Oğuric peoples. But, it is not clear if or when they had these contacts with the Onoğurs[95] (see Chap. 8).

Much more central to our interests is the Onoğur-Bulğar connection. Here again, we encounter difficulties. Aside from the linking of the names in the sources noted above, we have no direct evidence for when or how the Onoğurs (or elements of them) joined the Bulğars. The latter may have represented, as has been suggested,[96] a large confederation which included the Kutrigurs and Onoğurs. Other scholars have conjectured a number of dispersed Bulğaric groups in the Ponto-Caspian steppes.[97]

Bulğar origins are still unclear. Homelands have been posited for them in Kazakhstan and the North Caucasian steppes.[98] The Oğuric elements of this union were, undoubtedly, in the Kazakh steppes[99] prior to their entry into Eastern Europe. Interaction with Hunnic tribes may have occurred there, but the Ponto-Caspian steppes seem a more likely setting, particularly in the aftermath of the collapse of the Hunnic state.[100] The medieval Balkan Bulğars, as the Bulgarian Prince List indicates, appear to have claimed an Attilid origin for their ruling house.[101] Speculation on these themes has been abundant. Thus, the Доулo clan has been identified with the Hsiung-nu royal house and/or with the Tu-lu subconfederation of the Western Türk/On Oq.[102] Wherever we may place their original habitat, by the 6th century there appears to have been a number of Bulğar groupings in the Ponto-Caspian steppes, particularly in its eastern zones. Thus, the "Armenian Geography" (Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i) mentions a number of Bulğar tribes in the North Caucasian-Kuban' steppes : Kup'i Bulğar, Duč'i Bulkar, Oxontor Blkar, the "immigrant Č'dar Bulkar."[103]

If we ignore the anachronistic notice in the **History** of Movsês Xorenac'i noted above and an obscure reference, s.a. 354, to the **Vulgares** in a listing of peoples of the East found in a 5th century manuscript,[104] the first clear

95 See now the comments of Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, pp. 349-351.
96 Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, p. 172.
97 Angelov, **Obrazuvane**, pp. 124, 129-130.
98 Angelov, **Obrazuvane**, p. 118.
99 Gening, Xalikov, **Rannie bolgary**, p. 143.
100 Németh, **HMK**, p. 97. Tryjarksi, **HEPCP**, p. 161 and Beševliev, **Periode**, pp. 299ff., briefly survey the question. Zlatarski, **Istorija**, I, p. 83 places the coalescing of the Huns and Bulğars in the period after the division of the Kutrigurs and Ut(r)igurs. The Artamonov thesis (**Ist. xazar**, p. 83) that the Bulğars were Ugrians turkicized by the Huns remains a conjecture unsupported by any body of data.
101 Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, pp. 36-37,63-64.
102 Pritsak, 1952, p. 55 and his **Fürstenliste**, p. 64.

reference to the Bulğars is dated to 480 when they served as allies of the Byzantine Emperor Zeno (474-491) against the Ostrogoths.[105] Their ethnonym should be etymologized from Turk. **bulğa-** "to stir, confuse, disturb (someone), produce a state of disorder," i.e. the "disturbers"[106] a suitable name for nomads. They quickly lived up to it appearing after 491 in the sources as typical, nomadic raiders of the Empire. By the middle of the 6th century, the Bulğars momentarily fade from our sources and the Kutrigurs (see above) come to the fore. All of these groups were overwhelmed by the Avars.

## THE SABIRS

According to Priskos, the people directly responsible for pushing the Oğuric tribes into the Ponto-Caspian steppes were the Sabirs. Sabir origins are equally obscure. Attempts have been made, by Németh among others, to bring them from Central Asia to Western Siberia. Indeed, their name is found in the toponymics of the area and perhaps in the name Siberia itself.[107] Pritsak views **Sabir** (**Säbir** in his reading) as the ethnomym masked by the Chinese Hsien-pi. He suggests that under their ruling clan, the Mu-jung or Mu-yü-kên [*mâk-zi̯o-kœn = ***mâgč-ger** = Magyar] elements of them came to Western Siberia and contributed to the formation of the Hungarians (cf. the Savard problem noted below).[108] Artamonov also places their origins in Western Siberia and connects them with an Ugrian population.[109] Henning finds evidence of their sojourn in the Turfan region in the **s³pyry = Sabirê** noted in the Soğdian **Nâfnâmak**.[110] Czeglédy places them, in the period 350-463, east of the Onoğurs and west of the Avars, i.e. in the İli River-Jungaria region.[111] Sinor situates them on both sides of the Urals, especially in the Middle Volga zone. From here elements penetrated Western Siberia and (briefly) the North Caucasian steppe zone. He considers the Sabirs to be Oğuric in speech.[112] Németh, followed by Ligeti with some hesitation, viewed them as speaking Common Turkic. Németh etymologized their name **Sabır** from **sap-** "to stray from the path," a fitting name for nomads.[113] Our linguistic evidence is insufficient to justify any definite conclusion.

105 John of Antioch, Ennodius and Cassiodorus, see Zlatarski, **Istorija**, I, pp. 81-82.
106 Clauson, **ED**, p. 337; Németh, **HMK**, pp. 38,95; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 62-63.
107 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 183-186. See also Patkanov, 1900, pp. 258-277.
108 Pritsak, 1976, pp. 28-30. This theory has found few adherents.
109 Artamonov, **Ist. xazar**, p. 65.
110 Henning, 1952, p. 502.

The ethnonym Sabir is found in Byzantine sources (Priskos, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Prokopios, Agathias, Menander) as Σάβιροι, Σάβειροι, Σαβήρους etc.[114], Latin (Jordanes[115]) : **Saviri**, Armenian (Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i[116]) : **Sawir-k',Savirk'**, ( **-k'** = Arm. pl.), Syriac (Pseudo-Zakharias Rhetor[117]) : **sbr**, Arabic (Ibn Xurdâḏbih, who places them beyond Bâb al-Abwâb, i.e. in the North Caucasus, Ibn al-Faqîh) **s$^{u}$w$^{a}$r**, (Ibn Xurdâḏbih, al-Muqaddasî, Ibn Faḍlân, Maḥmûd al-Kâšgarî[118]): **swâr**, Hebrew (Letter of the Khazar Ruler Joseph[119]): סאוירי (sâwîr). We shall not consider, at this time, the Σάβαρτοι ἄσφαλοι of Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, the **Sevordik'**of Asołik and Arcruni and the **sâwrdyh [Sâwardiyah]** of al-Balâḏurî and al-Mas$^{c}$ûdî, who are probably to be connected to the Hungarians or Hungarian-related group, *Savard, as Marquart and Németh have suggested.[120] The discrepancy between the Arabic **Suwâr/Sawâr** and the **Sabir** of the other sources may reflect the influences of the Oğuric languages.

The few names of Sabir origin that appear in our sources (Byzantine or Byzantine-inspired) point, **grosso modo**, to Turkic : Βολάχ, Βλάχ, Μολάχ, **Balax** (Theophanes, Malalas, Skylitzes, John of Nikiu) < Turk. **balaq** "young of an animal," Βολμάχ (Agathias) < Turk. ***balmaq** < **barmaq** "finger" (?), Βώα, Βωαρήξ/Βοαζηρ, Βαρήζ **Boa** etc. (Malalas, Theophanes, Skylitzes, John of Nikiu) < ?, Ἴλιγερ (Agathias) < Turk. **ilig** "prince" **er** "man," Κούτιλζις (Agathias) < Turk. qut "heavenly good fortune" **ilči/elči** "emissary."[121]

Sabir origins and ethno-linguistic affiliations, as we have seen, are uncertain. It seems likely that they came westward from Inner or Central Asia in connection with migrations set in motion by the Huns or War-Huns. Their appearance in the lower Volga steppelands probably dates to the early years of the 6th century. Certainly, by 515 they are clearly on the scene and were soon drawn into the diplomatic web of Byzantine-Sâsânid relations. Each side hoped to gain this important nomadic grouping as an ally. Malalas reports that they could field an army of 100,000, an exaggeration that nonetheless indicates a considerable military presence. Prokopios comments that they possessed great ingenuity in constructing siege equipment.[122] They

114 See Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 262-263; Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 256.
115 ed. Skržinskaja, p. 136.
116 ed. Soukry, p. 27; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, p. 58.
117 Czeglédy, 1971, p. 137; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, p. 356.
118 Forms cited in Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 256.
119 Kokovcov, **Xazarsko-evrejskaja perepiska**, pp. 20,28.
120 For the forms see Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 256; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, pp. 36-40;

also carried out devastating raids into Transcaucasia and Asia Minor.[123] It is not clear whether the "Hunnic king" Ζιλγιβί(ς), mentioned in Theophanes and Malalas[124] ca. 522, who switched from a pro-Byzantine to pro-Iranian position, was a Sabir. The Persian ruler, Kavad, informed of the man's duplicity by Justinian, had him killed. Under Queen Βωαρήξ, widow of Βαλάχ, ca. 528, they drew closer to Constantinople through the skillful diplomacy of Justinian I. Boarêks captured a "Hunnic" king named Στύραξ/Τύραγξ/Astêrâ, sending him on to Constantinople (where he was executed) and defeated and killed another "Hunnic" ally of Iran, Γλώνης/Γλώμ/ᶜAglânôs.[125] Subsequently, however, they proved to be fickle allies. Sabir mercenaries could be found in both Byzantine and Sâsânid service.[126] They were, apparently, badly mauled by the Avars as the latter broke into the Pontic steppes.[127] Thereafter, they fade from the view of our sources. Menander mentions them in connection with Byzantine campaigns in Transcaucasian Albania during the reign of Tiberios (578-582).[128] They were swallowed up by the Türks and figure, as we shall see, in the genesis of the Khazars. Elements of them were also present among the Volga Bulğars.

## THE CAUCASIAN HUNS AND OTHER "HUNNIC" PEOPLES

We find scattered references in our sources to various "Hunnic" peoples. In many instances, the term "Hunnic" is used by Byzantine authors in a slightly archaicizing sense, designating any of the nomads of the Eurasian steppe. It is not always to be understood in a literal sense. Nonetheless, Hunnic groups did continue to exist in various parts of the Eurasian steppe. Thus, in the course of the 5th-6th century, a people termed Ḥûṇa invaded Northwestern India. Under Toramâṇa and his son Mihirakula (early 6th century), these Ḥûṇas controlled much of Western India. It is very likely that they were an eastern branch of the Hun or War-Hun/Hephthalite tribes that were active around the borders of Iran.[129] We have already noted the "King of the Huns," Zilgibi(s) and his double-dealing with Byzantium and Iran, ca. 521-522 and Gordas/Grôd, the ill-fated "Hunnic king" whose conversion, in 528, led to his deposition and murder by the pagan faction among his people.

123 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 161.
124 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 167; Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 414-415.
125 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 175; Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 430-431; John of Nikiu, trans. Charles, p. 140.
126 Agathias, ed. Keydell, pp. 106,139.
127 Menander, EL, ed. de Boor, p. 443, Menander/Blockley, pp. 50/51.
128 Menander, EL, ed. de Boor, pp. 201,210,463, Menander/Blockley, pp. 162/163-

This produced a Byzantine response in the form of an expedition to the Bosporos which drove off the Huns (see above).[130] The episode also highlights one of the most potent and effective weapons of Byzantine diplomacy : religious conversion.

We have a variety of notices in Byzantine and Armenian sources about the Huns in the North Caucasus. The **Armenian Geography** (Pseudo- Movsês Xorenac'i) reports that "North of Darband is the kingdom of the Huns, near the sea. In its western (part) is Varač'an, the city of the Huns, and Č'ungars and Směndŗ (=the later Khazar city of Samandar, PBG). Toward the East live the Savirk' up to the river T'ald (Atıl, PBG)."[131] Prokopios and other Byzantine authors mention the "Huns" called Μασσαγέται. This archaism, as Gadlo suggested, is probably a reference to the Mask'ut' Huns of Dağistan. The Mask'ut' may, indeed, go back to Massagetai elements that had settled here, given their name to the region and were later absorbed by Hunnic elements.[132] Dasxuranc'i mentions Sanêsan, "king of the Mask'ut'k', who was of the Arscacid family" and seems to associate them with the land of the "Honk'," i.e. Huns.[133] Eliše also mentions the Mask'ut', but without any ethnic attribution.[134] This same author is the source for brief notices on the **Xailandur**, a Hunnic grouping of the North Caucasus that figured in Sâsânid relations with Transcaucasia in the 5th century. Our meager sources do not permit a more positive identification.[135] Ludwig, identifies the undoubtedly Bulğaric **bnjr/brjân**, at least in part with these Huns. Marquart, who connected **bnjr** with **blnjr** (Balanjar, an ethnonym and toponym found in Khazaria and Volga Bulğaria), sought the origins of the Dağistanian Xaidaq in this grouping.[136]

In 535 or 537, an Armenian missionary team headed by the bishop Kardost baptized many among the North Caucasian Huns. The Syriac source reporting this event also indicates that a writing system for Hunnic was developed.[137] In 681, Israyêl, bishop of Mec Kueank', was sent by the ruler of Caucasian Albania, Varaz-Trdat to negotiate with the North Caucasian

130 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 175-176; Malalas, ed. Dindorf, pp. 431-432; Skylitzes, p. 644; Pigulëvskaja, **Sirijskie istočniki**, pp. 87-88. Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.**, pp. 80-81, identifies these "Huns" with the Utigurs.

131 **Géographie**, ed. trans. Soukry, pp. 27/37; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, pp. 58,492.

132 For the Byzantine forms, see Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, I, p. 182; Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.**, pp. 92-93; Minorsky, **Sharvân**, pp. 77-79.

133 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 22,33,37,70.

134 Egiše/Orbeli, p. 169.

135 Egiše/Orbeli, pp. 31,79,127. They are also noted by Dasxuranc'i/ Dowsett, p. 9. Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.** p. 56 sees in Xailandur a corruption of Vlĕndur, i.e. Onoğur. Philologically this is impossible.

Huns. The tale of his successful proselytization among "that tribe, demented in their satanically deluded tree-worshipping errors," has been preserved in Dasxuranc'i. According to the latter, they considered objects struck by lightning or fire to be sacrifices to a "god K'uar." They sacrificed horses to "some gigantic savage monster whom they invoke as the god T'angri Xan." They also revered fire, water, "certain gods of the roads," the moon and "all creatures considered in their eyes to be in some way remarkable."[138] The account further makes mention of the "tall idols and č'op'ay with the filthy skins of the altars."[139] All of these elements correspond to the practices of the Turkic peoples. T'angri Xan is of course, **tengri xan**, the name of the supreme sky deity of the Altaic peoples. The very sparse linguistic data, primarily titles which date largely from the Khazar era and hence are of uncertain attribution (Khazar or Hunnic), are insufficient to allow us to form a judgment regarding the ethno-linguistic affiliations of the North Caucasian Huns. They became an important part of the Khazar state and were still a distinct element in the late 7th century. After that, our sources lose sight of them.

## THE EUROPEAN AVARS

The precise origins and ethnic affiliations of the "European Avars" have yet to be satisfactorily elucidated. The notion that the Avars who came to Eastern-Central Europe were the fugitive remnants of the Jou-Jan/Apar (Abar) polity in Inner Asia seems implicit in the reference to them by a Türk ruler in Western Eurasia as "our slaves" who have fled their masters.[140] This conceptualization of the ethnogenesis of the European Avars was put forward at the very dawn of modern Turkic studies. It has been the subject of intense investigation over the last forty years.[141] Much of the discussion has centered around certain passages in the Letter of the Türk Qağan sent to the Byzantine Emperor Maurikios (582-602) preserved in the account of Theophylaktos Simokattes. In this letter (already noted above), to which the Byzantine historian has added his own explanatory comments, the Qağan,[142] "the great master (δεσπότης) of the seven tribes and lord of the seven

138 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 153-156.

139 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 165-166. This "Hunnic" term should be compared with Oset. **coppaj**, a ritual dance over a person struck by lightning, see Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 165-166n.2.

140 Menander, EL, ed. de Boor, p. 205, Menander/Blockley, pp. 174/175. These remarks, dated to 572, were addressed to a Byzantine ambassador.

141 See Haussig, 1953; Haussig, 1956; Czeglédy, 1983, esp. pp. 107-125; Sinor, 1946-47, pp.

climes...having, indeed, crushed in war the chief of the Abdels (τῶν Ἀβδελῶν = Hephthalites, PBG)...took for himself power over this people. Having taken upon himself great things and having made an alliance with Ištemi Qağan (Στεμβισχάδαν, recte Στεμβισχάγαν), he enslaved the people of the Avars." He then goes on to warn that the "barbarians who dwell towards Europe and Pannonia" are not to be considered the true Avars nor can it be said that their "arrival was earlier than the time of the Emperor Maurikios." These barbarians on the Ister, "have falsely embraced the name of the Avars." The real Avars, we are told, after their defeat fled to Ταύγαστ which is noted as a famous town, 1500 miles distant from the Türks, lying near India. Taugast is, of course, Tabğač, i.e. China, Simokattes having garbled some of the geography. Other Avars fled to the Μουκρί, a militarily powerful people near Taugast. The Qağan then conquered the Ὀγώρ, a powerful people "who have made their abodes towards the East, whence flows the river Til...The oldest chieftains of this people are called Οὐὰρ and Χουννί. From them, some of these peoples have chosen the name Ouar (War) and Xunni."

As noted above, the geography is uncertain. If we understand Theophylaktos' reference to the east to refer to the eastern region near to him, i.e. the Ponto-Caspian steppes, rather than Inner Asia, the geographical difficulties in this part of the account disappear. The "Til" is the Volga (Turk. Atil/Itil). Theophylaktos further notes that during the reign of Justinian (527-565), "a small portion of the original clan (ἀρχεγόνου φύλου, the ruling clan ? PBG) fled for a home in Europe. These (people) having called themselves Avars, brightened up their ruler with the title of Qağan." He attributes this masquerade to the circumstance that the Βαρσὴλτ, Οὐνουγοῦροι and Σαβίροι (Barsils, Onoğurs and Sabirs) "and other Hunnic peoples," mistook the newcomers for the Avars who "lived near at hand." The War and Xunni exploited this mistaken identity to gain tribute from these tribes. Czeglédy, as we have seen, has persuasively argued that both the Jou-Jan and Hephthalite polities consisted of War and Hun tribes. Hence, Theophylaktos' information is accurate, but his conclusions are faulty, not realizing that the "War" and "Xunni" are indeed elements of the Inner and Central Asian Avars or Hephthalites.[143] Which of these two confederations formed the core of the European Avar remains unclear. The chronology of the events also raises problems.

The evidence adduced by physical anthropologists, based on grave finds in present-day Hungary, clearly indicates that the European Avars had a core of Central-Inner Asian Mongoloid origin. These were probably the Avars proper and constituted the aristocracy of the Avar polity that established

itself in Pannonia. Their union also contained other elements that were incorporated in the course of their migration from the east. To this grouping were then added elements from the Western Eurasian steppes and various groups that were in Pannonia (Bulğaric, Germanic, Iranian).[144]

The sparse remnants of the language of the European Avars do not provide sufficient, unequivocal evidence regarding their ethno-linguistic affiliations. The few Avar titles known to us, **qağan** (Χαγάνος), **tudun** (tudunus), **yuğruš** (iugurrus, iugurgus)[145] point to Inner Asian political traditions. We possess a number of names of Avar officials (usually ambassadors) or generals[146] : 'Αψίχ, Βαϊανός (the name of an Avar Qağan, cf. Turk **bay**, Mong. **bayan** "rich, wealthy"[147]), Βοοκολαβρᾶς ( ? + **qolabur**, Oğuric for **qulabuz** "guide"[148]), 'Ερμίτζις, Κανδίχ, Κουνίμων (but cf. the Gepid name **Cunimundus**), Κόχ (Turk. **kök** "blue" or **qoğ**, **qoq** "dust, ashes"[149]), Σαμούρ, Σόλαχος (Turk. **solaq**, Mong. **soluğai** "left-handed"[150]), Ταργίτης/Ταργίτιος/Tergazis (Mong. **tergeči(n)** "wagon-maker, cartmaker, cart driver"[151]). Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, in his discussion of the Croatian conquest of Dalmatia from the Avars, lists the brothers Κλουκᾶς, Λόβελος, Κοσέντζης, Μουχλὼ, the eponymous Χρωβάτος and their sisters Τουγά and Βουγά. Moravcsik considered some of these names as possibly of Avar origin.[152] Latin sources (Einhard) also note the Avar name **Canizauci/Camzauci** (Turk. **qamsauči** "shaman-emissary") and (Fredegar) **befulci**, a term for auxiliary troops.[153] Németh believed that the European Avars spoke a form of Common Turkic,[154] but, as the material given above indicates, this cannot be established with certainty. We can be certain that Turkic, in its Oğuric and possibly other forms, was spoken within the Avar confederation. The discovery and decipherment of runic texts in Avar sites indicate this.[155] The Avars, in time, may have adopted Turkic while retaining, perhaps, names of Mongolic origin. But, this is only conjecture.

The European Avars, then, behave as a typical Eurasian nomadic tribal confederation. With their core tribes having their roots in the War-Hun

144 Lipták, **Avars**, pp. 48,49,95,159; Tot (Tóth), Firštejn, **Antropologičeskie dannye**, pp. 32-33.
145 The latter is attested only in Qaraxanid times, see Clauson, **ED**, pp. 905-906 where it is a high rank. Cf. also, Németh, **HMK**, p. 103; Köprülü, 1938/1983, pp. 95-98.
146 These are largely recorded in Menander and Theoph. Sim., see Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 82,83,95,125,149, 168,172, 265,284,299 and the literature noted there.
147 Clauson, **ED**, p. 384; Lessing, **MED**, p. 76.
148 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 617-618 : **qulâwuz**, a word of obscure origin.
149 Clauson, **ED**, p. 609, cf. also **qoq**- "to strike" and **qo:q**- "to decrease."
150 Clauson, **ED**, p. 826; Lessing, **MED**, p. 726.
151 Lessing, **MED**, p. 805.
152 Const. Porph., **DAI**, p. 142; Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 97,161,164,178,203,319.

polities, either Jou-Jan or Hephthalite, or perhaps both, they fled westward, incorporating additional groups as they went. This not only reduced the Inner Asian component, it undoubtedly resulted in language changes as well. Thus, it should hardly be surprising that the European Avars were an ethnically mixed tribal confederation, with an Inner Asian core, in which a number of Altaic and non-Altaic languages were spoken.

The Avars probably arrived in the Ponto-Caspian steppe zone ca. 557. They quickly entered into relations with Constantinople, whither, in 558, an embassy under Καυδίχ was dispatched with Alan assistance. Byzantium, always seeking a force that could both control the steppe nomads and threaten Iran, entered into an agreement with them. The Avars proved to be difficult "foederati." Having defeated or brought under their control the Sabirs, Utigurs, Kutrigurs and Antes and gathering now in "Scythia Minor" (Dobrudja), Constantinople's new allies were proving to be too menacing to the Empire. Consequently, when, in 562, the Avars again pressed Constantinople for gifts and land, Byzantium, having begun diplomatic relations with the Türks, was less amenable. Under the unstable Justin II (565-578), who opposed Justinian's policy of appeasement, relations worsened.[156] Avar probings of Central Europe, occasioned, no doubt, by the advancing Türk threat, brought them into contact with the Franks. They were repulsed by the Frankish king Sigibert in 561 or 562. But, by 565 or 566, the Avars had their revenge, capturing the Frankish ruler. In 567-568, allied now with the Lombards, they drove out the Gepids from Pannonia. The Lombards, fearful of their Avar "allies" and uncertain of their relationship with Byzantium, moved off to Italy in which Ostrogothic power had collapsed. The Avars, bringing with them subordinate Kutrigur and other Oğuro-Bulğaric elements, became the dominant force in Pannonia.[157] Türk pressure led to the flight of other Western Eurasian steppe tribes to the Avar confederation. Thus, they were subsequently joined here, as Theophylaktos reports, by the Ταρνιὰχ, Κοτζαγηροὶ and apparently the Ζαβενδὲρ, who were of War-Hun origin.[158]

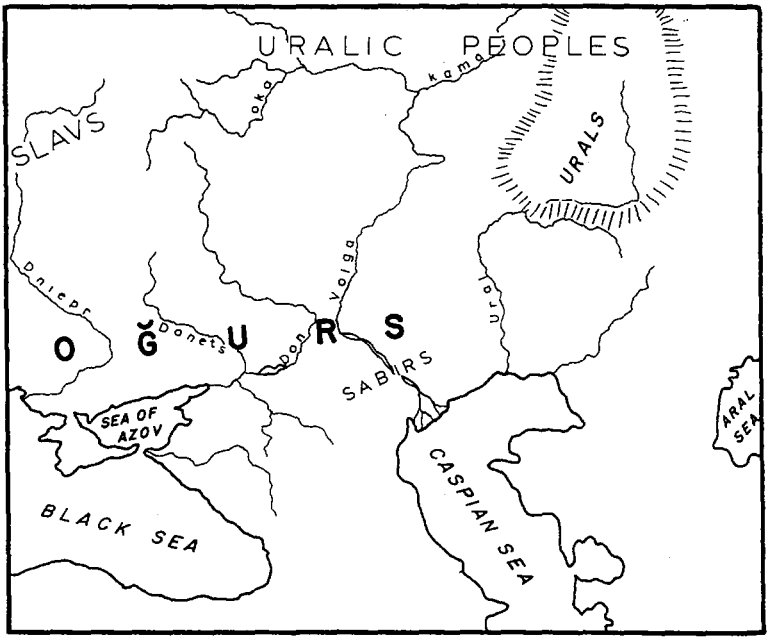
Under the leadership of the Qağan Bayan, the Avars, in the 580's, undertook a series of raids on the Balkan possessions of the Empire. In this enterprise, they joined the Slavs who had initiated these attacks during the reign of Justinian I. In many instances, the Slavs and Avars cooperated and on some occasions the Avars appear to have taken a leading role. Avar raiding, however, like that of the Huns in Pannonia before them, was predatory in nature, the eruptions of a denomadicizing society. The Slavic

156 Menander, **EL**, ed. de Boor, pp. 442-446, Menander/Blockley, pp. 138/139-144/145;

raids ended in colonization and sweeping ethnic changes. Those of the Avars brought great booty. There is no need to discuss the details of Avaro-Slavo-Byzantine relations. The Avars not only raided Byzantium with Slavic allies or subjects, they also sometimes fought the Slavs as allies of the Byzantines. We should note, however, that at the same time that Byzantium was engaged in the struggle for the Balkans, it was also locked in conflict with Sâsânid Iran. In 626, Constantinople's worst fears were realized. The anti-Byzantine forces, Avars, Slavs and Persians, undertook what proved to be an unsuccessful assault on the imperial capital itself. This failure may have indicated some weakening in Avar strength. In the early 620's, Samo (d. ca. 649), a Frankish merchant, perhaps under Byzantine influence, had aided a revolt of Western Slavs against Avar overlordship and founded a short-lived kingdom.[159] This Byzantine diplomatic offensive also affected the Bulğar tribes in the Pontic steppes which, in the 630's, under the leadership of Kubrat (with whom Herakleios [610-641], the brilliant Byzantine emperor, maintained close ties) forged a powerful confederation. At the same time, Herakleios had established an alliance with the Western Türks. We shall examine these developments in the next chapters. We may glance, for a moment, at the subsequent course of Avar history only to note that the Avar threat to Byzantium now began to recede. In the late 8th century, the Avar confederation, now somewhat decrepit but still fabulously wealthy from its years of raiding, fell to the Franks. Avar groupings survived, apparently, along with Bulğaric elements, in Pannonia until the coming of the Hungarians.[160]

We have examined two very different types of political entities in this chapter. The Huns and Avars both represented Inner Asian confederations, albeit somewhat or greatly altered in the course of their migrations, that brought elements of a state structure with them to Western Eurasia. Both took possession of the last outpost of the Eurasian steppe in East-Central Europe : the Hungarian plains. Here they were further transformed, economically (denomadicization) and ethnically. The Huns, after a brief period of power, culminating in the raids of Attila, collapsed. The Avar union, exploiting the movement of the Slavs into the Balkans, was able to grow wealthy off predation on its neighbors. The Oğuric tribes, however, remaining nomadic or semi-nomadic, were deeply involved in the fur trade and exerted a powerful influence on the forest, largely Finno-ugric peoples with whom this trade brought them in contact. They did not develop a state in the steppe zone.

Having surveyed the principal historical developments and ethno-political forces in nomadic Eurasia, from the Hsiung-nu and their immediate successors to the War-Hun and Oğuric peoples, we may discern the broad contours of several critical moments. The rise and fall of the Hsiung-nu polity touched off migratory waves of nomads westwards. Whatever Hsiung-nu ethnic affiliations may have been, it is clear that these migrations brought sizable Turkic elements westward, putting into place the ethnic foundation blocks for the later Turkic peoples of Central and Western Eurasia. A series of migrations also followed the rise and fall of the Jou-Jan and Hephthalite states, propelling still more Turkic (especially Oğuric) groupings westward. The interaction of these Turkic groupings with the Iranian populations of the steppes was largely ignored by our sources. This was, however, a critical phase. Archaeology points to considerable cultural interchange. Presumably, it resulted in the Turkicization of some of the Iranian nomads throughout Eurasia. This was a gradual process, one that was by no means complete on the eve of the Mongol conquests in the 13th century. Having completed this lengthy preamble, we may now turn to the history of the Türks.




MAP III WESTERN EURASIA

## THE TÜRK EMPIRES OF EURASIA

In 552, as we have seen, the Türks revolted against their overlords in Mongolia, the Jou-Jan, and established the First Türk Qağanate. Bumın, the son of the "Great Yabğu, T'u-wu," took the title **I-li k'o-han** (**İllig Qağan** "the Qağan who has a realm," **il**).[1] The sudden emergence and elevation to a position of prominence in the politico-military affairs of Inner Asia of this people who were hitherto noted as the "blacksmiths" of the Jou-Jan requires closer scrutiny. This was not only a very rapid rise, but it brought to the fore an ethnonym by which many of the Turkic peoples subsequently became known in the non-Turkic world.

### The Ethnonym Türk

Barthold attributed the spread of this ethnonym to the Muslim authors who "popularized" it by bestowing it on all the Turkic nomads they encountered. Outside of the Islamic world, he argues, it was not widely used.[2] Undoubtedly, Muslim authors played a role in spreading this ethnonym within the Islamic world and to Turkic peoples who were Islamicizing. In the non-Islamic Turkic world, however, this could hardly have been so. Yet, here, we find a continuing use of this term which may be attributed to the persistence of certain traditions and forms of political identification associated with the Türk Qağanate. Thus, Uyğur Manichaean documents make references to **bu qam(u)ğ Türk budun** ("this the entire Türk people"), **adınčığ Türkče bašik** ("a special Türk hymn").[3] The Khazars, whose state derived from the Türk Empire, were called Türks by Chinese, Byzantine, Georgian and Arab sources which probably indicates that they used this term themselves. Clearly, this usage went beyond the conventions of Islamic geographical literature, reflecting, perhaps, local tradition. The Hungarians, who were under the aegis of the Khazar Qağanate and adopted elements of Khazar political organization before they occupied their Pannonian homeland, were regularly termed Türks by contemporary Byzantine and perhaps other sources.[4] It is more difficult to determine whether the

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1. **İllig, ellig**, later **ilig, elig** "one who has a realm" came to denote "king, ruler," see Clauson, **ED**, pp. 141-142, see also Chap. 4,n.12. In Soğdian, he was termed **bγ βwmyn ɣ'ɣ'n** "Lord Bumın Qağan," Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 86.
2. Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, p. 40. He does, however, cite the usage from the **Suvarṇaprabhâsa/Altun Yaruq** (10th century Uyğur) of **türk uyğur tili** and the Rus' **Tork** (for the Western Oğuz).
3. von Le Coq, 1919, p. 10; von Gabain, 1929, p. 414. See also Radloff, **Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler**, p. 157.

appearance of the ethnonym **Türk** in the Turko-Islamic literature of the Qaraxanids, which had a strong Türko-Uyğur cultural substratum (the Uyğur script was used as well as Arabic), or the designation of the Mamluk state as **Dawlat al-Atrâk** (the "State of the Turks"), reflects Muslim usage or the continuation of old traditions. Regrettably, we have little data on the ethnic consciousness of medieval Turkic populations.

The earliest mention by literary sources of the ethnonym **Türk** is equally problematic. Attempts have been made to connect **Türk** with Ταργιτάος, the first king of the Scythians (Herod.IV. 5), the Τύρκαι/'Ιύρκαι of that same source (Herod.IV.22) and other authors of antiquity,[5] **Togarma** of the Old Testament, **Turukha** /**Turuška** of Indic sources, **Turukku** of Assyrian documents and others.[6] There are some uncertain references, ca. 420, in Persian traditions, to Turks. John of Antioch mentions a certain Τουργοῦν, in whose name some would see Türk-Hun or Türkün. Hephthalite materials note TOPKO which has also been interpreted as **Türk**.[7] It is, of course, possible, but rather unlikely, that some groups associated with the Türks were operating in the Western Eurasian steppes in the period prior to 552. It is far more probable, however, that Persian accounts for the period before the mid-6th century in which these **Turks** appear,[8] are using this ethnonym anachronistically and that the other references may be explained philologically without introducing the Türks. Our clearest, unassailable references come from the Chinese and other sources for the mid-6th century. Indeed, it may well be that this ethnonym came into being at that time.

The ethnonym **Türk** appears in two forms, the sing. **Türk** and the pl.**Türküt**, in a variety of sources : Chin. **T'u-chüe** [T'u-küe < *t'uət-kiwət or *Dwïδ-k'iuδ = *Durküt = Türküt], Soġd. (Bugut inscription) : **trʾwkt** [ Soġd. *Turkit, which Harmatta suggests is from ***Twrky, Turkit**, a Soġd. plural ]. The forms with the plural ending -t, also found in Türk titles noted in the Orxon inscriptions and present today only in Mongol ( -d), it has been argued, may point to the Jou-Jan form of this name or at least a Jou-Jan heritage. Indeed, it is quite probable that some of these titles were borrowed from the Jou-Jan or some other Inner Asian source and may well have preserved the plural form of their source language.[9] Other sources do not

5 See texts in Dovatur, **Narody**, pp. 100/101,108/109, 207-208n.141,246-247n.228. These names are also found in Pliny (**Hist. nat.**, IV,19) **tyrcae** and Mela (I,116) **turcae** (see Aalto, Pekkanen, **Latin Sources**, I, p. 55, II, p. 232 also cited in Dovatur, p. 247). Uralicists suggest that Tyrkai of Herodotos, which in most editions appears as Iyrkai, is possibly Uralic, see Hajdu, **Finno-Ugrian**, pp. 65-66. Sinor, "Establishment" **CHEIA**, pp. 285,287, does not exclude the possibility of a Turkic presence this far west at this early date.

6 Surveyed by Kafesoğlu, 1966, pp. 306-307 and in the **Türk Dünyası El Kitabı**, p. 692.

7 Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, p. 319; Haussig, 1953, p. 310.

8 Cf. Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, p. 75, Ṭabarî/Nöldeke, p. 99 refering to "Xâqân, king of the Turks."

reflect this plural form : Soǧd. **twrk**, Middle Pers. **turk**, Arab. **trk** (pl. **atrâk**), Syriac **turkaye**, Greek Τούρκος, Sanskrit **turuška**, Tibet. **drug,drugu**, Xotanese **ttûrka, tturki**.[10]

The etymology of **Türk** remains uncertain. Németh, basing himself on Müller, Thomsen and others, derived it from **türk** "strength, power, might."[11] Clauson, among others, however, rejected this on a number of grounds, viewing the original form of this ethnonym as **Türkü**.[12] Tekin reads it as **Türük** and **Türk**.[13] In some instances it appears to be used in the inscriptions in a sense devoid of all ethnic content. In sum, then, there is no consensus of scholarly opinion.[14]

There is another usage employed in the Orxon inscriptions which has both an ethnic and political connotation. In the Kül Tegin inscription, reference is made to the **idi oqsız kök türk** "the Kök Türks who were masterless and without clan organization."[15] In Türkic, **kök (kö:k)**, denoted "sky, sky-coloured, blue, blue-grey."[16] In the Türk system of color orientation, "blue" designated the "East." Thus, **Kök Türk** meant the "Eastern Türks."[17]

### The Question of Türk Origins

The ethnogenetic legends about the origins of the Türks are preserved in the Chinese dynastic annals, the **Chou-shu** (completed ca. 629), the **Sui-shu** (written between 629-636), the **Pei-shi** (completed ca. 659) and the **Yu-yang tsa-tu** (ca. 860). These legends[18]report that the Türks were a separate or

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Kononov, **Grammatika**, p. 147, also suggests that the -t plural in Türkic is of Soǧdian provenance. Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, pp. 102-103 simply takes it from Iranian -at, -it, -ut without further definition. I think Pelliot was closer to the mark. There does not seem to be a need to turn to Iranian for this particular form when these and other plural forms found in Orxon Türkic are also to be found in Mongolic, cf. Türk.**-n, -s : eren** (< **er** "man," **išbaras** (< **išbara**, a title). They may perhaps appear also in tribal names : Tölis, Tardus (Tarduš) and Türgis (Türgiš), see Tekin, **Grammar**, pp. 121-122; Kononov, **Grammatika**, pp. 145-147. But, in Orxon Türkic these are not always used with "official" terms, e.g. **oğlt** "children." We are not compelled to view these forms as Iranian or necessarily Mongolic but possibly as stemming from the same Altaic (or areal) source and common to both groups at that time. Thus, even the plural form most closely associated with Common Turkic, **-lar/-ler**, can be compared with the Mongolic **-nar/-ner**.

10 Kljaštornyj, 1965, p. 278; Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 101.

11 Németh, 1927, pp. 275-281; followed by Kafesoğlu, 1966, pp. 315-317.

12 Clauson, 1962, pp. 99-101.

13 Tekin, **Grammar**, p. 388.

14 See the lengthy discussion in Doerfer, **TME**, II, pp. 483-495 (esp. 491-494) and the brief survey in Kononov, **Rodoslovnaja**, p. 81n.21.

15 Ajdarov, **Jazyk orxonskix pamjatnikov**, p. 290; Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 8/9.

16 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 708-709.

17 Sinor, 1982, p. 155.

independent branch of the Hsiung-nu originally living on the right bank of the "West Sea."[19] If the Caspian is, indeed, meant here, this would place the early Türk homeland in Western Eurasia. Inventing a homeland at some distance from one's present abode, however, is a commonplace of ethnogenetic and royal foundation myths. Their family/clan name is noted as A-shih-na. Completely wiped out by a neighboring people (the Lin state), only a ten year old boy, whom his enemies had mutilated (cutting off his feet) and thrown into a marsh, survived. He was cared for there by a she-wolf whom he later made pregnant. When the "king" of his enemies learned that he was still alive, he sent someone to kill him. The she-wolf fled eastward to a mountain north (or northwest) of the state of Kao-chang (= Qočo, 30 miles east of Turfan[20]). There, in a mountain cave, in which there was a plain with abundant grass, she gave birth to ten sons. They all took surnames, one calling himself A-shih-na.[21] The latter became their leader and placed a wolf's head on their standards to show their origins. Their numbers multiplied. Several generations later, under A-hsien-shih, they left the cave and submitted to the Ju-Ju/Jou-Jan. They lived on the southern slope of the Chin-shan ("Golden Mountain" = the Altay < ***altañ** ? Turk. **altun** > Mong. **altan**, cf. Altaic **ñ** > **n/y**, e.g. Türk. **qoñ/qoy**, Mong. **qoni**, Turk. **Qıtañ /Qıtay**, Mong. **Qitan**).

The **Chou-shu** contains another account which states that the Türks derived from the So country,[22] north of the Hsiung-nu. They were led by A-pang-pu, who had 17 (or 70) brothers, one of whom, I-chih-ni-shih-tu, was born of a wolf. While his brothers were of limited mental capacity (and hence their lands were destroyed), (I-chih-)ni-shih-tu possessed the power to control the wind and rain. He married the daughters of the Spirit of Winter

1957, pp. 84-88, see also his **Türk Mitolojisi**, I, pp. 18-29.

19 Liu, CN, II, p. 495n.41 comments that the "West Sea" (hsi-hai) was a changing concept which denoted at different times the Aral Sea, the Mediterranean, Kuku-nor etc. Liu and others believe that the Caspian is meant here. Kljaštornyj, 1965, p. 278 suggests that it was the delta of the Edzin Gol whose tributaries flow into the Gašun-Nor and Sogo-Nor. This is an area of numerous small lakes and salt marshes in Liang Province (which included much of Kansu and the Turfan Depression). This was the geographical usage of the term in the 4th-5th centuries. Sinor, 1982, p. 226 notes that in Sui times (581-617) the Hsi-hai "was thought to be adjacent to Fu-lin, i.e. the Byzantine Empire."

20 Sinor, 1982, p. 226.

21 Sinor, 1982, p. 225 has : "Each of the descendants took a surname and called himself A-shih-na."

22 The location of So/Sou is unclear, Ögel, 1957, p. 99. Liu, CN, II, 489n.8, notes a connection with the Hsien-pi lands, but does not credit it with much importance. Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, pp. 287-288, connects "So" with Chin. **so** "rope, to bind," cf. **so-t'ou** "rope-heads," perhaps a reference to hair worn in a queue or braid. This might connect

and Spirit of Summer. Of the four sons born to one of them, one changed into a white swan. The other three created separate polities, one founding a state, called Ch'i-ku,[23] between the A-fu and Chien rivers[24], the other on the Ch'u-chih river while the oldest son lived on the Chien-hsi-ch'u-chih-shih mountain.[25] Here, the oldest son, having saved them by making fire, was elected leader over other tribes also descended from A-pang-pu. He was No-tu-lu-shih/Na-tu-liu-shih (šad) and he was given the title **Türk**. He had sons from ten wives, each of whom had taken the surnames of their mothers. A-shih-na was the son of his concubine. After his father's death, he won a jumping contest and was elected leader with the title A-hsien-shih (šad).[26] The first Türk Qağan was Bumın/T'u-men, son of T'u-wu (who bore the title Ta-ye-hu, "Great Yabğu[27]), grandson of A-hsien-shih and greatgrandson of Na-tu-liu. The **Chou-shu** goes on to note that they came to the Chinese border, for the first time, to trade for silk.

Needless to say, there are many folkloric elements in these accounts not unique to the Türks. Thus, the Chinese accounts tell of the Wu-sun K'un-mo, cast out into the wilderness when his father was killed by the Hsiung-nu, who was brought meat by birds and suckled by wolves.[28] Sinor interprets this similarity of motifs as evidence of an Iranian component in the shaping of the Türks,[29] a point to which we shall return. The **Wei-shu** reports that the Kao-chü (associated with the Uyğurs) also had a lupine ancestry.[30] Power over the elements, rain and wind, attributed to I-chih-ni-shih-tu is a familiar characteristic of Turkic and Mongolian shamans (cf. yat "divination with stones to bring on rain and wind,"[31] **yatčı**, the **yada taši** "rain stone" etc.).[32]

A third tale, not really ethnogenetic in character, is preserved in the **Yu-yang tsa-tu**. It relates that the Türks were descended from a lake spirit, Shê-

23 Liu, **CN**, II, p. 489n.12 : one of the Chinese terms for the Qırğız.

24 Liu, **CN**, II, p. 489nn.10,11 : A-Fu = Ubssa Sea (?), Chien-shui = Ulu Kem, i.e. upper course of the Yenisei. Kljaštornyj, 1965, p. 278, followed by Sinor, 1982, p. 226, suggests the Abakan for the A-Fu and Kem/Yenisei for the Chien.

25 Liu, **CN**, II, p. 489-490nn13,14 identifies the Ch'u-chih with the Yenisei (Sinor, 1982, p. 226 : Middle Yenisei) and the Chien-hsi-ch'u-chih-shih mountain with the Ts'ing-shan of the **T'ang-shu**'s notice on the Qırğız = Han-t'eng-ko-erh-shan (Western Sajan ?).

26 The character **hsien** figures in Hsiung-nu titles and appears to denote "wise, sage" (cf. the Türk. **bilge**), Ögel, 1957, p. 112.

27 Reported in the **T'ang-shu**, see Liu, **CN**, II, p. 490n.18.

28 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 271.

29 Sinor, 1982, p. 236. In this connection, we might note that Turk. **böri** "wolf" the name also given to the guard officers of the Qağan (Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 9,181), is viewed by some as deriving from Iranian **bairaka** "fearful" or ***birû-ka** etc., see Sevortjan, **ÈtSl.**, II, pp. 219-221.

30 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 214-215.

31 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, pp. 230,307.

mo-shê-li, "who lived to the west of the A-shih-tê cavern." It then tells how Shê-mo, at the behest of the daughter of the lake spirit, was brought by a white deer into the lake. Shê-mo was forewarned in a dream by the daughter of the lake spirit that, in order to maintain their relationship, he must, during a hunt, hit with his arrow a "white deer with golden horns" that will emerge "from the cavern where your ancestors were born." His men, however, killed the deer. Angered at this, he cut off the head of the leader of the tribe, A-erh, that had killed the deer and decreed that henceforth there would have to be human sacrifices to heaven, from A-erh's tribe. The daughter of the lake spirit, disgusted at his shedding of human blood, broke with him.[33]

In addition to the ethnogenetic legends, the Chinese sources offer straightforward historical accounts that shed some light on the early fortunes of the Türks. The **Sui-shu** reports that the Türks stemmed from "mixed Hu barbarians" from P'ing-liang (= P'ing-liang-hsien in Kansu)[34] who had the family/clan name A-shih-na. When the Northern Wei Emperor T'ai-wu-ti (424-452) destroyed the Tsü-ch'ü, a Hsiung-nu clan that had founded the Northern Liang statelet (397-439) in Kansu, the A-shih-na and some 500 families fled to the Jou-Jan. Settled in the Altay, they engaged in iron-working. The name **Türk**, the **Sui-shu** comments, means "helmet" and stems from the fact that the Altay looks like a helmet, "therefore they called themselves by this name."[35]

These accounts are all very different, reflecting a number of traditions. This complexity, in turn, indicates, in all likelihood, that the Türks were a composite grouping formed from diverse elements. Thus, in this society, which shows evidence of an earlier matriarchy, a leader, Na-tu-liu šad is brought in from the outside.[36] The theme of the foreign origin of the ruler, who often has salvational powers, is quite common in many cultures. Founding dynasties, both foreign and native, often create or exploit tribal myths to fashion an ideology which underscores their sanctity and the holiness it confers on land and people. This plays an important role in the shaping of ethnicity.[37]

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33 See Sinor, 1982, pp. 230-231. He notes that A-shih-tê is the name of a famous Türk clan, that of Toñuquq and of An-lu-shan, whose mother was a shamaness (Liu, **CN**, I, p. 267).

34 **Hu** [ɣə < *gá, so Pulleyblank, 1983, p. 449] was originally a term for the "Northern Barbarians," such as the Hsiung-nu, but later came to designate "Barbarians" in general or other specific groups among them, e.g. the **Tung hu** ("Eastern Barbarians"), see Liu, **CN**, II, pp. 490-491n.22; Taskin, **Materialy**, p. 39. On P'ing-liang, see Liu, **CN**, II, p. 519n.208; Ögel, 1957, pp. 91-92. Ögel connects this region with the Ho-lien Hsiung-nu tribe/clan that founded the Hsia statelet, the power center of which was in the Ordos. They were crushed in 432 and scattered.

35 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 40, II, p. 519n.209; Yamada, 1985, p. 243.

36 Sinor, 1982, pp. 229, 232, 236, 237.

What, then, were the real origins of the A-shih-na ? What were the elements that came to make up the Türks ? To answer this we must turn to their earliest history. The hard facts are very sparse and open to a variety of interpretations.

Kljaštornyj, largely basing himself on the **Sui-shu** account, reconstructs their early history thus : when the Northern Wei ruler, T'ai-wu-ti, expanded, he took over or destroyed a number of regions which included the Hsiung-nu statelet of the Northern Liang that contained the ancestors of the A-shih-na. The A-shih-na and others fled to Kao-ch'ang (ca. 439) and thence to the Southern Altay (ca. 460). In the latter region they took the name Türk. Prior to their settlement in the Altay (from 3rd century to 460), they had lived in areas that were predominantly Indo-European (Iranian and Tokharian) in speech. In this reconstruction, there are, not unexpectedly, a number of phases in Türk ethnogenesis. Prominently featured are the Kansu-Kao-ch'ang and Altaian periods. Klaštornyj interprets the name A-shih-na as deriving from either Iranian (cf. Xotan. **âṣâna** "worthy, noble") or Tokharian (**âṣâm, aṣâm**).[38] An interesting suggestion along these lines has been made by Beckwith who identifies A-shih-na with 'Αρσίλας, the "name of the most ancient monarch of the Türks" as reported by Menander.[39] He reconstructs this "name of the foreign mother of the first ruler of the Türks" as ***Aršila**, which he compares to the Tokharian title **Âršilâñci** and hints at a connection with Turk. **arslan** "lion."[40] Such a connection is not impossible. There are a number of Indo-European, or more specifically Tokharian and Iranian loanwords in Turkic (e.g. **künčit** "sesame" < Tokh. **kuñcit, ökü̈z** "ox," cf. Tokh. A ***okäs**, Tokh.B **oxso, arpa** "barley" < IE ***albhi, temür** < cf. Bud. Skrt. **cîmara**, NW Indo-Aryan **čumar** "iron"), which indicate both proximity to these peoples and strong cultural influences.[41] In addition to the "foreignness" of the name A-shih-na, we might also point to the non-Turkic appearance of the names of most of the early Türk rulers : A-pang-pu (?-?), No-tu-lu/liu (?-?, Turkic words do not normally have initial **n-**), A-hsien (?-?), T'u-wu (?-?), Bumın (Soǧd.Bugut. **bwmyn**, Chin. T'u-men [*t'uo-mən], ?-552), his brother Ištemi (Chin. Shih-tieh-mi, Byz. Στεμβισχάγαν,[42] 552-575, the Western **Yabğu Qağan**), *Qara/Kvara (Chin. k'o-lo [khuâ-lâ] which may be explained as Turkic) I-hsi-hi (552-553), *Muqan/Muğan (Soǧd.Bugut. **mwγ'n**, Chin. Mu-han [muk ɣân/muk kân] 553-572), *Taspar (Soǧd.Bugut.

38 Kljaštornyj, 1965, pp. 276-281 and his **Drevnetjurkskie**, pp. 110-116.
39 Menander, **EL**, ed. de Boor, 204, ed. Blockley, pp. 172/173.
40 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 206-208. Clauson, **ED**, p. 238, views **arslan** as native Turkic, similar to other animal names that end in **-lan**, e.g. **qaplan** "leopard, tiger," **sırtlan** "hyena."
41 Clauson, 1975, pp. 47,49 and his **ED**, pp. 129, 198,727-728; Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p.

t²sp²r, Chin. T'a-po [thâ puât] 572-581), *Nivar/*Näbär[43] (Soǧd. Bugut. **nw³⁰r**, Chin. Nie-tu [ńźie b'ịuk = *Ñebuk/Ñevuk, ńźie b'uât = Ñebar/Ñevar, 581-587).[44] Much of the Türkic titulature, as we shall see, is borrowed. This is to be expected. The use of foreign personal names is somewhat more complex. On the basis of the available data, it is unclear whether the A-shih-na were originally speakers of a language other than Turkic. It is certainly a possibility that should not be excluded.[45] Clearly, they were profoundly influenced by their Iranian and Tokharian neighbors. As Kljaštornyj and Livšic point out, it is hardly accidental that the first Chinese envoy sent to Bumın in 545 was a Soǧdian. Significantly, Soǧdian merchants also were active among the Northern T'ieh-lê, trying to create a counterbalance to the Jou-Jan.[46] Subsequently, Soǧdians were present in the Eastern and Western Qağanal courts and played important political, cultural and economic roles.[47] The Bugut inscription, the earliest official inscription of the Türk Qağanate, with clear pictorial references to the Türk ethnogenetic myth, is, it should be noted, in the Soǧdian language.[48] How early the Soǧdian influences began cannot, at present, be determined. Soǧdians started to move beyond the confines of their homeland in the aftermath of Alexander's invasion of Central Asia. They were in contact with China by the 3rd century B.C.[49] Thus, their contact with Turkic-speaking peoples may be of some antiquity. Moreover, as we have seen, they were not the only "foreign" influences. We should not limit our speculations to the Indo-European area alone.

The ethnic situation in Southern Siberia, whither the A-shih-na came

43 Pritsak, 1985, pp. 205-206. He bore, among others, the titles (in Chinese transcription) i-li (ilig) chü-lü (külü) shê (šad) mo-ho (bağa) shih-po-lo (išpara) k'o-han (qağan) and the personal name Shê-tu, read Nie-pi [*niep *pjwi] = Näbär.

44 Klaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 74 (T'o-po). Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, pp. 324,329, suspected that most of the Eastern/Northern Türk qağanal names were of Juan-Juan origin, although Iranian sources could also not be ruled out. For dating see Golzio, **Kings, Khans**, pp. 60-61 and the "Der Stammbaum der Herrscher der Ost-T'u-küe" given at the end of Liu, **CN**, II.

45 Sinor, 1985, pp. 147-157 makes a number of pertinent points : the Türk system of orientation (East) differs from that of the other Turkic peoples, except the Yaqut, Tofa/Karagas, Yellow Uyğurs and Čuvaš. The Türk numerical system, e.g. **üč yegirmi** for on üč "thirteen," is non-Turkic. The bulk of the names associated with the Türks in the Chinese sources cannot be etymologized on the basis of Turkic. There are Ugric or Samoyedic elements in the Old Türkic vocabulary (e.g. **sab** "word," **yunt** "horse"). There are hints in Chinese sources about non-nomadic, i.e. forest Türk populations (the Mu-ma T'u-chüeh "wooden-horse (.e. skiing) Türks" noted in the **T'ang-shu** (217b section on the Qırğız). There was, as Sinor notes, "an important non-Turkic segment" within the Türk state, "whose civilization left its imprint on that of the ruling clan." This non-Turkic element, perhaps, extended to the ruling clan itself.

46 Ögel, 1957, p. 113.

47 See Pulleyblank, 1952, pp. 316ff.

48 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, pp. 70-71,90-91.

(returned ?) in the 5th century, is still little understood. The process of the Turkicization of local peoples has been going on for millennia. Were the A-shih-na an early example of this ethnic shifting ? If so, on which side of the equation are we to put them ? What was the nature of their economy during this period ? Were the A-shih-na nomads before they came to the Altay ? Did they adopt this type of economy there or did it come to them through their association with Hsiung-nu statelets ? How did they acquire their metallurgical expertise ? How are we to explain this specialization within the nomadic economy ? Finally, we might note that the relationship of the A-shih-na to the Türk is not that clear. Are they the ruling clan of a tribe called Türk ? Did they adopt this name, as seems to be implied, with their arrival in the Altay ? Was this the result of the creation of a tribal union ? Such would seem to be the import of our data. According to this line of reasoning, the A-shih-na, coming from somewhere in Kansu, conquered a space for themselves in the Altay region and forged a tribal union, called **Türk**, under their leadership. It is possible, then, for the A-shih-na at least, to posit a more westerly "Urheimat."

Having briefly examined the onomastic/linguistic and literary evidence, let us now turn to the "testimony of the spade." The data, here too, present a number of problems of interpretation. Kyzlasov has suggested that the first Turkic elements appeared in Southern Siberia in the Sarmato-Hunnic period. Here, they mixed with the local populations to form new groups, among them the Türks and Qırğız.[50] Ošanin notes that the Altay zone contained a basically Europoid population until the middle of the 1st millennium A.D. (i.e. 5th-6th century) when Mongoloid elements, probably coming from the Trans-Baikal region, entered the region and came to dominate it. Levin and Potapov, however, place this migration in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. and connect it with pressure from the Hsiung-nu. Mannaj-ool also connects the arrival in South Siberia of the Türks with the Hsiung-nu.[51] The chronological differences are certainly formidable. Since the Hsiung-nu, as we have seen, were mixed, containing Europoid and Mongoloid elements, it seems not unlikely that their activities and conquests introduced more Mongoloid elements to hitherto largely Europoid Southern Siberia.

In any event, the Altay, in these formulations, does not appear to have been the ancientmost habitat of the Turks. The earliest homeland of the A-

50 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sib.**, p. 56.

51 Oshanin, Anthropological Composition, p. 20; Levin, Potapov, Peoples, pp. 306-307; Potapov, **Očerki**, pp. 135,136, identifying Mongoloid somatic types with Turkic-speakers, suggests that their presence here was strengthened during the Hsiung-nu era. They mixed

shih-na, as the Chinese accounts imply, is, similarly, not necessarily to be associated with the Altay, although other elements of the tribal union they came to lead may have been present in that region prior to their arrival. It would appear that we are dealing with two groups : the A-shih-na and the various elements of the tribal union that they formed which took the name Türk. Such a group, at its inception, did not necessarily have to be ethnically or linguistically homogeneous. Much more data is required to trace these peoples archaeologically in order to determine the Turkic "Urheimat" in time and space. The archaeological evidence that we possess at present points strongly in the direction of a population of Mongoloid somatic type. This population seems to be most closely associated with the Trans-Baikal Mongoloid population. But, this population, from early on, especially as it moved westward, absorbed considerable Europoid elements[52] (of unknown linguistic affiliations, Iranian, Uralic, Turkic ?). In what became the Türk heartland other elements may have been added at different times. Although swallowed up under the A-shih-na political aegis, these entities preserved themselves. It may be suggested that the changes in Türk burial customs which appear to have taken place in the 630's, when significant elements shifted from cremation with a horse to inhumation with a horse,[53] indicate the resurfacing of non-Türk ethnic elements during a period of Türk political decline.

## A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE TURKIC PEOPLES

Integrating the linguistic and archaeological data, what can be said regarding the ancient habitat of the Turkic peoples ? The dating and location of the ancient Indo-European and Uralic contacts with Turkic, an important key to the resolution of this question, is uncertain. It is also unclear when Turkic-speakers became an equestrian steppe people, but it almost certainly came after the development of pastoral nomadism by the Indo-Europeans.[54]

52 Mannaj-ool, 1980, pp. 333-335, Vajnštejn, Krjukov, 1966, pp. 178-179, Jisl, 1968, pp. 182-184,198-199. Bazin, 1983, p. 33, while noting the variety of somatic types, concludes that because they had mustaches and beards that they could not have been Mongoloid. This conclusion is based on a false premise. Chinese portraits of the early Činggisids present them as mustached and bearded.

53 There are some discrepancies between the descriptions of the Chinese sources, the **Chou-shu** and the **T'ang-shu** (Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 9-10; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 230) and the archaeological finds, see Savinov, **Narody**, pp. 35,55-56. See also Grač, 1966, pp. 188,190-192 for a discussion of the different culture zones of the Türk Qağanate. Grač argues that the Türk ethnic element was stable. Serious changes occured only with the coming to power of the Qırğız in 840.

54 Frye, **Golden Age**, p. 37, suggests that the "Altaians" acquired the equestrian [illegible]

Thus, the ancestors of the Turks, when they came into contact with the Indo-Europeans (and Uralic peoples) were probably in the forest-steppe zone. Menges located the primordial territory of the Turks (of Mongoloid somatic type) in the Altay zone, with Indo-European peoples to their west, Samodian and Palaeao-Siberian (Yeniseic) groupings to their northwest, Mongols to their east and south and Tungusic peoples to their north and east.[55] The Altay, in all likelihood, was an important zone of contact. But, if the identification of the Türks with the Mongoloid population that entered the Altay region at various times is correct[56] (as the archaeological materials of the historically attested population of the Türk Qağanate suggest), then we should probably place the early Turkic-speaking groups, at least in the Hsiung-nu era, or thereabouts, in the Trans-Baikal.[57] This would situate them at the western and northwestern borders of the Altaic "family" or areal, their position throughout much of history. Even this far to the east, one may allow, perhaps, for contacts with elements of Indo-European (in the 1st millennium B.C.) and Uralic.

Regarding the Turkic "Urheimat," there are, in essence, a number of possibilities : 1) the Altay, as suggested by Menges 2) a "western Urheimat." R.A. Miller, as was noted, placed the Altaic "Urheimat" in the Trans-Caspian region.[58] The ancestors of the Turks, as the westernmost grouping, would have easily had contact there with Indo-European and Uralic-speakers. Németh, even earlier, bridged the gap, suggesting a Turkic "Urheimat" somewhere between the Altay and the lands east of the Urals. According to this view, Proto-Turkic unity came to an end during the 1st millennium B.C. and the ancestors of the Turkic peoples advanced to East Asia and thence to Western and Eastern Turkistan.[59] If we adopt a western hypothesis, the forest-steppe zone of Western Siberia would seem to be the most likely contact zone. Some of the ancestors of the Turks then migrated eastward and created a new homeland in Northern Mongolia and the Altay, taking it over from the Indo-Europeans and others. Those tribes that remained in the West, the ancestors of the Oğuric tribes, now in the Kazakh steppes, began to come to Western Eurasia with the Huns. 3) an "eastern Urheimat" which locates the primordial habitat of the Turkic peoples (or Proto-Turks ?) in the the Trans-Baikal region. Although, it is possible that Indo-European and perhaps even Uralic linguistic contacts could have occurred here, this is

55 Menges, **TLP**, pp. 55-56.

56 Savinov, **Narody**, p. 10, on the contrary, identifies the ancestors of the Turkic peoples with the largely Europoid population of Western Mongolia and the Altay.

57 It is also possible that Turkic-speakers of Northern Mongolia and Southern Siberia Turkicized migrants from the east of Mongoloid somatic type.

58 One could dispense with the Altaic theory by arealizing the relationship

something of a stretch. It far more likely that the ancestors of the Turks, if they originated in the Trans-Baikal, initiated their contacts with Indo-European and Uralic after their migration to the Altay and points westward. The forest-steppe zone of Western Siberia was undoubtedly the site of some of these contacts.

The question of the earliest Turkic homeland, then, remains open, as does that of the Altaic Urheimat. Our uncertainties are compounded by the complexities of the Altaic problem as a whole. Whereever we may place the ancientmost speakers of Turkic, it is clear that they were at the northeastern borders of the Indo-European world which ultimately expanded as far as the Altay and Chinese Turkistan. It is possible that some were driven northeastward and others southward (Kansu) in the wake of the Indo-European expansion. Further migrations of Turkic and Mongolic peoples were almost certainly set off by the activities of the Hsiung-nu. The Hsien-pi, as we have already noted, in the general consensus of scholarly opinion, are reckoned to be Mongolic. It is much harder to discern, in Inner Asia at least, groups prior to the Türks to whom we can with certainty give the designation Turkic. Interestingly enough, this is not the situation in Western Eurasia where we find the Oğuric peoples by the mid-5th century. It is clear, however, that the latter came from the east (Kazakhstan ?).

In any event, in the course of border warfare between various regimes of "barbarian" origin in Northern China, the A-shih-na, of uncertain ethnic origins, but having adopted some titles (and elements of political organization ?) from their Iranian and Tokharian neighbors (or from Altaic-speaking neighbors who had taken these from the latter),[60] came under Jou-Jan rule in the mid 5th century. They had a specific and important function within the Jou-Jan Qağanate : metallurgy. How they acquired these skills, usually associated with sedentary culture, is also unclear. Perhaps they simply conquered a local Altaian population that specialized in this industry. Similarly, we cannot determine whether the Jou-Jan aided the rise to power of the A-shih-na among these groups on the Altay. Were the A-shih-na agents of other polities ? Regrettably, how they went about the business of forging a tribal union was not recorded in our sources. The resultant Türkic union, then, consisted of tribes of diverse origins under the leadership of a ruling clan/tribe of possibly (or very probably) alien origin. Whatever language the A-shih-na may have spoken originally, in time, they and those they ruled would all speak Turkic, in a variety of dialects, and create, in a broadly defined sense, a common culture.[61] This was the real ethnogenesis of

60 This hypothesis assumes that they were not themselves Iranian or Tokharian in speech. Such a possibility, however, should not be rejected out of hand.

61 Gumilëv, **Drevnie tjurki**, pp. 22-25 also distinguishes between the A-shih-na ruling class

the Türks. As so often is the case, this process is intimately intertwined with the process of polity or state-formation.

## THE TÜRK QAĞANATES

As we have already seen, the Türks under Bumın Qağan (Chin. T'u-men k'o-han, Soġd. βwmyn ġ°ġ°n), operating in the midst of the fading successor states of the T'o-pa Wei/Tabğač (they had established direct contact with the Western Wei in 546, the same year in which they put down a T'ieh-lê rebellion against the Jou-Jan), revolted in 552 and destroyed their overlords the Jou-Jan Qağanate. In 553, another attack was mounted against the Jou-Jan, but this was more in the nature of a mopping up campaign.[62] By this time Bumın and his son and short-lived successor, Ko-lo had died. *Muğan/Muqan Qağan (Chin.Mu-han, Soġd. Mwġ°n ġ°ġ°n, 553-572), the younger brother of Ko-lo, had come to the throne and "by means of his power, he subjugated all the states beyond the border of China." These conquests included the Hsien-ta (Hephthalites), the Qitañ and the Ch'i-ku (Qırğız).[63] Meanwhile, his uncle, İštemi (552-575/576) had begun the conquest of the Western steppes. These conquests were probably tied to Türk mercantile concerns. Bumın's initial contacts with the Western Wei of Northern China concerned trade. They were particularly interested in the purchase of silk.[64] As part of this process, the Türks sought an alliance with Sâsânid Iran against the Hephthalites. The latter dominated much of urban Central Asia, areas of great commercial significance. In 557, an alliance was concluded between Σιλζίβουλος/Sinjibû Xâqân/Sinjepuk[65] (= the **Yabğu Qağan**, the title given to İštemi, the ruler of the western part of the realm, and his successors) and the Sâsânid ruler Xusrau Anûšîrwân who married a Türk princess.[66] The Türks and Sâsânids proceeded to crush the Hepthalites

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intertribal language of this union was Hsien-pi (i.e. Mongolic) and derives the name A-shih-na from Chin. A "a prefix of respect" and Mong. **šono/čino** [Lessing, **MED**,p. 190 **činu-a**, Modern Mong. **čono(n)**] "wolf." To this same source he also attributes the "mongolisms" in Türkic titulature. Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, pp. 295-297, points out that their metallurgical skills distinguished them from their neighbors. Otherwise, there is no evidence that they were distinct, ethnically and politically, from the Jou-Jan.

62 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 17,35.

63 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 7-8.

64 Jagchid, 1977, p. 191; Beckwith, **Tibet**, pp. 178-179.

65 Other forms are : Σιζίβουλος, Σιζάβουλος, Σιλζίβουλος, Διζάβουλος, Διλζίβουλος : **Sir Jabğu** ? cf. **Sinjibû Xâqân** of Muslim sources, **Sinjepuk**, **(Sin)jêpîk** of Middle Iranian, **Čepux** of Cenastan of Armenian sources, see Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 275-276; Czeglédy, 1953, p. 319; Marwart (Marquart). **Wehrot und Arang**, p. 143. These are to be connected with Ζιέβηλ and various renderings of the title

and divide their land, the Türks taking the territories north of the Amu Darya. But this was a short-lived alliance for Sâsânid and Türk commercial policies (both seeking to control the western end of the silk route[67]) were at variance and in time led to hostilities. Several Türk embassies to the Persians ended with the Türk silk being burned and ambassadors poisoned. Clearly, the Sâsânids would not allow them into their market. The Türks, urged on by their Soġdian subjects who administerd the Qağanate's commercial interests, now turned to Constantinople, the ultimate destination of the silk that they and their Soġdian merchants extorted or brought out of China. The first embassy, crossing the lands of the Alans, appeared at the Byzantine capital in 568.[68] It was led by the able Maniax, whose name may indicate his adherence to Manichaeanism.[69] By this time, the Türks had established their hegemony over the nomads of the Western Eurasian steppes (Sabirs, Utigurs, Oğurs and Onoğurs) as well. The tribes brought under Türk organization also included elements of the Bulğars, i.e. those groupings that had not gone off to Pannonia with the Avars. The extent and duration of Türk domination over the Bulğar tribes is unclear from our sources.[70]

Maniax brought with him a letter, in "Scythian writing" (probably Soġdian) setting out the Türk concerns. In the Imperial audience for the ambassadors, the Byzantines learned that Σιλζίβούλος was the supreme ruler of the Western branch of the Türk Empire which appears to have been broken up into four administrative units. The Türks had conquered the Hephthalites and taken over their cities. Some Avars had remained under Türk rule, but 20,000 had fled. The Türks sought an alliance with Byzantium against both Iran[71] and their "fugitive slaves," the Avars. Although the Avars were certainly no longer a threat to the Türks, they were determined to crush whatever independent units remained. Menander reports that even while prosecuting the war against the Hephthalites, the Western Türk leader, Σιλζίβουλος, commented that the Avars were neither birds that could fly nor

67 The Soġdians were not simply intermediaries in the movement of silk from East to West, but were now producing silk fabrics for export, see Pigulēvskaja, **Vizantija na putjax**, pp. 200-201

68 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 245; Menander/Blockley, pp. 111ff. See also the discussion of the embassies in Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 233-242. Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, p. 302 suggests that Ἀσκήλ, "king of the Ἑρμηχίονες/Κερμιχίονες (Theoph., ed. de Boor, I, p. 239), who came to Constantinople in 563, is to be identified with A-hsi-chieh of the Western Türks. This, then, would be the first Türk embassy to the Byzantines.

69 Pigulēvskaja, **Vizantija na putjax**, p. 202. This interpretation of the name* **Mani-i ax** ("brother [Syriac **ax** "brother] of Mani") which has acquired a following, has been questioned by Lieu, **Manichaeism**, p. 185.

70 Halasi-Kun, 1943, pp. 81-82; Angelov, **Obrazuvane**, pp. 138-139; Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, p. 172.

71 Menander/Blockley, pp. 146/147 says that it was the Türks who were anxious to bring

fish that could swim in the water and thus escape his revenge.[72] The Avar question would remain a source of conflict between the Türks and Constantinople. The Byzantines, it might be presumed, were "natural" allies of the Türks. They were engaged in a long-standing political and commercial rivalry with Iran that was fought not only in the Eastern Mediterranean but in Southern Arabia as well.[73] But, the Avars, now ensconced in Pannonia, were a potential threat that Byzantium had countered using traditional means of diplomacy : the payment of tribute. Although the Türks could be used to destroy the Avars, would it be wise to replace the latter whose activities could be controlled, in some measure, with the powerful empire of the Türks ? Byzantine diplomacy would tread with caution here. Thus, East Rome, although interested, did not respond with great alacrity. In time, several Byzantine embassies were dispatched to the Western Türk Qağan. An account of these missions, led by Zemarxos and preserved in Menander, provides a wealth of information about Byzantium's new allies. Interestingly, the Türks, in Sogdiana, offered to sell iron to the Byzantines.[74] The latter, however, were not only not interested in this particular commodity, but also less concerned about the silk as well. Byzantium had just begun its own silk production.[75]

Zemarxos, after having passed through a shamanic purification ceremony, was allowed to proceed further, ultimately reaching the mountain Ἐκτάγ (probably Turk. *Aq Tağ "White Mountain") which the Greek account translates as "Golden Mountain." The location of this mountain, which has been placed in the Altay or Yulduz valley, has been the subject of some debate.[76] Here, he was granted an audience with the Yabğu Qağan. A Sâsânid embassy which met the now westward-advancing Western Türk ruler at the Talas, was probably sent to drive a wedge between the Türks and their new allies. It was rebuffed and the Türks prepared for war on Iran. They sent another embassy to Constantinople, under Ταγμὰ Ταρχάν (Tağma Tarxan), who replaced the now deceased Maniax, which would accompany Zemarxos on his homeward journey. Without getting into the particulars of this venture, we might note some of the interesting details reported by Menander. He gives the Turkic names for the rivers Emba, Ural and Volga : Ἴχ, Δαΐχ,

72 Menander/Blockley, pp. 44/45.

73 Bury, **Later Roman Empire**, II, 314-327; Vasiliev, **Justin the First**, pp. 283-303; Frye, **CHIr.**, 3/i, pp. 157-158.

74 Menander/Blockley, pp. 116/117.

75 Prokopios, **DBG** (LCL ed., VIII.17), pp. 266-231; Bury, **Later Roman Empire**, II, pp. 330-332; Haussig, **Geschichte....in Vorislamischer Zeit**, p. 180.

76 Menander/Blockley, pp. 118/119, 264n.129; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 235-237. Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, p. 326, following Grousset, **Empire**, p. 83, suggests that the summer

'Αττιλας (*Iq ? Jayıq/Đayıq = Yayıq, Atıl/İtil[77]) which one of his men crossed on a special mission to Constantinople. He mentions the Οὐγούροι (Oğurs) as West of the Volga and notes that the Oğur ruler was the principal deputy of the Qağan in this region. In the Alan territories, or near it, there was the tribe of the 'Ορομούσχοι who were "greatly feared" and hence must have been still resisting Türk authority. The Alans, under Σαρώσιος, also appear to have maintained some independence. The Türkic embassy seems to have reached Constantinople in 571.[78]

Thereafter, a fairly regular exchange of embassies occurred. Menander reports that in 576, when Valentinos was sent to the Türks by the Caesar Tiberios (574-578; later emperor, 578-582), there were Türks "who had been sent by their various tribes on various occasions" and had been in Constantinople "for a long while." Some of them apparently having been brought by the embassy of 'Αναγκάστης (Anankast/Anangast ?), others having come with the returning missions of the Byzantines.[79] The object of Valentinos' mission was to renew the anti-Sâsânid alliance. The Byzantines, however, from the Türk point of view, had not only been lax in their efforts against the Persians, but had also concluded a treaty with their enemies, the Avars. The local Türk ruler, Τούρξανθος (Turksant = Türk-šad ?[80]), a son of the Yabğu Qağan, who administered one of the eight sections into which the Western Türk territory had been divided (the senior ruler was named 'Αρσίλας, see above), accused the Romans of speaking "with ten tongues and lie with all of them" and threatened to kill Valentinos on the spot. The Türk chieftain catalogued Byzantine perfidies and noted that the Alans and 'Ουνιγούροι (Onoğurs) had now been completely crushed and "numbered among our slaves," indicating, thereby, what the consequences of resistance to the Türks were. But, the Yabğu Qağan (İštemi) had recently died and Turksanthos, perhaps softened by mourning, insisted only that the Byzantine envoys follow Türk funeral customs (slashing their faces with daggers). Valentinos reports that four "Hunnic captives" and horses were sacrificed at the δόγια (Turk. ðoğ/yoğ "funeral feast, wake"[81]). Valentinos was eventually sent off to Tardu, Turksanthos' brother, with the threat of a Türk attack on Crimean Bosporos, a Byzantine holding. This seems to have already been

77 Menander/Blockley, p. 125; Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, pp. 78-79,116,143.

78 Menander/Blockley, pp. 124-127,269n.170

79 Menander/Blockley, pp. 170-171,275; Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica**, II, p. 69. The identity of Anangast/*Ananxast is uncertain. The name looks Germanic and he may have been in Byzantine service.

80 Németh, **HMK**, p. 83.

81 Clauson, **ED**, p. 895; Sevortjan, **Ètsl.**, IV, p. 207. The form with initial ð, may indicate an Oğuric mediation. Human sacrifice, noted later at Činggisid qağanal funerals, is a steppe custom that has been little-studied.

taking place. Our source reports that Βώχανος (Boqan ?) was sent to reinforce the Türk forces under Anagai ('Ανάγαιος, chieftain of the Utigurs) conducting the siege. Bosporos fell to them ca. 579.[82]

Ištemi laid the foundation for the Western Türk Qağanate. It was not, at that time, however, an independent political entity. Supreme political power resided with the senior Qağan in the East. This bipartite principle, usually expressed by the presence of an eastern and western ruler, will figure in the political organization of later Turkic states as well (cf. the Qaraxanids). Given the distances involved and the notion of the "collective sovereignty" of the ruling clan, inevitably there would be the temptation to create an appanage or independent polity or even to take control over the "senior" Qağanate. These tendencies soon found expression in the policies of Ištemi's son and successor as Yabğu Qağan, Tardu (or perhaps Tarduš,[83] Chin. Ta-t'ou, 576-603), who harbored great political ambitions.

While these conquests unfolded in the West, the senior, eastern Qağan, Muqan, had been able to profit from the political division of China between the Northern Chou and the Northern Ch'i dynasties. Following the classic patterns of nomadic-sedentary relations, gifts/tribute and marital alliances[84] were offered to the Qağan in the hope of gaining military assistance and averting destructive raids. Nonetheless, the nomads often ended up plundering whatever was available. The **Chou-shu** reports that since the time of Muqan's death, the Türk state had grown "richer and stronger." Taspar Qağan (572-581), the younger brother and successor of Muqan, this same account notes, was considering overrunning China. He was quickly given 100,000 pieces of various silk fabrics by the Chou. Türks residing in the Chinese capital were treated especially well. The Ch'i were not to be outdone and ruined the treasury to pay him off.[85] Taspar, thus, enjoyed enormous power in Northern China. It was during his reign that the Türks, who had begun to take an interest in "foreign" religions, moved more formally towards Buddhism. Taspar appears to have been a protector and promoter of this faith.[86] This posture was perhaps helped by the persecution of that faith by the Chou. Taspar was also the last ruler of a unified empire. Strife over the succession to the supreme Qağanate, encouraged by China (united now by the Sui dynasty, 581- 617), soon appeared. An-lo, Taspar's son, supported by his faction, refused to give the throne to his cousin, Ta-lo-pien, son of Muqan. Shê-t'u (= Nie-tu/Ñebuk/Ñevuk/Ñebar/Ñevar, earlier a lesser

82 Menander/Blockley, pp. 171-179,277-278n.235.
83 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 209-210n.3. Boodberg, 1951, p. 356 identifies the Tarduš people (see below) with the Western Türks.
84 On Türk-Chinese marital ties, see Jagchid, 1977, pp. 183,191, 201,202
85 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 11-13.
86 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 78.

Qağan) now stepped in and was acclaimed supreme ruler as İlig Külü Šad Bağa İšbara Qağan (581-587) and established in the Ötüken land, the sacred territory of the A-shih-na.[87] An-lo, located on the Tola river, was proclaimed the "second Qağan." Ta-lo-pien was given the title A-po Qağan. The **Sui-shu** comments that "Sha-po-lüe (İšbara) was brave and won the hearts of his subjects. All the Northern Barbarians submitted to him."[88] Nonetheless, İšbara Qağan was almost immediately faced with a revived China (his wife was a Northern Chou princess who hated the Sui) and still unsettled matters with his relatives. Sinor dates the split between the eastern and western halves of the realm to the ensuing struggle within the royal clan.[89] Growing fearful of A-po Qağan, who appears to have been dealing with the Sui, İšbara Qağan suddenly turned on him, raided his camp and killed his mother. A-po fled to Tardu in the West. As İšbara sought to strengthen further his power and purge the region of potential rivals, T'an-han Qağan, a long-standing friend of A-po, was also forced out, as was İšbara's uncle Ti-ch'in ch'a (šad), fleeing to Tardu (583). In 585, pressed by an attack from Tardu, İšbara Qağan turned to China, declaring himself a vassal of the Sui.[90]

This subservience to China, a preview of things to come, was not so much due to the success of Chinese arms as the result of the centrifugal forces pulling at the Türk state. The most serious, direct threat, however, came from the revolt of the Western Qağan, Tardu, the son of Ištemi, which began ca. 582. Tardu aimed at nothing less than the complete takeover of the Eastern and Western Türk Qağanates and very nearly succeeded, holding supreme power in the united Qağanates from ca. 600-603. There is no need to enter into the details of these throne struggles.[91] We may simply note that the Sui tried to keep all the parties off balance. Tardu, active on a pan-Eurasian scale, attempted to do too much. It was his forces, led by his son "Šâba, the greatest king of the Turks"[92] in the Perso-Islamic tradition, that were defeated by the Sâsânid general Bahrâm Čôbîn at Herat in 589.[93] This

87 Ötüken [Chin. Tu-chin-shan], Mong. Etügen, a mountainous or highland region perhaps located in the Xangai mountains, near the Orxon in Northern Mongolia, see Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza**, pp.31-32.

88 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 43-44.

89 Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, pp. 305-306.

90 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 51-52. In his letter to the Emperor, İšbara writes "since two suns do not shine in the heavens, so I believe, that only one ruler can reign on the Earth; and the Emperor of the Great Sui is the true Emperor."

91 See discussion in Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 137-138 who attributes the fall of the First Türk Qağanate to the disorder of the Türk succession system.

92 Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, p. 174. Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, p. 115, identifies him as Šir-i Kišvar the younger son of Qara Čurin (= Tardu in his interpretation) of the Buxaran tradition (Naršaxî, ed. Razavî, p. 9, Naršaxî/Frye, p. 7) and Yang Su of the Chinese sources. This cannot be established.

93 aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, pp. 174-175; al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, I, pp. 312-313; Theoph. Sim., ed. de Boor, pp. 121-122; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 242-243; Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, pp.

attack seems to have been part of a concerted effort by the Western Türk forces, Byzantium and its Arab allies against the Sâsânids. The claim put forward by Gumilëv that this war was aimed at breaking the Sâsânid hold on the East-West trade, while interesting, requires substantiation.[94] Tardu recovered from the defeat of his forces at Herat and various domestic disturbances by 598.[95] He now moved to establish his dominion over the whole of the steppe empire. His eastern ventures brought this tangled saga to its conclusion, ca. 603, when Tardu, faced with a massive revolt of the T'ieh-lê and other tribes (the **Sui-shu** lists the Ssŭ-chieh, Fu-li-chü, Hun, Hsieh-sa, A-pa and Pu-ku) instigated or encouraged by the Sui, was forced to flee to the Tu-yü-hun and thereafter disappeared.[96]

The repercussions of Tardu's collapse were not long in making themselves felt. The succeeding Eastern Qağans, T'u-li (603-609) and Shih-pi (609-619), as a consequence of the turmoil, were weakened at home and largely intimidated by the Sui. Shih-pi, however, in time reacting negatively to China's policy of divide and conquer and alert to the clear signs of Sui decline (difficulties in Korea) began to put some distance between himself and China. Nonetheless, the collapse of the Eastern Qağanate was, in essence, forestalled only by the fall of the Sui. Hsieh-li Qağan (620-634), whose predecessors had largely been bought off by the newly established T'ang dynasty, a dynasty not uninfluenced by steppe culture, initiated a program of constant raiding. The reasons for this shift in policy are nowhere spelled out. Perhaps, raiding, as we have seen in other situations, was the only means by which he could maintain his power. In any event, when his raids became too troubling to the T'ang, the familiar ploy of stirring up trouble among the various A-shih-na princelings was brought into play. Hsieh-li's various failures, combined with natural disasters, produced hunger in the steppe. His attempt to tax an exhausted and rebellious people exacerbated his increasingly difficutlt situation. People scattered and fled. Hsieh-li was captured by Chinese forces in 630 and died in captivity. The

126-131.

94 Gumilëv, 1960, pp. 61-73, cf. also his **Drevnie Tjurki**, p. 120; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 334-335.

95 The revolt of Τουρσοῦμ, which followed the subjugation of the Ογὼρ (Oğurs ? Uyğurs ?), noted in Theoph. Sim. ed. de Boor, p. 259,has been dated to this time (Artamonov, **Ist. xazar**, p. 140; Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, p. 138). They interpret this as an Oğur revolt and connect it with the flight of some Oğur tribes to the Avars in Pannonia. Czeglédy, 1983, p. 117, dates this civil war to 581-582. Simokattes also mentions three other great Qağans, who remain unidentified : Σπαρζευγοῦν (Išbara Jabğu ?), Κουναξολάν (Kunak-solan ?), Τουλδίχ (Tuldix/*Tuldıq ?).

96 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 48-51; Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 49-61,107-108; Wright, **Sui Dynasty**, p. 188; Grousset, **Empire**, pp. 88-89; Wang, 1982, pp. 139-142.

Eastern Qağanate had effectively come to an end.[97] Members of the A-shih-na and other high-ranking clans were encouraged to enter T'ang service. Some groups were settled in China.

In the Western Qağanate, the dislocations caused by Tardu's policies were equally far-reaching. The nature of Türk rule here was somewhat different. As in Inner Asia, the Türks were the masters of a large tribal confederation to which other tribal unions were subordinate. But, they did not dominate Central Asia ethnically as they did Mongolia. The Turkic tribes were located at strategic points from which they could lash out at rebellious elements.[98] In addition to the various Turkic tribes, there were significant numbers of Iranian nomadic elements which, in time, were absorbed by the Turks.[99] Moreover, there was a substantial urban population of Iranian origin (Soġdian, Xwârazmian, Bactrian) with which the ruling Türk stratum was in close contact. The Soġdians, as we have seen, were ubiquitous in Türk commerical and diplomatic initiatives. Soġdian colonies were also important in Inner Asia, but in Central Asia the Türks were in the Soġdian heartland and the impact was greater. The Türk ruling structure was, from very the onset, staffed with skilled, literate people from the conquered, sedentary Iranian oasis city-states. There has been some discussion as to when the Western Qağanate became, in essence, a completely autonomous polity. This has been dated to the era of İštemi or to ca. 583[100] and the struggle for the supreme qağanal dignity that took place at that time. Some scholars have argued that the later Western Türk Qağans descended from İštemi. Others, following an account in the **Sui-shu**,[101] would trace their origins from A-po/A-pa Qağan/Ta-lo-pien, son of Muqan who failed to attain the Qağanate in the East. Yet another theory suggests that it was only in the aftermath of the collapse of Tardu's empire that the lineage of İštemi took power in the West. Recently, an argument has also been made that tries to bridge the differences in our contradictory sources. It suggests that A-pa Qağan, driven out of the East, was later able to evict Tardu from his western holdings (thereby setting in motion Tardu's drive for power in the East) and thus established his line for a time in the West. Nonetheless, the İštemi line eventually reasserted itself.[102]

In the far west of the Türk realm, the Onoğur-Bulğar elements were probably part of the great T'ieh-lê revolt (they have been, as we have seen,

97 Liu, CN, I, pp. 134ff.; Grousset, **Empire**, pp. 89-92; Wright, **Sui Dynasty**, p. 191; Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, pp. 178-192,204-206; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 139-145.
98 Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, p. 332.
99 Maenchen-Helfen, **Huns**, p. 364.
100 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 48-49.
101 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 13.
102 Wang, 1982, pp. 124-132, 143-147.

connected with the T'ieh-lê). Thus, the breakdown of Türk power in Western Eurasia was one of the preconditions for the emergence of the Kuban-Pontic Bulğar state of Kubrat. The Khazar [Qazar] tribal union (see Chap. 8), which had, in all likelihood, been brought into being by the Türks, appears to have remained part of the Türk polity.[103]

In the Western Türk heartland, Tardu's successor, Ho-sa-na or Ch'u-lo Qağan (603-611) provided poor leadership which led to revolts. According to the **Chiu T'ang-shu**, Shih kuei Qağan (611-618/619), the younger brother of Tardu, expanded the lands under his control up to the Altay in the East and in the West "to the sea."[104] His primary camp was in the San-mi mountains, north of Kuča. Once again, the Western Qağanate was the rival of that in the east. Shih Kuei's activity paved the way for the brief efflorescence of Western Türk power under his younger brother, Tun/Tong Yabğu Qağan (Chin. T'ung shê-hu [t'uong d'źiäp-ğuo] 618/619?-630). He brought the Tieh-lê to full submission, annexing their lands and extending his sway to Afghanistan as far as Gandhara. The **Sui-shu** calls him master of the ancient territory of the Wu-sun, i.e. the İli valley. As the ally of the Byzantine emperor, Herakleios (610-641) he warred with Iran in Transcaucasia, contributing significantly to the Byzantine victory and the collapse of the Sâsânid state. From his capital at Ch'ien-Ch'üan ("1000 Springs," east of the Talas), he established an orderly government, sending **tuduns** (or **toðuns**, Chin. t'u-t'un [tou-duən] (tax officials[105]) to supervise the **el/il-tebers** (Chin. hsieh-li-fa [ğiet-lji-pi̯wat (pi̯wər)] a title given to governors of conquered peoples[106]) and established good relations with T'ang China, which contributed, along with mutual raiding, in some measure to the destruction of the Eastern Qağanate. His apparent lack of concern for his own nomadic subjects caused revolts (e.g. that of the Qarluqs, ca. 627). He was assassinated by his uncle who briefly came to the Qağanate as Mo-ho-tu hou Ch'iu-li Ssŭ-p'i (630). This touched off a civil war and the disintegration of the Western Türks into the **On Oq** ("Ten Arrows"), a confederation, which fully manifested itself during the reign of Sha-po-lo Tieh-li-shih (634-639) consisting of two tribal unions, the Tu-lu and Nu-shih-pi. Thereafter, the two tribal unions, consisting of five tribes per confederation, each had their own Qağan. The tribal chieftains initially bore the title šad. Subsequently, however, their leaders

103 Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 39-40,109-113.

104 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 15,23-24.

105 Clauson, **ED**, p. 457; Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 216.

106 Hsieh-li-fa may be a mistake for yi-li-fa, Clauson, **ED**, p. 134. Hamilton, 1962, pp. 28,54, attempts an etymology from Turk.tab-/taβ- "posséder être propriétaire de, disposer de" (< Kâšğarî). But, this is incorrect, in the latter (see Kâšğarî/Dankoff, III, pp. 187-188, index), the basic meaning of tew- is "turn, twist, move," taw-/tew- ? "dispose (of merchandise)."

appear to have held the titles **čor/čur** (Chin. cho/chuo/ch'o, perhaps "the head of a small confederation") or **irkin** (Chin. ssŭ-chin, "title borne by tribal chiefs"[107]). Each chieftain had been given an arrow (as a symbol of authority), hence the designation On Oq. The left branch, the Tu-lu [tuo-li̯uk],[108] each tribe of which was headed by a čor, living east of the Suyâb (the traditional capital of the Western Türks), according to the **T'ang-shu** and **Chiu T'ang-shu**, consisted of the Ch'u-mu-kun [t'śi̯wo-muk-kuən], the Hu-lu-wu [guo-luk 'uk], the Shê-shê-t'i tun [śi̯ăp-śi̯a-diei dun], the T'u-ch'i-shih ho-lo-shih [t'uət-gji̯e-śi̯e gâ lâ śi̯e (Türgeš/Türgiš ...), the Shu-ni-shih [śi̯wo-nji-śi̯e]. The Nu-shih-pi (Nu ? Šadpıt[109] [nuo śi̯ĕt-pi̯ĕt]). West of Suyâb were the tribes : A-hsi-chieh ['â-śi̯ĕt-kiet] (Ärski), Ko-shu [kâ-śi̯wo] (Qošu), Pa-sai-kan [bi̯wɑt-sâi-kân] (Barsqan), A-hsi-chieh of ni-shu i-chin ['a-si̯ĕt-ki̯ĕt] (Ärski/Äskäl of Nizuk irkin/Nêšug irkin), Ko-shu ch'u-pan i-chin [kâ-śi̯wo t'śi̯wo puân gji̯e-kiən] (Qošu of Čupan irkin).[110]

There is no need for us to examine the sanguinary details, traced in the **T'ang-shu**, of the internecine strife that is characteristic of the history of the On Oq. Power shifted back and forth between the Tu-lu and Nu-shih-pi Qağans with China, an occasional player in these events, lurking in the background. In 659, A-shih-na Ho-lu (653-659) of the Tu-lu, which had dominated On Oq politics, was captured by T'ang forces which were once again extending the Middle Kingdom's direct authority to Central Asia. The Western Qağanate now formally came under Chinese "protection" and was divided into 10 prefectures.[111] Some of the On Oq, in the late 660's, came under Tibetan overlordshp. By the 680's, however, the T'ang appear to have regained their preeminence in the region. This would be short-lived, for the Eastern Qağanate had now dramatically revived and by 685-688 repeatedly attacked and pillaged the On Oq lands. The Tu-lu Qağan, Hu-shih-lê (675-690) and his entourage emigrated to China.[112]

In the late 670's- early 680's, revolts against Chinese overlordship had broken out among both the Eastern and Western Türks. Against the latter,

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107 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 221,225 (< **irk-** "to collect or assemble"),427-428; Bailey, **Khotanese Texts**, VII, p. 99 : Chin. t'i̯wät, ti̯wat, Tibet. **čhor**, Khotan. **chārā** < Iran. ***čyaura-** "to go out, hunt" ?.

108 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 209-210n.3 reads this as Tarduš, connecting this with Tardu (= To-lu K'o-han Ni-shu : Tarduš Qağan Nizuk). The Tarduš people are noted in the Bilge Qağan and Kül Tegin inscriptions among the tribes in the western lands of the Kök Türks, see Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 10,12,40,42.

109 Clauson, **ED**, p. 867 : **šad + apıt** "perhaps meaning 'entourage of the šad'."

110 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 23-28,60; Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, pp. 329-330; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 210.

111 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 36-37,59-65.

112 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 42-43; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 32-33,40,49-53 who reads Hu-shih-lê as Iran. Xusrau.

the T'ang armies had been effective. But the A-shih-na leader of the long-dispirited Eastern Türks, Qutluğ ("enjoying the favor of Heaven," on **qut**, see below), who took the throne name İlteriš (682-691, Turk. el/il "polity," teriš- "to help gather, collect"[113]), although defeated in 681, refused to give up the struggle. He gathered a small band of seventeen like-minded malcontents, attracted more followers and began to raid. His army was "like a wolf, his enemies like sheep"(Kül Tegin,E12, Bilge Qağan, E111)[114] and the raiding band became the Second Türk Qağanate. He was joined by Toñuquq, a Chinese-educated Türk (from the A-shih-tê clan, his Chinese name was Yüan chen) who became his chief minister. He conducted victorious campaigns against various Turkic and non-Turkic steppe peoples (Tölis, Tarduš, Toquz Oğuz, Qırğız, Qurıqan, Otuz Tatar, Qitañ and Tatabı) as well as China.[115] His brother and successor, formerly Bögö Čor (Chin. Mo-ch'o, Tibet. ḥBug-cor[116]) now ascended the throne as Qapağan Qağan (691-716). It was he who completed the organization of the Türk polity and "made the poor rich and the few many."[117] This was accomplished through continual warfare and the exploitation of the subject population, e.g. the Qitañ and Tatabı [Chin. Hsi = Qay], who, according to the **Chiu T'ang-shu**, paid taxes and owed obligatory services to the government.[118] Military activity was directed toward putting down rebellions of subject peoples (e.g. Qitañ, Qarluqs, Az, İzgil, Toquz Oğuz, Bayırqu), no doubt in part the response to Türk exactions, as well as the acquisition of new subjects (Basmıl, Čik, the On Oq [ca. 711-712] ). Qapağan Qağan was less successful against the Arabs in Central Asia. Moreover, there were raids for booty, directed at China, which he also claimed to protect, as well as neighboring peoples. Qapağan Qağan, following an apparently not completely successful punitive expedtion against the Bayırqu, perished in an ambush.[119]

Bilge Qağan ("Wise Qağan," 716-734, Chin. P'i-chia, also Mo-chi-lien, Mo-chü, the Turkic equivalents are unknown), largely through the timely efforts of his brother Kül Tegin, emerged victorious in the brief, but bloody, throne-struggle with his cousin, Bögü, that followed Qapağan's unexpected death.[120]

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113 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 554,601; Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, p. 95.

114 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 10,40.

115 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 158-160,212-214; II, pp. 595-597; Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie**, pp. 24-34. Kljaštornyj, 1966, pp. 202-204 derives the title **Toñyuquq** from Turk. **ton** "first" + **yuquq** < **yoq-yuq-** "xranit', cenit'," **yuquq** "to, čto soxranjaetsja, klad, sokrovišče" = "First Treasure" = Chin. **yüan** ("first) and **chen** ("treasure").

116 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 158; Clauson, **ED**, p. 427.

117 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 12,40.

118 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 169.

119 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 40-44; Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 160-171,214-223; Giraud, **L'empire**, pp. 49-52; Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie**, pp. 35-37; Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, pp. 96-104.

120 Liu, **CN**, I,pp. 171,223.

He was faced with the same problems of rebellious vassals that had plagued his uncle's rule. To this was added a now more active China, sensing that the Türk polity contained fatal flaws. Bilge Qağan, who was obviously attracted to some aspects of sedentary culture, at one point even considered building walled cities as well as Buddhist and Taoist temples. He was quickly disuaded from this course of action by the aged Toñuquq who explained that the nomads could never compete with China in numbers. Their strength lay in the mobility that the nomadic life-style gave them.[121]

With the resourceful Kül Tegin at his side, Bilge Qağan, almost continually at war, often with his subjects, managed to stave off disaster. Campaigns were launched to the Sir Darya and the "Iron Gate" in the West, Shantung (China) in the East and almost to Tibet in the South and the Bayırqu lands in the North.[122] But, in 731 Kül Tegin died. Three years later, the reign of Bilge Qağan (probably poisoned by one of his ministers), which produced the remarkable inscriptions erected in honor of Toñuquq, Kül Tegin and Bilge Qağan, came to an end. The dynastic instability, which had plagued the earlier Qağanate and of which Bilge Qağan's murder was a clear portent, surfaced once again. Bilge Qağan's wife, P'o-fu, the daughter of Toñuquq, attempted to run the state for his underage sons, I-jan (734) and Teng-li (Tengri, 734-741). The dynasty was toppled by a coalition of Basmıls, Qarluqs and Uyğurs in 742. The Basmıl chieftain, Ozmıš (Chin. Wu-su-mi-shih) was proclaimed Qağan, only to be toppled in 744 by an Uyğur-led coalition, joined by the Qarluqs and Oğuz.[123] This marks the birth of the Uyğur Qağanate.

The Western Qağanate did not long survive the collapse of its parent state. The heartland of the Western Türk Qağanate, the On Oq territories, extended from the Eastern Karatau (Qarataw) mountains to Jungaria. This nomadic confederation also continued to exercise varying degrees of authority over the Iranian oasis city-states of Central Asia. In some of the cities, there were dynasties of Turkic origin which were being assimilated by their subjects. The Türks were primarily interested in the collection of taxes/tribute. Turkic influence can be seen in the adoption of Turkic titles by some of the local Iranian dynasts as a symbol of their (often nominal) vassal status. The authority of the Türks was increasingly contested by the Arab forces advancing into the region from Iran. After some desultory raiding, the Islamic forces began more organized assaults in the last third of the 7th century. It was, however, only in the first quarter of the 8th century, under the brilliant Arab commander, Qutayba, that a much more purposeful and

121 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 172-173,229,462.
122 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, pp. 2,28.
123 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 171-180,223-231,258-261; Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie**, pp. 39-43.

ultimately successful Arab effort was undertaken.[124]

Türk attention was not entirely focused on the southwestern territories of the Qağanate, although these were areas of vital concern because of Türk commercial interests. There was also a complicated political situation in the regions to the east. The Tibetan monarchy had emerged to challenge Chinese paramountcy in many areas of Inner Asia. The On Oq, who had a tradition of alliance or at least nominal recognition of Chinese overlordship in order to counterbalance the Eastern Qağanate, now had another option. Thus, according to the **T'ang-shu**, A-shih-na Tu-chih (667-679), the native governor appointed by the T'ang, took the title Qagan (ca. 676-678) and entered into an alliance with Tibet. In 694, A-shih-na T'ui-tzŭ (690-ca. 708) did the same.[125] Tibet would, henceforth, be a central figure in events in the West Türk confederation.

Taking advantage of On Oq internecine strife, the Eastern Qağan, Qapağan, had established his younger brother and nephew, as rulers of the two branches of the On Oq in 699. Nonetheless, within the confederation, the Türgeš/Türgiš tribe was gaining supremacy.[126] There was a continual contest between China, Tibet and various On Oq factions for control. Thus, the tribes chose the Türgeš **Bağa Tarqan**[127] *Očırlıq (Chin. Wu-chih-le < Indic. Vajrapâṇi, 699-706) as their leader and managed to pass his position to his son *Saqal (Chin. So-ko, 706-711). The latter, having defeated the T'ang, in 708-709, declared himself Qağan. He was immediately faced with his ambitious brother and rival Che-nu (who received aid from the Eastern Türks) and serious Arab incursions (led by Qutayba) into the Central Asian oasis city-states. Both Saqal and Che-nu perished.[128] The Eastern Qağanate, China and to a lesser extent Tibet sought to establish their paramountcy in the On Oq lands at the same time that the Muslim forces were applying steady (and successful) pressure to the Iranian oasis city-states. When the Eastern Türks withdrew in 715 and then were caught up in their own domestic strife (the succession of Bilge Qağan), one of Saqal's generals, Su-lu (717-738, probably to be identified with the Abu Muzâḥim of the Muslim

124 **Ist. Kazaxskoj SSR**, I, pp. 329,347-348; Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 179-186. Cf. the detailed analysis of this period in Gibb, **Conquests**, pp. 3-10,15-57.

125 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 74,77; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 32-33,56.

126 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 282-283; Beckwith, pp. 61-62. The Türgiš territory was in the Ili Basin. After 690, Suyâb became their urban center, see Maljavkin, **Ist. geografija**, p. 180.

127 This is an Old Türk title : **bağa** (< Iran. **baġa, bġ** "God, divine" Justi, **Iran. Namenbuch**, p. 56,487; Livšic, **Sogdijskie dokumenty**, II, p. 196) Turk. **tarqan** a very old title. Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 91,256 identifies it with the Hsiung-nu **shan-yü** ( *dân-ẖwâẖ) to which Clauson, **ED**, pp. 539-540, gives a cautious assent. See also the lengthy disucssion in Doerfer, **TME**, II, pp. 460-474.

128 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 43-44,79-81; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 65,72-76.

sources[129]), became the leading figure among the Türgeš, eventually proclaiming himself Qağan. He proved to be a brilliant politician and able general who skillfully maneuvered between the competing great powers in Central Asia. Chinese holdings were threatened (sometimes in cooperation with the Tibetans and Arabs). In 720 and 724, he defeated the Muslim forces, helping, thereby, the revolts of the Iranian city-states.[130]

In 722, the Türgeš concluded a peace treaty with the T'ang which brought Su-lu an A-shih-na bride, the princess Chiao-ho.[131] But, the T'ang considered the possibilities of an alliance with the Arabs to control the troublesome Türgeš. Indeed, ca.730, the Türgeš threat to the Arab hold in many parts of Central Asia was very serious. It was only with the Arab victory at Xarîstân (Gibb termed it little more than a skirmish, but one on which the fate of Arab rule in Transoxania hinged) in 737 that the Türgeš danger was ended.[132] It is interesting to note that it was also in this year that the Arabs succeeded in halting the Khazar threat to their Transcaucasian holdings (see Chap. 8). It seems likely that the Arab military moves were, to some degree, coordinated. The Khazars had been, it would appear, acting in concert with their allies the Byzantines. Can we connect the Western Türk pressure on Arab possessions in Central Asia of the 720's and 730's with the Khazar invasions of the lands south of Bâb al-Abwâb/Darband during that same period ? Regrettably, our sources are mute regarding On Oq-Khazar relations.

Su-lu ruled in the classical nomadic tradition of chieftaincy. According to the **Chiu T'ang-shu**, "every time he campaigned, he distributed among his generals, officers and members of his hordes all the booty he had taken. His subjects loved him and were entirely at his service." He established marital alliances with the Eastern Qağanate and Tibet.[133] Such unsustainable largesse led to his ruin. When he began to keep more of the booty for himself, his popularity declined. In failing health, he was slain by the Bağa Tarqan Kül Čur and Tu-mo-tu, the leaders of the "yellow tribes" of the Türgeš that claimed descent from Saqal, rivals of Su-lu's "black tribes." This set in motion more strife between the two unions.[134] Kül Čur, recognized T'ang overlordship in 740, but, having soon run afoul of them, perished in

129 aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, VII, p. 113; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 85.
130 Gibb, **Conquests**, pp. 60ff.
131 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 46,81; Maljavkin, **Ist. geografija**, pp. 180-181; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 98.
132 aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, pp. 113ff.; Gibb, **Conquests**, pp. 81-84; Shaban, **ʿAbbasid Revolution**, pp. 124-126.
133 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 46.
134 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 46-47,83-84; aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, II, pp. 124-125; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 118-119.

744.[135] At this juncture, the On Oq began to fade. The Qarluqs, pushed out of their Inner Asian abode by their onetime allies, the Uyğurs, now the possessors of the Türk Qağanate, migrated to the On Oq lands ca. 745. In the words of the Moyun Čur inscription, "the Qarluqs, all of them who remained alive, came to the Türgiš."[136]

With this, the Qarluqs became, militarily, the most important Turkic grouping in the Western Türk lands. The Türgeš, torn by internal strife, were largely under the control of China which now dominated much of Central Asia. This is clearly illustrated in the events of 751. The Türgeš had joined in the revolt of *Čabıš (Chin. Ch'e-pi-shih), ruler of Čâč/Šâš/Taškent, in 750 and were quickly defeated by the T'ang forces. Čabıš's son (his father was executed by the T'ang) fled to the Arabs who were happy to use the occasion to intervene in the region. In the inevitable collision, fought at Aṭlax, near the Talas, in late July 751, the T'ang forces, commanded by a Korean general, suffered a complete defeat when their Qarluq allies defected to the Arabs.[137] Thereafter, the Muslims became the predominant political and cultural force in Western-Southwestern Central Asia. China recovered, briefly, defeating the Tibetans but then, in 755, was itself torn apart by the revolt of An lu-shan.[138] Meanwhile, the Qarluqs continued to extend their authority. By 766, they were the complete masters of the Western Türk lands, taking possession of the capital city, Sûyâb/Ordukent (identified with Aq Bešim in the Ču valley, near present day Tokmak in the Kirghiz SSR. It undoubtedly began as a Soğdian settlement.[139]). According to the **T'ang-shu**, the On Oq were brought under Qarluq authority. Some of the other tribes recognized Uyğur overlordship. [140]

In its On Oq stage and in particular, the era of Türgeš domination, it would be very hard to characterize the Western Türk polity as a state. The old Qağanal dignity remained, as did titles and officials, but internal cohesion had completely broken down. This polity, having, in essence, reverted to the status of a tribal union, only intermittantly functioned as a state.

## The Peoples of the Türk Qağanate

As our brief review of Türk history has shown, the Türk Qağanate was a

135 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 125.
136 Text in Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, p. 351.
137 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 142-143, 297-298; Gibb, **Conquests**, p. 96; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 136-139; Tixvinskij, Litvinskij, **Vostočnyj Turkestan**, pp. 316-317.
138 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 140-142.
139 **Ist. kirgizskoj SSR**, I, p. 270; Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza**, pp. 97-100.
140 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 85.

mix of nomadic, sedentary and forest peoples. The subsequent history of some of these peoples can be traced. Most, however, remain obscure. Among the ethnonyms associated with a **boðun/bodun** status[141] in the Türk Orxon inscriptions are :

**Az** : living in the Western Sayan-Altay zone in Western Tuva, ruled by an **elteber**, perhaps with a **totoq/tutuq** (< Chin. **tu-tu** "military governor"[142]) appointed by the Türgeš, they have been connected with the Iranian **As**, and similarly named peoples,[143] identified as Turkic,[144] or possibly Kettic, cf. the Assans.[145]

**Basmul** : (Chin. Pa-hsi-mi, also called Pi-la) seemingly ruled by a branch of the A-shih-na bearing the titles **Iduq qut** and **yabğu**,[146] they played an important role in the collapse of the Türk state and briefly held the Qağanate (see above). Their abode was near the city of Bešbalıq/Pei-t'ing. According to the **T'ung-tien** by Tu Yu (735-812), they "live south of Pei-t'ing and the Northern Sea (Chin. Pei-hai, i.e. Lake Baikal, PBG) and southeast of the Chieh-ku (Qırğız). They live dispersed in the mountains... They have leaders, but no princes; more than 2000 families. The people of this tribe are courageous and powerful, good hunters. There is much snow in this country, frequently a (piece) of wood serves as a horse. On it they pursue deer."[147] The fuller description of this device, given by the source, indicates that it was some kind of snow-shoe or ski (shaped like a shield, covered with horse-hide which can slide down a mountainside or move with the aid of sticks). It is curious to note that Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî places them among the nomadic peoples who, in his day, were not Turkic, but had retained their own

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141 This term, viewed by Clauson, **ED**, p. 306, as a plural or collective for **boð**, "clans," is rendered by him as "an organized tribal community, a people, in the sense of a community ruled by a particular ruler."

142 Clauson, **ED**, p. 453.

143 See Minorsky, **Ḥudûd**, p. 302. Minorsky and Czeglédy, 1980, p. 52, connect them with the Azî, noted in the territory of the Čigil and Türgiš (or Tuxsî, see Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, p. 41; Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 143). Giraud, **L'empire**, p. 193 is also inclined to view them as Iranian. Togan, **UTTG**, pp. 52-53, associates them with the *ʾ̈ökš, var lect. Âzk$^{u}$š or ʾrkš (*Az-kiši "Az people) mentioned by Ibn Xurdâdhbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 31 and Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 329 alongside of the "Trkšy" (Türgiš) in their listing of the peoples of Central Asia..

144 Cf, Kyzlasov, **Ist. Tuvy**, p. 50.

145 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 42-43.

146 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 156,261. The **Chiu T'ang-shu** mentions the "yabğu of the Pa-hsi-mi of the Nine Tribes." This indicates a connection with the Toquz Oğuz. **Iduq qut/Idiqut** Turk. "the sacred favor of heaven," Clauson, **ED**, p. 46. It was later the title borne by the post-imperial Uyğur rulers. On **yabğu**, see above. Clauson, **ED**, p. 873, connects it with the Yüeh-chih. In the Türk era it was given to members of the royal clan charged with administering parts of the realm by the reigning dynast.

147 Maljavkin, **Tanskie xroniki**, pp. 103-104; Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 173,225; Giraud, **L'empire**, pp. 51,192.

language and spoke Turkic as well.[148] In the Türk era, it would appear that they were still very much a forest people. Presumably, their Turkicization began with their incorporation into the Türk state. They must have had some political or economic importance to have merited A-shih-na rulers.

**Bayırqu** : (Chin. Pa-ye-ku) one of the T'ieh-lê peoples (most of whom are not mentioned in the Orxon inscriptions), their habitat was North of the Tola River and South of the Uyğurs with whom they appear to be connected. Their ruler held the title **irkin** (title of tribal chief).[149]

**Čik** : located between the Upper Yenisei and the Sayan mountains.[150] Usually noted together with the Az and Qırğız.

**Ediz** : Probably to be connected with the Ye-tie/A-tie noted in the Chinese sources as one of the T'ieh-lê confederation and Uyğur union.[151]

**İzgil** : ? Perhaps to be identified with the Ssŭ-chieh tribe of the T'ieh-lê confederation.[152] They were near the Az.

**Oğuz** : also Üč Oğuz. A tribal confederation, from which the Central Asian Oğuz subsequently emerged (see Chap. 7).

**On Oq** : see above.

**Qarluq** : a Turkic tribal confederation, possibly consisting of three tribes or units, were ruled by an **elteber** (see Chap 7).

**Qırğız** : a Turkic or Turkicized tribal union located in the Yenisei region. The Qırğız union was ruled by a Qağan, one of the few peoples whose rulers were accorded this title in the Türk inscriptions (see Chap. 6).

**Qıtañ** : (Qitan, Chin. Ch'i-tan), a Mongolic people who later founded the Liao dynasty in China and the Qara Xitay (Qitay) in Central Asia (see Chap. 6). They were closely associated with the Tatabı and Shih-wei. Qıtañ political organization owed much to Türk influence.[153]

**Qurıqan/Qoriqan** : also **Üč Qurıqan**, (Chin. Ku-li-kan[154] one of the T'ieh-lê tribes.[155] It is very likely that the Qurıqan are to be identified with the people/tribe called qwry (Qori/Quri) in later Islamic sources.[156] They are

148 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, p. 83.

149 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 87,89; Liu, **CN**, I, p. 127; Hamilton, 1962, p. 26; Clauson, **ED**, p. 225.

150 Giraud, **L'empire**, pp. 192-193.

151 Hamilton, 1962, p. 26; Giraud, **L'empire**, p. 53,184; Maljavkin, **Istoričeskaja geografija**, pp. 83,86-87.

152 Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, p. 265. He places them in the upper Selenga.

153 Holmgren, 1986, pp. 64-75.

154 Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**, I, pp. 64.

155 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 87,88; Giraud, **L'empire**, pp. 193,194

156 Noted in Gardîzî as a savage forest-swamp people near the Qırğız, see Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 127-128. The form of this ethnonym is problematic : **fwry/qwry** and possibly even **qwn** (Qun), on this problem, see Minorsky's comments, **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 283-284. Rašîd ad-Dîn mentions both the **qrġân** (Qoriğan) and qwry (Qori), **Jâmiʿ at-Tavârîx**, ed. Alizade et al., I/1, pp. 232,247-248; Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**, I, pp. 70-71.

also put forward as the ancestors of the Yaquts.[157] But, this is by no means clear. The name may be etymologized on the basis of Mong. **qurigan** "lamb,"[158] although we have no other evidence that they were Mongolic in speech. They are noted together with the Qırğız and Otuz Tatars. They were famed in Chinese sources for the horses that they bred in their lily-strewn land north of Lake Baikal.[159]

**Sir** : often connected with the Tarduš (Hsieh-Yen-t'o, this has been disputed for some time).[160] They were one of the more powerful groups associated with the Türk Qağanate, but not much is really known about them. They were probably north of the Türks, east of the Shih-wei and west of the Altay.[161] Kljaštornyj, who views them as close allies of the Türks, suggests that the Qıpčaqs stemmed from them.[162] Like many of the other "Northern" Turkic peoples, they provided horses to China. Chinese sources mention some 50,000 "grizzled black maned horses" as well as numerous oxen, camels and goats sent by the Sir-Tarduš to the T'ang in 643.[163]

**Soğ(u)daq** (Soğdians, Chin. Hu,[164] Su-t'e "Soğdia") : an ancient Iranian people centered in the Zeravšan valley and Ustrušâna. Their major urban centers were Buxârâ and Samarqand. They had been part of the Achaemenid and Alexandrine empires. Even after incorporation into the Türk Qağanates, they maintained considerable autonomy and were frequently independent. In the 7th century, they and their neighbors, the Xwârazmians, formed a loose union of mercantile, trading states under their own kings. The comitatus of the kings, the **čâkir/čakars**, a special corps of troops, may have served as the prototype of the **mamlûk/gulâm** institution in the Islamic world.[165] Foreign conquests had given rise to Soğdian colonies which spread across the trade routes of Eastern Turkistan and Mongolia leading to China. Since China engaged in foreign trade only reluctantly and for political reasons, the Soğdians were drawn more closely to the nomads who posessed the military power to force open the Chinese markets.[166]

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157 Okladnikov, **Yakutia**, p. 318-329; Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, p. 265.

158 Cf. Lessing, p. 987 **xuraġ-a(n)** "lamb." On this form see Thomsen, 1987, p. 173.

159 Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, pp. 69-70.

160 Boodberg, 1951, pp. 5-7; Liu, **CN**, II, p. 721; Kljaštornyj, 1986, p. 156. Haussig, 1953, p. 342 suggested Hsieh-Yen-t'o [siät jän-d'â] = Sirinda/Σηρινδα.

161 Cf. the notices in Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 354-358; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 6,8,10-11,13,16,17,90,94-96.

162 Kljaštornyj, 1986, pp. 155-164.

163 Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 59.

164 A term that was often extended to other peoples as well, Liu, **CN**, II, pp. 490-491.

165 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 147; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 352-353; Beckwith, 1984, pp. 29-43.

166 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 158. Adshead, **China**, p. 74, suggests that it was Soğdian involvement in the Farğâna horse-trade that gained them entry to China's markets.

These enterprising Iranians were not only traders (largely in luxury goods), but artisans and agriculturalists as well. Their language became the lingua franca of the region. Texts, in a variety of scripts, dealing with sacred (they played a major role in spreading Buddhism, Manichaeanism and Christianity in Central and Inner Asia) and profane matters date from as early as the 4th century A.D.[167] Soġdian functioned as one of the official languages of the Türk Qağanate. Their influence on the Türks was enormous. Chinese sources claimed that the Türks were "simple-minded" and could be easily handled if not for the presence of large numbers of Hu (Soġdians) who guide them.[168] They were present in the Qağanate in very large numbers, both in their homeland and in Inner Asia, many rising to positions of political prominence. Their contacts with the A-shih-na probably date back to the pre-imperial period.[169]

**Tarduš** : a T'ieh-lê grouping associated with the Sir (see above). Some scholars suggest that this is the name for the western or right wing of the Türks.[170]

**Tatabı** : the Türk term for the Qay (Chin. K'u-mo-hsi and Hsi [giei] = Qay), rendered into Tibetan as **Dad-pyi**.[171] They were a Mongolic people, closely related to or associated with the Qitañ and Shih-wei (see Chap. 6)

**Tatar** : (Chin. Ta-ta[172]) a confederation of 30 clans, the **Otuz Tatars** or perhaps 9 tribes, the **Toquz Tatar**. Later, a grouping within the Činggisid confederation, their ethnic affiliation is, in all likelihood, Mongolic. They have recently been identified with the Shih-wei. Probably located East and Southeast of Lake Baikal.[173]

**Toquz Oğuz** : Usually translated into Chinese as the "Nine Tribes" and associated with the T'ieh-lê[174] and Uyğurs (see Chap. 6). Chinese sources report that they traded their horses with China at certain border posts and made a special kind of armor from horse hides.[175] Their relationship to the ruling Türk (perhaps as an in-law grouping) requires further elucidation. The Orxon inscriptions (Kül Tegin,N4, Bilge Qağan, E29) refers to them as "my own people" **kentü bodunum, mening bodunum** who had become an enemy (**yağı boltı**).[176]

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167 Kljaštornyj, 1972, pp. 258-259; Livšic, Xromov, **Osnovy**, 1986, pp. 347-349; Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 12.
168 Liu, **CN, I**, pp. 87-88.
169 Klaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, pp. 90-91.
170 Pritsak, 1951, p. 273; Pulleyblank, 1956, p. 36.
171 Bacot, 1956, p. 145.
172 See Wittfogel, **Liao**, p. 101-102; Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes, I**, pp. 2ff.
173 Liu, 1989, p. 104; Giraud, **L'empire**, p. 184; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, p. 156 : Otuz Tatar = Shih-wei, Toquz Tatar = Southern Shih-wei.
174 Liu, **CN, II**, p. 591.
175 Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, pp. 65,260.
176 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıları**, pp. 21/22,46/47-48/49.

**Tölis/Töliš** : frequently identified with the Chin. T'ieh-lê.[177] If the latter is to be reconstructed as **Tegreg** etc. (Chap. 4), this can hardly be correct. Pritsak and Pulleyblank, among others, suggest that this is the term for the eastern or left wing of the Türks.[178]

**Uyğur** : the dominant tribe of the T'ieh-lê confederation in the East, ruled by an **elteber**. On their relationship to the **Toquz Oğuz**, see Chap. 6.

This listing does not claim to be comprehensive. Rather, it is limited to the ethnonyms found in the Türk inscriptions. Many tribal names (e.g. the Buqut and other T'ieh-lê groupings) found in Chinese sources have been omitted as well as the various Inner and Central Asian oasis city states that passed into and out of Türk, Tibetan and Chinese control.[179]

## Governance of the Türk Qağanate

The Türk state grew out of a tribal confederation. This consisted of the ruling clan and its allies (including "in-law" tribes), which formed the core of the confederation. To this core of "inner tribes" were tacked on tribes that freely joined the union (and were allowed to retain their native ruling houses) and those that were compelled to do so. The ruling clans of the latter were usually supervised or supplanted by officials of the central administration. Newly joined tribes were always placed in the vanguard during campaigns.[180] Below these tribes were the tribute-paying sedentary populations.[181]

Much of the Türk political system undoubtedly came from the Jou-Jan. Elements of it ultimately go back to the Hsien-pi and Hsiung-nu as well as other, unknown sources. At the apex of this system stood the **Qağan** (Chin. k'o-han [k'á-ĝân], a title, first attested among the Hsien-pi. Its origins are unclear as is its relationship to the title **qan/xan** with which it was sometimes interchangeable. At other times, the latter appears to have denoted a subordinate ruler.[182] The Qağan's rule was heavenly-mandated : (Kül Tegin

177 E.g. Giraud, **L'empire**, p. 190.

178 Pritsak, 1951, p. 273; Pulleyblank, 1956, p. 36.

179 See Tixvinskij, Litvinskij, **Vostočnyj Turkestan**, pp. 264ff.

180 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 94; Németh, **HMK**, pp. 234-235.

181 Golden, 1982, pp. 50-51. Pritsak, **Origins**, pp. 17-18 presents the Türk "**pax**" (**il** in his terminology) as consisting of "several autonomous political bodies" : nomadic and merchant tribal groups (**bodun**), urban elements (**balıq**), "sedentary vassal states." These were subdivided into 4 social classes : tribal nobility/comitatus (**buyruq**), upper and lower class (**qara bodun**) freemen, slaves. The **il** was divided into a left and right wing. The whole of the **il** was was broken up into military recruitment districts capable of fielding a **tümen** (10,000) of soldiers. The two Qağans kept winter and summer camps with attendant bureaucracies.

182 See László,1940, pp. 1-4; Pulleyblank, 1962, pp. 260-262; Doerfer, **TME**, II, p. 370,III, pp. 141-180; Clauson, **ED**, p. 611.

inscripition) **tengriteg tengride bolmiš tür(ü)k bilge qağan** "Heaven-like ("God-like"), heaven-derived, Türk, wise Qağan," **tengri yarlıqaduqın üčün özüm qutum bar üčün qağan olurtum** "Because heaven (so) mandated (and) because I myself possessed heavenly good fortune (**qut**[183]), I became Qağan."[184] This charisma extended to the entire royal clan. The blood of these holy kings could not be shed (hence they were executed by strangulation). They were sacred persons who served as intermediaries between the supernatural powers and their people.[185] The Qağan was surrounded by a comitatus called **böri** ("wolf"), a term which the Chinese attributed to their mythical lupine origins.[186] When the Qağan was investited with his office, he underwent an elaborate ceremony with strong shamanic undertones in which he was held aloft on a felt carpet, spun around nine times, paraded on horseback and then ritually strangled with a silk scarf. At the point of losing consciousness, he was asked to state the number of years in which he will rule.[187] The Qağan was the supreme law-giver. One of his first acts, upon establishing the polity, was to promulgate the **törü** ("traditional, customary law,"[188] the equivalent of the later Činggisid Mongol **jasaġ/yasa(q)**, cf. the Kül Tegin inscription : **bumın qağan ištemi qağan olurmiš olurupan tür(ü)k bodunıng ilin törüsin tuta birmiš iti birmiš** "Bumın Qağan (and) Ištemi Qağan having become (Qağans) (and) having taken office, set about taking control of and organizing the polity (**il**) and the **törü** of the Türk tribe/people"[189]). The title Qağan appears to have been borne by a number of members of the A-shih-na clan, including some, the (Chin.) i **k'o-han** (Türk. ***eb qağanları** "house qağans" ?[190]) whose functions were largely sacral.

Succession to the supreme Qağanate was, in theory, lateral, going from brother to brother and then to their respective sons. This sequence was frequently broken. Thus, Ištemi did not succeed Bumın (perhaps because he

183 On this term see Bombaci, 1965, 1966; Roux, **La religion** , pp. 158-161. This notion, with possibly messianic overtones, is closely related to the Iranian concept of **hvarenah**, see Dvornik, **Political Philosophy**, I, pp. 84ff. and 124ff. It also parallels the "son of heaven" ideology of neighboring China.

184 Tekin, **Orhon yazıtları**, pp. 2,4. According to the **Sui-shu**, Sha-po-lüe (Išbara) Qağan, in 584, used very similar language in a letter to the Chinese court, calling himself "born by Heaven, wise and holy son of heaven of the Empire of the Great Türks." Similar formulae were used by other Qağans, see Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 50,458.

185 László, 1940, pp. 9-12; Deér, **Pogány magyarság**, pp. 24-25; Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte**, II, p. 7; Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, pp. 77-78.

186 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 9.

187 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 8.

188 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 531-532.

189 Tekin, **Orhon yazıtları**, p. 8. See also, İnalcık, 1966, pp. 268-269.

190 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 499 noted in the **T'ung-tien** (completed in 801).

had established his own, subordinate Qağanate in the West). More often, it was the source of constant strife between the potential heirs to the throne. Instability in the system of succession, resulting from notions of the "collective sovereignty" of the royal clan, proved to be a fatal flaw in the structure of the First and Second Qağanates. While awaiting their turn, the various A-shih-na princes functioned as governors of different areas. In addition to the east-west bipartite principle, there could be a number of subdivisions. Thus, according to the **Sui-shu**, "Taspar named Shê-tu as the Niver (Ňevar etc.) Qağan to rule over the east. Then he made the son of Juten Qağan, his younger brother, the Pu-li (Turk. Böri) Qağan who would reside in the west." Shê-tu, in turn, appointed subordinate Qağans to all the points of the compass.[191] The need to keep members of the royal clan (and potential rivals) busy, created, in effect, an appanage system. One or another variant of this system can be seen in the Eurasian (e.g. Qaraxanid, Činggisid) and Middle Eastern (e.g. Seljukid, Türkmen Aq Qoyunlu) states founded by the nomads.[192]

The Qağan's wife bore the title **qatun** ( < *qağatun, cf. Chin. k'o-ho-tun [*k'á-ġà-tuən] < Soġd. **xwtʾyn** [**xwatên** "wife of the ruler").[193] Beneath the Qağan were the yabğus, šads, tegins (Chin. t'ê-lê [*d'ək-lək]), eltebers (Chin. hsieh-li-fa [*ġiet-lji-pi̯wər], ssŭ-li-fa), irkins, tarxans, ışbaras, šadpıts, tuduns (Chin t'u-t'un)), čors, totoqs, begs etc. Some of these offices were hereditary.[194] Many of these titles were of Iranian origin (e.g. **šad/šaδ** < cf. Old Pers. **xšâyaθiya, xšaita** > **šâh**, Soġd. xšêδ, **beg** < Iran.*bag, cf. Soġd. bġy) borrowed both directly or perhaps via Jou-Jan or other intermediaries.[195] Others came from or via Toxarian (e.g **ışbara** < Skrt. **Iśvara** "prince, lord" through Toxarian).[196] It is unclear to what extent these officials are to be identified with the Türk aristocracy. We have little information regarding social differentiation. As noted above, there was a class or estate termed **qara bodun** refering to the common people[197] One may presume that within the context of a state, with a population undergoing further social differentiation, a governing class or estate developed.[198]

This profusion of titles, with differing functions (regional, union, tribal

191 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 42,98, II, pp. 520-521; Wang, 1982, pp. 131,134.
192 See the comments of Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 13-16.
193 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 96; Doerfer, **TME**, III, pp. 132-141; Clauson, **ED**, pp. 602-603.
194 Cf. the brief listing in Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 8-9, II, pp. 498-499.
195 On **šad**, see Bombaci, 1974, pp. 167-193; Clauson, **ED**, p. 866. On **beg**, see Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 80. Clauson, **ED**, pp. 322-323 derives it from Chin. **po** [pɑk] "head of a hundred men."
196 Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurksie**, p. 113n.174; Clauson, **Ed**, p. 257.
197 Clauson, **ED**, p. 306.
198 Khazanov, **Nomads**, p. 256 comments that the Türk aristocracy to the subject sedentary population was a "class," but to the Türk state it was the "leading estate."

governors, tax officials etc.) clearly shows that the Türks had a fully developed nomadic state. It is unclear if it was more or less centralized than that of the Hsiung-nu.[199] The impact of this pan-nomadic imperium was far-reaching. The succeeding Turkic polities, both the minority that achieved statehood and the majority that did not, were modelled to varying degrees on patterns that were clearly articulated by the Türks. The Činggisid Mongol Empire was, in many respects, a re-creation of the Türk state on an even grander scale. However powerful the Türk Qağanate may have been, when it began to decline, statehood seemed to fade with it. This is particularly true of the Western Türk state. In the eastern heartland, Mongolia (Uyğuria) and Far West (Khazaria), however, the state survived.

## RELIGIONS

Theophylaktos Simokattes reports that the Turks worship fire, air and water. They "sing hymns to the earth and bow down before and only call Him God who made the heaven and earth. To Him they sacrifice horses, cows and sheep. They have as priests, those whom they think exhibit the ability to foretell what is about to happen to them."[200] Here we see the **tengri** ("heaven, Celestial God") cult of the Türks, the origins of which probably lie in the ancient beliefs of the Inner Asian peoples (cf. the Hsiung-nu).[201] Reference is also made to the **yir-sub** "earth-water" cult[202] and to the practices of shamanism (one of the most important being divination)[203]. In addition to these, the Orxon inscriptions make reference to a protective female diety, **umay** associated with fertility.[204] There was also worship of holy mountains, especially the Ötüken **yïš** ("mountain forest"[205]). This was sacred ground. The **Chou-shu** reports that "although the Türks are constantly changing their abode, they each nonetheless possess their own land. The Qağan lives constantly on the (Yü) Tu-chin (Ötüken) mountain; his royal

199 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 133 argues that given the profusion of qağans it must have been less centralized.

200 Theoph. Sim. ed. de Boor, p. 260.

201 Harva, **Die religiösen Vorstellungen**, pp. 140ff.;Schmidt, **Der Ursprung**, IX, pp. 10-13,28-31,61-62; Roux, **La religion**, pp. 110-121; Eliade, **History**, III, pp. 3,5.

202 Harva, **Die religiösen Vorstellungen**, pp. 243-249; Roux, **La religion**, pp. 132-141.

203 İnan, **Şamanizm**, pp. 151-159; Roux, **La religion**, pp. 64ff. The **Sui-shu** (Liu, CN, I, p. 42) also comments that "they worship gods and spirits and believe in exorcists, male and female."

204 Potapov, 1972, pp. 268-278. Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, p. 314 regards this cult as of probable Mongol origin.

205 Clauson, **ED**, p. 976. Ötüken perhaps derives from **ōte-** "to carry out an obligation, hence to carry out one's obligations to God by offering prayer..." (Clauson, **ED**, p. 43). Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, p. 314 suggests **ötü** "request, prayer" (cf. Clauson, **ED**, p. 51 : **ötüg** "request, memorial to a superior").

tent faces towards the East because one honors the direction from which the sun rises." This source further reports that "every year the Qağan leads the nobles to the ancestral cave to offer sacrifices and in the middle decade of the fifth month, they gather on the Tamir river to make offerings to the Heaven-God. At a distance of 4-5000 li from Tu-chin mountain, there tower up high mountains. They are called Po-teng-ning-li, translated into Chinese it means 'God of the Earth.'"[206] The reference to ancestor-worship is confirmed by the Bugut inscription which mentions "the abode of Lord Bumın Qağan," most probably a temple dedicated to him.[207]

As the Türk Qağanate expanded and came into greater contact with surrounding cultures, it was influenced by the religions of the conquered populations. Thus, Mazdaism, other Iranian religious systems (e.g. Zurvanism) and Buddhist influences came to the fore during the era of the First Qağanate. Muğan and Taspar both fostered Buddhism. This is reflected in the Bugut inscription which dates to the second generation of Türk rulers (570's or 580's) and was written in Soġdian.[208] As in so many other aspects of Türk contact with the non-nomadic world, the Soġdians appear to have played an important role as intermediaries. This is reflected in loan-words pertaining to religion (although many of these may date from the subsequent Uyğur era). Later missionaries were of Toxarian origin.[209] Buddhism also had considerable success among the Western Türks.[210] During the period of the Second Qağanate, Bilge Qağan was thinking of introducing Buddhist and Taoist temples. This was vigorously opposed by Toñuquq.[211] Gumilëv, basing himself on a report in Theophylaktos Simokattes[212] claims that Christianity, in its Nestorian form, also made some headway in the Türk state.[213] This is by no means clear.

206 Liu, CN, I, p. 10; II, pp. 500-501, the Tamir was also holy to the Hsiung-nu; Pelliot, 1929, pp. 212-216; Roux, **La religion**, pp. 149-154; Potapov, 1972, pp. 266,283.

207 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 75.

208 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, pp. 78-79. Bazin, 1975, p. 43, has a different interpretation.

209 von Gabain, **CHIr.**, 3/1, pp. 617-618,620.

210 Beckwith, **Empire**, p. 98n.76. Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, **Sočinenija**, V, pp. 47-48 notes a flourishing Buddhism in the Western Türk Qağanate. Indian missionaries and merchants came, at this time, to the Türk lands. According to Bartol'd, sart (Clauson, **ED**, p. 846 Skrt. **sarṭha** "merchant," but probably from/ through Soġdian intermediaries. In the 11th century it acquired the meaning "town-dweller," especially one of Iranian origin) is a loan-word from this period.

211 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 224.

212 Theoph. Sim. ed. de Boor, p. 208 tells of captives of Turkic origin sent by the Sasanid Šah, Xusrau, to the Emperor Maurikios who had the mark of the cross branded on their foreheads. It was put there, by their mothers, on the advice of local Christians in the East during an epidemic.

213 Gumilev, **Searches**, p. 39. A more realistic presentation is found in Bartol'd, 1894, **Sočinenija**,II/2, pp. 271-272.

The Bugut inscription indicates that the Türks were already familiar with the twelve year animal cycle calendar (the origins of which are obscure). Interestingly enough, this monument also has a bas-relief showing a wolf or she-wolf under whose belly stands the figure of a man. This is a clear reference to the ethnogenetic myth of the Türks.[214]

## WRITING SYSTEMS

The Chinese sources provide contradictory notices regarding writing systems among the Türks. The **Chou-shu** reports that "the script of the Türks resembles that of the Hu barbarians." The **Sui-shu**, however, reports that they "possess no script, so that they express their agreements through notches on a stick." The **Pei-shu** reports both notices.[215] Archaeology has confirmed that the Türks possessed at least two writing systems. Both derived ultimately from scripts used by the Soġdians,[216] which were based, in turn, on the Aramaic ( > Syriac) alphabet. This is the script of the "Hu barbarians" noted by the Chou-shu. Its cursive variant, which developed in the late 7th-early 8th century,[217] is the source of the Uyğur alphabet and thence the Mongol and Manču scripts. The translation of Buddhist texts into Turkic probably began under Taspar Qağan. During his reign, Liu Shih-ch'ing, who knew "the languages of the Barbarians of the four compass points" was asked to translate the Nirvâṇa-Sûtra into Turkic by the Northern Ch'i Emperor. This was sent to the Türk Qağan.[218] Presumably, the script used was some variant of the Soġdian. Although "the Scythian letter" (τὸ γράμμα τὸ Σκυθικὸν) brought by Maniax in his first embassy to Constantinople,[219] could conceivably have been written in Turkic using the Soġdian script, it is much more likely that Soġdian, a lingua franca of Eurasian trade and hence certain to find translators in Byzantium, was used here. It is not clear when this script was first employed to write Turkic. There were, as we have noted, Soġdian colonies spread out along the Eurasian trade routes from which this script radiated out. As we know from the Bugut inscription, it was used for official purposes (employing Soġdian) in the Türk Qağanate in the last quarter of the 6th century. Kljaštornyj suggests that the adaptation of the Soġdian script to the sounds of Turkic began during the "Kao-ch'an" period (5th century) of the A-shih-na. The Soġdian cursive, in his view, antedates the Türk Runic writing.[220]

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214 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972, p. 57.
215 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 10,41, II, p. 520.
216 On Soġdian scripts, see Henning, 1958, pp. 52-56; Oranskij, **Vvedenie**, pp. 197-204.
217 Henning, 1958, p. 55.
218 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 34,36-37,43; Bazin, 1975, pp. 40-42.
219 Menander/Blockley, pp. 114/115.
220 Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurksie**, p. 49; Kljaštornyj, 1980, pp. 320-321.

The other writing system, closely related to the one we have just discussed is the so-called **Runic** or **Runiform** system. It has no relationship to the runic writings of Europe other than a superficial similarity. This writing system, it is now generally held, also derived from the Aramaic alphabet used in the Eastern Iranian world. Clauson conjectures that this specific alphabet (based on Irano-Aramaic, supplemented by Greek) was developed by Ištemi Qağan for use in his diplomatic missions to Byzantium. Its inventor was a cultured Hephthalite or Soġdian.[221] This seems rather improbable as this new alphabet was unlikely to find readers in Constantinople. Von Gabain views it as an adaptation of the Aramaic cursive that had been in use in the Aršakid chancellery. It was developed by the Western Türks as a result of their contact with Iran in the late 6th century. It spread, together with the first wave of Manichaean missionaries among the Turkic peoples to the East.[222] Bazin argues that it was developed as part of a nationalist upsurge by the Türks, reflected in the Orxon inscriptions.[223] Far more likely is that it evolved from the Aramaic, with other additions and adjustments, for the specific epigraphic purposes for which it was employed. We might also bear in mind that special artisans (**bedizči**) were sent from China to carve the Orxon inscriptions.[224] Their aesthetic contributions should also be taken into account. The oldest known Turkic runiform text is the Čoiren inscription in Mongolia, dated to 688-691, a century after the Bugut inscription.[225] Various types of runiform script became fairly widespread in Eurasia among the the Turkic peoples (e.g. Qırğız, Bulğars, Khazars, Pečenegs and others).[226]

In time, as elsewhere in the Medieval world, writing systems were determined by religious affiliation.

## ECONOMY

The Chinese sources make abundantly clear that the Türks were primarily nomads who lived in felt tents, ate meat and drank **qımız** (fermented mare's milk).[227] They were, of necessity, vitally interested in trade. We know from

221 Clauson, 1970, pp. 51-76.
222 von Gabain, 1964, pp. 171-191.
223 Bazin, 1975, pp. 38-39,43.
224 Tekin, **Orhon yazıtları**, p. 4.
225 Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1978, p. 48.
226 See Németh, 1971, pp. 1-52; Harmatta, 1983, pp. 85-99; Vasil'ev, **Korpus**.
227 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 8,41. Sinor, "Establishment," **CHEIA**, p. 313, however, considers it very probable that with the exception of the "politically and militarily active social uppercrust," who were "supported by a pastoral economic infrastructure," the bulk of the population consisted of forest folk. He also points out that metallurgy, initially, was the "basis of Türk political power."

the Türk inscriptions that they received silk, cotton fabrics, grain, gold and silver valuables and agricultural tools from their sedentary neighbors. These were acquired either through regulated trade in Chinese cities and special border areas (China used trade as a means of restraining the nomads) or raiding. One of the major sources of conflict in Eurasia was the question of control of the Silk Route, the avenue via which one of the most important items in international trade passed.[228]

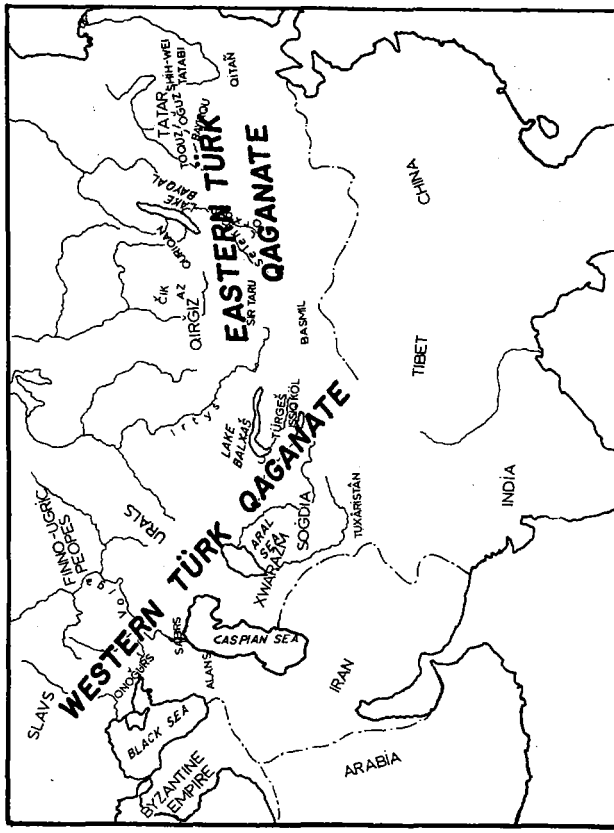
The Türks were important middlemen in international trade. Their empire served as a commercial bridge across Eurasia, a means by which China and to a lesser extent India were brought into contact with the Eastern Mediterranean (Sâsânid Iran and Byzantium). Thus, according to the **T'ang-shu**, the Western Türk Qağan, Shih-kuei (611-619) was the source of "successive tributes" of the ostrich eggs of T'iao-chih (Babylonia). This same source mentions a Western Türk Qağan who in 620 sent the Chinese Emperor "a giant bird of T'iao-chih."[229] But, the Türks were more than just a source of luxury goods. Their unification, for a time, of the Silk Route, had important economic ramifications.

A **pax turcica** allowed for the free flow of goods between East and West. This, it may be presumed, fostered the growth of international trade. It also drew the attention of their sedentary, imperial neighbors with positive (the spread of literacy)[230] and ultimately negative results for the Türks. The latter were unable to strike the right balance between their sedentary neighbors. Weakened by internecine and dynastic strife, the eastern and western realms succumbed, within several generations, to the T'ang. They then managed to restore their freedom, but the revived state was a much weaker Qağanate in which those forces that destroyed its predecessor very quickly re-surfaced. The Western Qağanate, which was in and out of submission to China, was able to hold out longer, primarily because the T'ang were no longer able to project their power that far to the west. The Arabo-Muslim advance that had seemed so threatening had also largely spent itself. Thus, although the Western Türks soon disappeared as a politically important entity, their successors in the region, were considerably less hard pressed by their sedentary neighbors. In the absence of these external stimuli, the pressures for statehood were considerably reduced.

228 Kljaštornyj, 1972, p. 256.

229 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 53; Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 102. This was only one of many "exotic" articles of trade from the West that came to China via the Türks.

230 Beckwith, **Empire**, pp. 9-10,178-180. Cf. also the comments of Pritsak, **Origins**, I, pp. 14-19.




MAP IV THE TÜRK QAĞANATES

# THE SUCCESSORS OF THE TÜRKS IN INNER ASIA

## THE UYĞUR QAĞANATE (744-840)

The Muslim geographical compiler, Ibn al-Faqîh, in his "Book of the Countries" (**Kitâb al-Buldân**, composed ca. 289/902), wrote, in reference to the Toquz Oğuz ("ţġzġzz" or "ţġzġzz" in the Islamic sources), one of the terms associated in the Islamic historico-geographical literature with the Uyğurs, that they "are the Arabs of the Turks."[1] In this he was referring not only to their onetime political primacy among the Inner Asian tribes, but to their cultural role as well. It was the latter that proved to be more enduring.

As with so many of the other peoples whose history we have sketched, the Uyğurs appear under a variety of names in the course of their history. Like many of the other Inner Asian nomads, their origins are to be sought in the Hsiung-nu union. The **Wei-shu** comments that the founder of the Hui-ho (Uyğurs) was the son (or grandson) of a daughter (or niece) of a Hsiung-nu ruler and that they were previously known under the names Ti-li/ Chi-ti/T'ieh-lê and Kao-chü/Kao-ch'e. Another account derives them from the union of the Shan-yü's daughter and a wolf. During the Sui era (586-618), the *Buqut/Boqut (P'u-ku), Tongra (T'ung-lo), Bayırqu (Pa-erh-ku) and Hui-ho formed a union that was called Hui-ho in the Chinese sources. Hui-ho (*ġuâi-ġuət) is the Chinese rendering of **Uyğur** which the **Chiu Wu Tai-shih** interpreted as referring to the "rapidity with which they turned around and swooped down like a falcon."[2] Modern etymological explanations have attempted to derive **Uyğur** from Turk. **uy-/uð-** "to follow, to conform to"[3] interpreted, by Németh, as "to follow, accomodate oneself" = "non-rebellious."[4] The difficulty with these etymologies (or others that could be derived from **oðğur-** "to wake, rouse, stir"[5]) is that the shift **ð/d** > **y** does not appear to have taken place by this time.

The connection with the T'ieh-lê, elements of whose history we have already examined, is particularly important. The **Sui-shu**, which gives an extensive listing of T'ieh-lê tribes (some 44 names and others omitted), places "north of the Tu-lo (Tula) river" the T'ieh-lê grouping that included the "P'u-ku (Buqu, Buqut, Boqut ?), T'ung-lo (Tongra), Wei-ho/Yüan-ho (*jwei-ġuət/*jɨwɑn-ġuət = Uyğur[6]), Pa-ye-ku (Bayırqu) and Fu-lo (*P'ɨuk-

1 Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 329.
2 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 213-214, (**T'ang-shu**)301; Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 87; Maljavkin, **Xozjajstvo**, p. 22-23; Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 61. For other Uyğur ethnogenetic myths, see Ögel, **Türk mitolojisi**, pp. 73-90.
3 On the meanings of **uð-**, see Clauson, **ED**, p. 38.
4 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 38-39. Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, p. .111 notes **ud-** "takıp etmek," **oy-** "oymak, baskı yapmak" or **uy-** "akraba, müttefik + **gur**.
5 See Clauson, **ED**, p. 48.
6 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 334 is reluctant to accept this identification.

lâ), all of whose princes bear the title Ssŭ-chin (= Turk. **irkin**); (further on are) the Meng-ch'en (*mung-d'i̯ĕn), Tu-ju/Tu-ju-ho (*t'uo-ńźi̯wo-ɣuət), Ho-ssŭ-chieh/Ssŭ-chieh (*si-kiet), Hun, Hu-hsieh (*ɣuk-si̯ät) and other tribes. They put forth some 20,000 elite soldiers."[7] This constituted the core of the later Uyğur union. The **T'ang-shu** presents a somewhat smaller grouping of T'ieh-lê tribes : Yüan-ho, Hsieh-yen-t'o (si̯ät-i̯än-dâ, Sir Tarduš, see Chap. 5), Ch'i-pi/Ch'i-pi-yü (k'iei-pi̯ĕt-ji̯u), Tu-po (tuo-puâ), Ku-li-kan (kuət-lji-kân = Qurıqan), To-lang-ko (tâ-lâm-kât = Telengüt ?), P'u-ku (buok-kuət/buok-kuo, Buqu, Buqut etc.), Ssŭ-chieh (si-kiet, Sıqır ?), Hu-hsieh (ɣuk-si̯ät), Hsi-chieh (ɣiei-ki̯ĕt [*Qayqır ?]), T'ung-lo (dung-lâ, Tongra), Hun (ɣuən, Qun?), Pa-ye-ku (bwat-i̯a-kuo, Bayırqu), A-tie (a-diet), Pei-hsi/Po-hsi (bɑk-zi̯əp).[8] In them we can see many of the elements that comprised the Uyğur-led tribal union that succeeded the Türks and Basmıls to the Qağanate in Mongolia. This confederation was also termed in Chinese sources "The Nine Tribes" (Chin. **Chiu hsing** "Nine Surnames") which corresponds (although not without complications) to the "tɡzɣzz" (**Toquz Oğuz** Turk. "Nine Tribal Groupings") of the Islamic sources. Muslim sources must have picked up the term **Toquz Oğuz** which they applied to both the Uyğur Qağanate in Mongolia and the subsequent diasporan Uyğur states,[9] from a Turkic source. The Toquz Oğuz union consisted of the ruling Uyğurs, whose own tribal union consisted of 10 tribes/clans and 8 other tribal units : the Buqu(t), Hun (Qun?), Bayırqu, Tongra, Sıqar, Ch'i-pi, A-pu-ssŭ and Ku-lun-wu-ku. The Uyğurs proper were made up of the **Yağlaqar** (Chin. Yo-lo-ku [i̯ak-lâ-kât], Xotan. yahi̯:dak̲ari, < Turk. **yağıla-** "to be hostile to, engage in hostilities with"[10]), ***(H)uturqar** (? Chin. Hu-tu-ku [ɣuo-tuət-kât] < Turk. **ut-** "to win, best, defeat"[11]), **Kürebir** (Chin. Tu-lo-wu or Chiu-lo-wu [k'i̯uət-lâ-mi̯uət, Xotan. kurabirä < Turk. **küre-** "to run away"[12] ?), **Boqsıqıt/Baqsıqıt** (Chin. Mo-ko-hsi-chi [mɑk-kâ-si̯ek-kiət, Xotan. bâsikätti), ***Avučaɣ** (? Chin. A-wu-chê [â-mi̯uɑt-ʦɑk]), **Qasar** (Chin. Ko-sa [kât-sât]), (Chin.) Hu-wu-su [ɣuk-uət-suo] ?, **Yabutqar** (Chin. Yo-wu-ko [i̯ak-mi̯uət-kât] Xotan. yabûttikarî/Yâbuutäkarä) and **Ayabir** (Chin. Hsi-ye-wu [ɣiei-i̯a-mi̯ət = Qayabır ?], Xotan. ayabîrä/ayavîrä).

7 Liu, **CN, I**, p. 127; Hamilton, 1962, p. 26; Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 87.

8 Chavannes, **Documents**, p. 87; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 334-336.

9 Minorsky, 1948, pp. 286-287.

10 Clauson, **ED**, p. 903; Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, p. 112.

11 This etymology is proferred by Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, p. 112. See Clauson, **ED**, p. 38 for definition. The latter also notes (p. 67) ***utur-** "to meet," perhaps in the sense of "oppose."

12 Clauson, **ED**, p. 737. Kafesoğlu, **TMK**, suggests Turk. **küre-** "müdafaa etmek, korunmak" + **bir**. Presumably, **bir** here is the imperative of the verb **bir-** "to give" used together with the participle of another verb to express an action carried out in the interests of another person. On this usage in Old Turkic, see Kononov, **Grammatika**, p. 198. A similar formulation is found in the Modern Turkic languages, but denoting quickness of action, see Menges, **TLP**, p. 155. **Kürebir** appears as a personal name and title in runic-script manuscripts from the "Cave of the Thousand Buddhas" near Tung-huang, Nadeljaev et al., **DTSl**, p. 328.

A number of these tribal names do not appear to be Turkic.[13] Some were, very likely, based on anthroponyms (which had become clan names) deriving from the onetime Jou-Jan overlords of the T'ieh-lê or perhaps other, Palaeo-Siberian elements. In this regard, Maḥmûd al-Kâšgarî has the curious notice that the Uyğurs of his day (mid-11th century) "have a pure Turkic language, and also another language which they speak among themselves."[14] Of course, this other language of Kâšgarî's day may well refer to Tokharian or Eastern Iranian remnants which were undergoing Turkicization in the cities of Eastern Turkistan under Uyğur overlordship. It may also, however, refer to ancient, non-Turkic ethnic strata in the Uyğur union.

The pre-Qağanate history of the Uyğurs may be reconstructed as follows: They were a part of the T'ieh-lê confederation, specifically the subconfederation called in Chinese Kao-chü/Kao-ch'e ("High Carts," see Chap. 4, probably a reference to their **kibitka**-type dwellings). Following a struggle with the Jou-Jan, they divided into two groups, one located in the Orxon-Selenga valleys (= On Uyğur) and the other in the Altay-T'ien-shan zone (Toquz Uyğur). Their leading tribe, the Wei-ho or Yüan-ho (Uyğurs), as we have seen, consisted of 10 clans, led by a ruling or charismatic clan : the Yağlaqar. By the 8th century, the ethnonym **Uyğur** was being applied to all of them.[15] They proved to be recalcitrant vassals of the Türks. Initially used by the latter to control the northern regions of the Qağanate, they entered into relations with China and frequently figured as allies of the Middle Kingdom employed largely to put pressure on the Orxon qağans. In 647, these T'ieh-lê, who had regained their independence in the early 7th century, came under direct Chinese overlordship or at least "protection." They revolted against China in 660-662 and 685 without success. With the revival of the Second Türk Qağanate, they were again brought into the Türk polity where they once more proved to be troublesome subjects. Some, however, may have fled to China (Kansu region) where they entered T'ang service. Here too, they could be difficult vassals, but the tradition of frequent alliance with China was undoubtedly forged during this period.[16]

Hamilton has suggested that the *Aq Qazir, Xazar, Sarığ Uyğur, Bulğar, Uturğur, Oğuz and other tribes of the Central Asian and Western Eurasian

13 Liu, CN, II, p. 593 (**Chiu T'ang-shu**); Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 3-4; Hamilton, 1962, pp. 27-30; Henning, 1938, pp. 553-557; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 336-337. Japanese scholars, M. Hashimoto, A. Katayama and most recently T. Senga, have suggested that the Yao-lo-ko, Hu-tu-ku, Ku-lo-wu, Mo-ko-hsi-chi, A-wu-chê, Ko-sa, Hu-wa-su, Yao-wu-ko and Hsi-ya-wu of the **Chiu T'ang-shu** and **Hsin T'ang-shu** are the names of tribal leaders and not tribal names. The "Chiu hsing"/Toquz Oğuz tribal names are all found in the T'ang **Hui-yao** : Hui-ho, P'u-ku, Hun, Pa-yeh-ku, T'ung-lo, Ssŭ-chieh, Ch'i-pi, A-pu-ssu, Ku-lun-wu-ku, see Senga, 1990, pp. 58-61.

14 Kâšgarî/Dankoff, I, p. 83.

15 This is the reconstruction of Tixonov, **Xozjastvo**, pp. 22-24.

16 Pulleyblank, 1956, pp. 35-41; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 90-94; Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 1,8.

steppes derived from the **On Uyğur** confederation.[17] There is no doubt that some of these tribes (the Oğuric groupings) were part of the T'ieh-lê and there is the tantalizing similarity in the Chinese rendition of the Khazar (Qazar) ethnonym (K'o-sa, Ho-sa) and that of the Uyğur tribe Qasar (Ko-sa, see Chap. 8).

As we have already seen, the Uyğurs, in 744, drove the Basmıl from power and took over the Mongolian core lands of the Türk Qağanate. Their **yabğu**, *Qullığ Boyla [Ku-li P'ei-lo], now became the Qutluğ Bilge Kül Qağan ("Blessed by Heavenly Good Fortune, Wise, **Kül**[18] Qağan, 744-747) and the Yağlaqar clan became the royal house. In keeping with Türk and Hsiung-nu tradition, their capital, Ordu Balıq (= Qara Balğasun), was established on the sacred Orxon lands. The new Qağan's military activities and those of his son and successor, Bilge Kül or Tengride bolmıš il itmiš Bilge Qağan, *Bayan Čor (Chin. Mo-yen-ch'uo [*mbuâ-jän tś'üär][19] reg. 747-759) are sketched in the Šine Usu Inscription, parts of which have not been well preserved. His seizure of power appears to have set the stage for a series of migrations that would affect the Qarluq confederation, their onetime allies, and eventually the Oğuz. Wars with or involving the Sekiz Oğuz, Toquz Tatar, Čik, (Üč) Qarluq, Basmıl, Türgeš and the distribution of titles and sub-rulerships are noted. The badly trounced Qarluqs (**qarluq tirigi barı** "all those left alive"), by the late 750's, appear to have all fled to the Türgeš lands, a displacement that seems to have begun as early as 745.[20] The inscription also alludes to Uyğur involvement in Chinese affairs and notes that Bayan Čor "ordered the Soğdians and Chinese to construct Bay Balıq on the Selenga" (**soğdaq tabğačqa selengede bay balıq yapıtı birtim**).[21] This points to several elements that figure prominently in Uyğur history : close relations with China and the Soğdians and an interest in urban settlements.

China, following its defeat on the Talas in 751 at the hands of the Arabs, evincing signs of decline began a retreat from Central Asia. In 755, An Lu-shan (Soğd. **rwxšn** "luminous, Pers. **ruxšân** "shining," **rošân** "luminous"), a prominent Chinese military and political figure of Soğdian and Turkic origin, revolted. Although the rebel was assassinated in early 757, the disturbances persisted. The hard-pressed T'ang called on the Uyğurs for military assistance. They retook the imperial cities from the rebels and were allowed to pillage and plunder them. The Uyğurs, under Bayan Čor's successor Bögü

17 Hamilton, 1962, p. 48. Róna-Tas, 1983a, p.43, has recently advanced the idea that the Qasars are to be derived from Khazar groupings that migrated eastward after their defeat in 737 at the hands of the Arabs.

18 A personal name or title of unknown derivation, Clauson, **ED**, p. 715.

19 See Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 139-144; Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 192-193; Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1978, for the Chinese forms and Turkic names of the Uyğur qağans.

20 Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, pp. 344,351. The **Hsin T'ang-shu** (see Maljavkin, **Tanskie xroniki**, p. 41), however, dates this to the period after the reign of Chi-te (756-758).

21 See text in Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, pp. 339-352.

Qağan (Mou-yü [*mbiəu-jịu] 759-779 also Tengri Qağan, Tengri il-tutmış, Uluğ ilig tengride qut bulmış, erdenin il tutmış alp qutluğ külüg bilge uyğur qağan), continued to be deeply involved in T'ang affairs becoming the prop of the dynasty in the face of various rebel movements and Tibetan threats. This relationship was cemented with a series of marital alliances, the first one coming in the aftermath of the An Lu-shan revolt, in 756-757.[22] This was not always a smooth or peaceful relationship. The Uyğurs consistently exploited it to maintain their access to Chinese goods and markets. Indeed, it has been argued that the Uyğurs kept a weakened T'ang dynasty in power in order to maintain the level of exploitation of the Middle Kingdom to which they had become accustomed.[23]

It was in the course of this deep involvement in Chinese affairs, ca. 762, that Bögü Qağan converted to Manichaeanism (see below). A pale and distorted reflection of these events can be seen in al-Masᶜûdî's comment that "as long as the King of China was a samanî (buddhist) in belief and sacrificed animals, there was back and forth war between him and the ruler of the Turks Uyğurxân (ᵓyğrxân). But, when the King of China became a Manichaean in belief, there was a shared authority between them in the kingdom."[24] The Uyğurs, who had, as we have noted, extensive marital ties with the T'ang and with leading families at the Chinese court, now began a more systematic extortion of goods out of China in return for their military assistance. This extortion was conducted under the guise of trade. Uyğur horses (often of poor quality) were given in exchange for Chinese silk, vast quantities of which were sent annually to the nomads (e.g. in 827 200,000 pieces of silk, according to the **Chiu T'ang-shu**, 500,000 pieces, according to the **Hsin T'ang-shu**, were given as a "gift" in exchange for Uyğur horses. In 829, 230,000 pieces were dispatched). Silk became a form of currency in the Uyğur economy.[25] Tea was also an important item in this commerce. As Jagchid and Symons have noted, Uyğur military involvement in China did not seek "a decisive battle" but rather aimed at securing or preserving access to the Chinese market. These activities constituted, in essence, "a military visit to a Chinese bazaar."[26]

Some Uyğurs gained economic prominence in the Chinese capital, in particular after 765. In that year they had first aided rebels under Huai-en

22 See Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 14-15,17-18,21,23-29 (**Chiu T'ang-shu** and **Hsin T'ang-shu**) 56-87. On Uyğur-T'ang marital alliances, see Jagchid, Symons, **Peace, War and Trade**, pp. 156-162.

23 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 150-151.

24 al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 162.

25 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 4-5; Pinks, **Die Uiguren**, pp. 58-59; Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 42-44 (on marital ties), 47-48,122-123. The **Chiu T'ang-shu** (Mackerras, Op. Cit. p. 118) notes an incident s.a. 822 in which the T'ang bought off the Uyğurs who were trying to impose their "services" in suppressing rebels with 70,000 pieces of silk.

26 Jagchid, Symons, **Peace, War and Trade**, p. 74.

(father-in-law of the Qağan) against the T'ang and then after the rebel leader's death, realigned with the T'ang and defeated the Tibetan allies of the rebels. The **Chiu T'ang-shu** reports that they received 100,000 pieces of silk for this artful maneuvering while the T'ang "treasuries were empty, so the court officials went without their salaries." Their involvement in money-lending and their arrogance may have played a role in the xenophobia that developed in the latter half of the 9th century in China.[27] This was a decided shift from the early T'ang era in which a taste for the exotic was largely filled through Turkic and Iranian intermediaries. Türk and Uyğur fashions enjoyed a certain popularity at the court for a time.[28]

The victory of Manichaeanism at the qağanal court also meant a prominent role for the Soğdians, the immediate source of the Uyğurs' new faith. The Soğdians became a powerful force in the government and economy, helping to shape policy. It was as a result of policy disputes, that Tun Bağa Tarqan, Bögü's cousin and chief minister, seized power as Alp Qutluğ Bilge Qağan (779-789). He was opposed to the Soğdian faction that wanted to take advantage of the disarray at the T'ang court to attack China. His coup, which witnessed a purge of some Soğdian elements, may also have had an anti-Manichaean coloration.[29] In 788, with the arrival of a T'ang bride for the Qağan, relations with China, which had been strained, improved and the Uyğurs offered to "dispose" of the Tibetans. Alp Qutluğ Bilge Qağan's sons and successors Külüg Bilge Qağan (Chin. To-lo-ssŭ [*tâ-lâ-sı],789-790) and Qutluğ Bilge Qağan ( Chin. A-ch'o [*â-tśʰüär], 790-795) were unable to carry out this promise. The important city of Pei-ting, whose populace was unhappy with Uyğur rule, went over to the Tibetans in 789-790. The Uyğurs retook the city in 792, but ongoing warfare with the Tibetans, Qarluqs, "White- Robed Turks" (hitherto vassal tribal unions) and Sha-t'o Turks, all of whom resented heavy-handed Uyğur rule, took its toll.[30]

When Qutluğ Bilge Qağan died heirless, his minister, Qutluğ, from the A-tieh/Hsieh/tieh (Ediz ?) tribe[31] came to power as Ay Tengride ülüg bulmıš Alp Qutluğ Bilge Qağan (795-805). He worked to disestablish the Yağlaqar by sending the nephews of his predecessor to China. It is not clear if the new ruling element from the Ediz established themselves as a dynasty. Given the role that the Yağlaqar played after 840, it is not unlikely that the latter, subsequently, were able to reestablish themselves. In any event, the new ruler appears to have invigorated the Uyğur polity for Alp Qutluğ and his

27 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 78-84; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 153; Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 20.
28 Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, pp. 28-29.
29 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 88,89, 151-152.
30 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 101-105; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 153-156.
31 On the obscure history of the Ediz, see Maljavkin, **Ist. geografija**, pp. 83,87 and his **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 21-22.

successors Ay Tengride qut bulmiš Külüg Bilge Qağan (805-808)[32] and Ay Tengride qut bulmiš Alp Bilge (Chin. Pao-i, 808-821), introduced a more active posture, at least with regard to the Tibetans with whom they contested control of Turkistan. Uyğur rule was extended to Farġâna. China, however, fended off requests for new marital alliances, being reluctant to enter into such potentially expensive arrangements. Chinese officials put the cost at "5,000,000 ligatures." In 820, the T'ang, fearing Tibetan aggression, relented. The beneficiary of this alliance, however, was Kün Tengride ülüg bulmiš Alp Küčlüg Bilge Qağan (Chin. Ch'ung-te, 821-824). The T'ang's allies once again offered to suppress the rebels. But, the Chinese court, remembering the past destruction of Chinese cities that were "liberated" by the Uyğurs, decided it was wiser to buy them off with 70,000 pieces of silk.[33] Alp Küčlüg's successor, Qasar Tegin, usually described as his "younger brother," Ay Tengride qut bulmiš alp bilge Qağan (Chin. Chao-li, 824-832), was given "twelve chariots of silken fabric" upon his accession by the T'ang. The Uyğurs, at the same time, were permitted to trade their horses and received 500,000 pieces of silk in exchange.[34]

According to the Muslim geographers, the Toquz Oğuz/Uyğur realm was the most extensive of the Turkic lands. Ibn al-Faqîh remarks that the "kings of the whole of Turkistân in the days of old were from the Toghuzghuz."[35] This is a reference to the Qağanate, i.e. the nomadic imperium, residing in their ruling house. Their state encompassed the territory of Mongolia and Eastern Turkistan, extending northwards into the Kimek territories, the Altay region and the lands of the Qırğız on the Yenisei, and westward to the borders of the Qarluqs in Central Asia. Tamîm b. Baḥr, who visited the Uyğurs ca. 821, reports that their capital was "a great town, rich in agriculture and surrounded by rustaqs full of cultivation and villages lying close together...Among its population, the Zindîq (i.e. Manichaeans, PBG) prevails..." The Qağan has an army of 12,000 and has 17 chieftains under him, each commanding armies of 13,000 men.[36] These troops apparently also included female warriors. The **Chiu T'ang-shu** reports, s.a. 835, that an Uyğur embassy to the T'ang presented the Chinese ruler with "seven women archers

32 In the Qarabalğasun Inscription it appears as : Ay Tengride qut bulmiš Alp Bilge Bağı Uyğur Qağan "Brave, Wise, Lord Uyğur Qağan who has received heavenly good fortune/the mandate to rule from the Moon God," see, Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1978, p. 50.

33 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 10,12,107-121; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 154.

34 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, p. 123. Tamîm b. Baḥr (Minorsky, 1948, pp. 279/283) confirms this.

35 Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 329; Minorsky/**Ḥudûd**, p. 94, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 76.

36 Minorsky, 1948, pp. 279/283,281/284,303. It was in the capital that Manichaeanism was dominant. Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 329 also comments that the "majority of the Turks are adherents of the Zândiqah." Al-Mas'ûdî, in his **Murûj**, p. 155, says that the religion of the "ṭġzġzz" is "al-Manâ'iya," i.e. the faith of Mani and "there are no others among the Turks who profess this religion."

skillful on horseback."[37] Modern estimates place the population of the Orxon Uyğur state at 800,000.[38] Within one generation from the time of Tamîm's report this powerful steppe empire was destroyed.

In the early 9th century, the three major powers of the region, China, Tibet and the Uyğur Qağanate were all entering a state of decline. The Uyğurs were the first of these powers to fall. The Tibetans crumbled shortly thereafter. The T'ang, greatly weakened, but possessing the inertial force of a great state and able to call on other steppe elements (the Sha-t'o Turks, see below) were able to hold on until the early 10th century. By that time, a new "barbarian" power had emerged : the Qitañ.

The Uyğur Qağanate was being pulled apart as much by powers from within as from without. Divisive and destructive forces, perhaps the consequence of a continuing throne-struggle, policy disagreements over the ongoing warfare with the Tibetans and the Qırğız or tribal rivalries, now came to the fore. The increasing social differentiation, manifested in the growing sedentarization of the elite and the loss, as the Chinese sources point out, of "barbarian" virutes, was an important element in the internal strife. In essence, the Uyğurs had been too successful in their dealings with China. Now laden with booty, concentrated in their capital, they lost the single most important military advantage nomads possess : mobility. Nomadic tactics were premised on their ability to retreat, when necessary, in order to resume the campaign under more favorable circumstances. Tied, thus, to their booty-laden city and weakened by internal factionalism, they were relatively easy prey.[39]

In 832, the Qağan was murdered by his ministers. His successor, Ay Tengride qut bulmiš Alp Külüg Bilge Qağan (Chin. Chang-hsin, 832-839), faced with the plot of a rebellious minister, Chüeh-lo-wu [*g'ür-lâ-mvür = Kürebir, as Hamilton suggests,[40] implying a tribal rebellion] who brought in the Sha-t'o to aid his cause, committed suicide. Prince Wu-tsung [*mvür-toğ] or Lu-chi Qasar (838-840), the new Qağan, was attacked by his general, Külüg (Chü-lu) Bağa, together with 100,000 Qırğız and perished in the smoking ruins of Ordu Balıq. This disaster, apparently, was preceded and perhaps brought on by famine, heavy snows, epidemics and epizootics with much loss of livestock in the Uyğur lands.[41] Undoubtedly, these have been

37 Mackerras, **Uighur Emipre**, p. 122.

38 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, p. 157. This estimate is based on extrapolations from herd-size, livestock-human ratios and the number of livestock the area is capable of sustaining. The number of pastoralists in Mongolia from Hsiung-nu times to the Modern Era has been relatively constant, see Khazanov, **Nomads**, p. 71.

39 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 22-23,193; Menges, **TLP**, pp. 23-24; Kwanten, **Imperial Nomads**, p. 52; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 159-160.

40 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 141.

41 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 122-125; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 333-334; Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 62.

interpreted as signs of a loss of qut and contributed to the weakening of the Qağanate as an institution.

The Uyğur tribal union now broke apart, some tribes fled westward, towards the Qarluqs and Eastern Turkistan. Others went towards Tibet or Tibetan-controlled lands and China. The Chinese accounts of these events, our only sources, are incomplete. It is not clear whether it was just the Uyğur tribes that fled or the whole of their tribal empire. In the aftermath of this dramatic reversal of fortunes (ca. 841-847), several large concentrations took shape. One, a grouping of some 15 tribes or clans, according to the **Chiu T'ang-shu**, gravitated towards the leadership of a minister named Sa-chih and P'ang T'e-le/*Menglig Tegin, a scion of the royal house. They fled "to the west, towards the Qarluqs. One branch submitted to the Tibetans, the other went off to An-hsi (Kuča)." Another large grouping, consisting of elements of the ruling clans and a group of 13 tribes, associated with the territory around the Uyğur capital, went to the Chinese borderlands in the hope of securing by force the protection of the T'ang. Some of these tribes ultimately submitted to the Mongolic Shih-wei in Eastern Mongolia-Western Manchuria. They were attacked here by the Qırğız who conquered some of them and took them to the north. In this Uyğur diaspora, still other elements ended up in Qitañ lands where they would constitute an important grouping within the urban population.[42]

In the course of the 9th century, several polities deriving from the Uyğurs proper and tribal groupings that had been part of their union developed. One was located in Eastern Turkistan, centered around the oasis cities of the Tarim Basin, in particular Pei-t'ing/Bešbalıq (Turk. "Five Cities, in Iranian "Panjîkaṯ") in the north and the Turfan region (Hsi-chou/Kao-ch'ang/Qara Xoja/Qočo) in the south. Bešbalıq, the summer residence of the ruler, it has been argued, was the nomadic and hence the politico-military center by virtue of the Toquz Oğuz tribes clustered there. The town had an earlier association with the Basmıl. Qočo, the "Jînânkaṯ/Činânjkaṯ" (Soġd. Cyn'ncknδyy) of the Muslim authors, associated with the ruins known as Idiqut Šahri ("City of the Idıqut"), a religious and commercial center, whose milder climate made it the winter residence of the ruler, had a local sedentary population more engaged in agrarian and mercantile pursuits. In the early 10th century, Qočo may have emerged as the supreme captial.[43]

42 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 7-12; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 334-337; Maljavkin, **Materialy**, pp. 20-37 and his **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 40ff.,116ff. which analyzes the Chinese data in detail; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 168-172; Kyzlasov, **Ist. južnoj Sibiri**, p. 70.

43 **Hudûd**/Minorsky, p. 94, ed. Sotoodeh, pp. 76-77, reports of Činânjkaṯ ("Chinese town") that it is the "capital of the Toghuzghuz. It is a middle-sized town. It is the seat of government and adjoins the limits of China. In summer great heat reigns in it but the winter there is very pleasant...The king of the Toghuzghuz in summer lives in this village of Panjîkath." Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 191-192; Giraud, **L'empire**, pp. 51,54.192; Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza miast**, pp. 63,70-76; Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, p. 49; Gershevitch, **Grammar**, p. 158.

The details of the origins and early history of this statelet are obscure. Apparently, P'ang/*Menglig Tegin was in the area as early as 856 and was recognized by the T'ang as Huai-chien Qağan in the Tarim region. His subsequent fate is unknown. In 866, according to the reconstruction of Maljavkin, Toquz Oğuz tribes that had been located in the western territories of the Uyğur state, but had not initially been driven out by the Qırğız, entered the region taking over from the Tibetans who had either vacated the area or were driven out by the newcomers. These descendants of the non-Uyğur T'ieh-lê tribes, became the "Toquz Oğuz" of the Muslim sources. The Chinese sources, mistakenly in Maljavkin's view, called them Uyğurs.[44]

The local population of this region was largely of Eastern Iranian or Tokharian stock. In time, they were Turkicized, becoming one of the components in the ethnogenesis of the modern-day Uyğurs of Sinkiang and the Soviet Union. Writing in 1074, Maḥmûd Kâšğarî, in his discussion of the Turkic dialects, mentions "those who have two languages and who mix with the populace of the cities." Their Turkic is marked by a "certain slurring" and he cites as examples the Soğdaq, Kenček and Arğu, groups associated with the area under discussion. Clearly, these were urban, Iranian peoples (cf. Soğdaq = Soğdian) who were in the process of language change. Other non-Turkic groups, however, in his day, remained little affected in this regard, Thus, the East Iranian Xotanese are noted as having a language and script of their own and were ranked among those who "do not know Turkic well."[45] It is quite probable that there were also some non-Uyğur/Toquz Oğuz Turkic (or Turkicizing) nomadic elements in the region, Basmıls and perhaps Čömüls, as Menges suggested,[46] who were assimilated. There can be little doubt that other Turkic elements in the region went into the make-up of the later Medieval Uyğurs and figured in the shaping of their modern day namesakes. But, the ethno-linguistic affiliations of some of these nomads is not particularly clear. Maḥmûd Kâšğarî, for example, comments that the nomadic Čömül (Čomul ? for whom no satisfactory Turkic etymology has yet been adduced) "have a gibberish (**raṭâna**, perhaps better translated as "lingo" PBG) of their own" as do also the "Qây, Yabâqu (probably, Yapâqu PBG[47]), Tatâr and Basmıl - each of these groups has its own language, but they also know Turkic well."[48] The Qay, as we shall see, were a Mongolic people (later

44 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 5,121-173.

45 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 83.

46 Menges, **TPL**, p. 47.

47 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 874-875 : **yapâqu** : "matted hair or wool, an animal whose hair has grown long and matted, a colt, a man whose hair is long and matted." The Turkic etymology of this tribal name (a loanword in Mongol, cf. Lessing, **MED**, pp. 216-217 **daġaġa(n)** "colt between one and two years," **daġaki** "snarl, tangle, combings of hair...") would seem to imply the Turkic origin of the people in question.

48 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 24.

Turkicized), as were also the Tatars. Basmıl ethno-linguistic affiliations, are similarly unclear. The name may be etymologized as Turkic ( < **bas-** "to press, crush, oppress, make a surprise attack,"[49] **-mıl**, however, has yet to receive a satisfactory explanation), but this is by no means certain. Hence, we must leave open the possibility that Uyğur/Toquz Oğuz assimilation of other elements was not limited to the Toxarian, urban Eastern Iranian and Turkic populations. It may well have included Mongolic and nomadic Iranian elements that had been affiliated with the Türk Qağanate.

Significant substratal influences in the newly formed Uyğur/Toquz Oğuz Turfan state should also be taken into account. In this connection, it is interesting to note that the old Basmıl title, **Iduq qut/Idıqut** (**iduq** "sent," i.e. "heaven-sent, sacred" + **qut** "the favor of heaven, good fortune") was adopted by the ruler in Turfan-Qočo.[50] It is rather curious that an Uyğur **yarlıq** dated to the late 10th or early 11th century, makes reference to hostilities with the Basmıls.[51]

The other major center was in Kan-chou (Chang-yi in Kansu, the "Kansu Corridor") which came under Yağlaqar rule by 902.[52] Smaller statelets or polities were to be found at Etsin-gol (with their center probably at Xatun Sînï, noted by Maḥmûd Kâšğarî as destroyed by the Tanguts), Tun-huang and elsewhere.[53]

The Yağlaqar-led Uyğurs of Kan-chou, no longer able to involve themselves as directly in Chinese affairs as they had in the past, ultimately gained control of the major Chinese caravan/trade routes to the West. In this they were aided by the unsettled conditions in China. This was the period which witnessed the the collapse of the T'ang, and the fragmentation of the Middle Kingdom during the era of the "Five Dynasties" (907-950). In the course of these changes, the Sha-t'o Turks, foes of the Uyğurs, replaced the latter as the military prop of the T'ang and then formed a series of their own dynasties (the Later T'ang, 923-936, the Later Chin,936-946, Later Han, 947-951).

The Sha-t'o union was of Western Türk origin (from the old Wu-sun lands, i.e. Farğâna), consisting of three clans or tribes : the ruling Ch'u-yüeh [Čigil ? Čöl ?], the So-ko (previously affiliated with the Türgeš) and an unnamed third group. Their history follows the familiar pattern of short-lived "Barbarian" border dynasties and we shall not pursue it further. One

49 Clauson, **ED**, p. 370.

50 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 46,594; Barthold, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, in his **Sočinenija**, V, p. 50.

51 Tuguševa, 1971, pp. 244-249.

52 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 30-32,50-57,63, 131, 137, 161,170-171; **Pinks, Die Uiguren**, pp. 61-66. For the meager data on the tribal composition of the Kan-chou state, see Pinks, pp. 108-110.

53 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 101,113,115,195ff. Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, p. 315 places it between "Tangut and Ṣîn."

interesting aspect of their administration, however, is that once in power in China they created an army and ruling elite of "adoptees" of diverse origins (Turkic peoples, Qitañs, Chinese and others).[54] The broad outlines of this form of organization show remarkable similarities to the ġulâm/mamlûk and kapıkulu systems of later Turkic regimes in the Near East.

The Uyğurs of Kan-chou, and their equally well-situated kinsmen in the Tarim Basin, continuing traditions that had begun during the period of their Orxon Qağanate, regularized their political and economic relations with China, with both the Qitañ, who ruled part of North China as the Liao dynasty (907-1125), and after the establishment, in 960, of the Sung dynasty, with the latter as well. With regard to the Liao, it is interesting to note that according to the **Liao-shih**, the founder of the Qitañ Empire, A-pao-chi, is reported by his descendant Yeh-lü Ta-shih, to have sent a message to the Uyğurs after his conquest of Mongolia inviting them to return to their former territory. The Uyğurs demurred.[55] The Hsiao clan, an important "consort family" of the Qitañ, was also of Uyğur origin.[56] The Uyğur impact on Qitañ cultural development, which dates to the Orxon era, continued into the imperial period of the Liao, when their political roles were very different.

An important aspect of these relations was expressed in commercial exchange. In return for "tribute" consisting of horses, camels, jade, amber,woolen goods and exotica (e.g. peacocks), the Uyğurs received "gifts" of silk.[57] Their favorable geographical location, which made them attractive trading partners, also entailed risks. The Kan-chou state, which enjoyed especially close trade relations with the states of the Middle Kingdom, found itself confronted by the expansionist power of the Hsi Hsia (Chin. "Western Hsia") or Tangut state. To some degree, Tangut depredations and attacks on the caravan trade,[58] brought the Uyğurs and the Middle Kingdom closer together again. The name Tangut would seem to be Mongolic in form (pl. in

54 Maljavkin, **Materialy**, pp. 27,29,33,36,38,65 and his **Tanskie xroniki**, pp. 175-177,313; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 357-361 (from T'ang dynastic histories, covering period up to 821); Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 166-167; Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 135; Eberhard, **Conquerors and Rulers**, pp. 140-156.

55 Bretschneider, **Medieval Researches**, I, p. 214; Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 72. Maljavkin, pp. 64-74 gives excerpts from the **Liao-shih** pertaining to the Uyğurs.

56 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 23,93.

57 Pinks, **Die Uiguren**, pp. 91-101; Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 86-88. For Uyğur embassies to the Liao, see Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 322-324,346-347,351,353,355,357,360-361. The **Ch'i-tan kuo chi** by Yeh Lung-li (trans.Taskin/**Ist. gosudarstva kidanej**, pp. 299, 333,540 (reports largely taken from the **Wei-shu** and **Pei-shu**) remarks that once every three years, the territories of Kao-ch'ang, Kuei-tsu (Kuča), Yü-tien (Xotan), Ta-shih (Central Asian lands west of the Uyğurs), Hsiao-shih, Kan-chou, Sha-chou and Lian-chou, most of which were associated with the Uyğurs/Toquz Oğuz, sent embassies bearing "jasper, pearls, rhinocerous horns, benzoin, amber, ammoniac, agate artefacts, weapons of the best iron, the black hide of the wild Uyğur horse" and various types of woolen cloth.

58 Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 49 (references from the **Chiu Wu-tai shih** and **Wu-tai shih chi**).

-t), although this is not a reliable clue to their origins. This ethnonym first appears in the Turkic Orxon inscription of Bilge Qağan (E24, **Tangut**, cf. Xotan. **Ttâgutta**).[59] The Chinese termed these tribes Tang-hsiang and the Tibetans called them Minyag. Their self-designation appears to have been **mi/minya**. Their origins are thought to lie in the Western Ch'iang tribal groupings and hence may be associated with Tibeto-Burmese-speaking peoples. Although such an attribution is by no means certain.[60]

In 982 the leader of the Tang-hsiang tribes, Chi-chien, set in motion that chain of events that brought the Tangut state into being. The catalyst was conflict with the Sung and the Uyğurs. After a series of unsuccesful attacks on the Uyğurs of Kan-chou in the early 11th century, the Tanguts succeeded in taking the capital of that state in 1028. The Uyğur Qağan who appears, like a number of his predecessors, to have borne the clan name, Yağlaqar (Chin. Yeh-lo-ko), as part of his throne-name, committed suicide. Other Uyğur territories of the Kansu corridor (Su-chou, Kua-chou, Sha-chou [Tun-huang]) fell to the Tanguts in 1036. Thereafter, the Uyğur Buddhist monasteries of this territory, helped to spread that faith to their conquerors.[61] The "Yellow Uyğurs" (Sarığ Yuğur) presently living in Kansu and speaking a Turkic language (some of them, the Šira Yuğur, have adopted Mongol and another grouping, bearing the same ethnonym, speaks Tibetan) are the descendants of the Uyğurs of the Kan-chou state.[62]

The Kao-ch'ang Uyğurs, in some respects more remote than those of Kan-chou, maintained good relations with most of their neighbors, the Liao, their successors the Jürčen/Chin and the Sung. An exception to this was the Muslim Turkic Qaraxanid state (see Chap. 7). Maḥmûd Kâšğarî, in his **Dîwân Luğat at-Turk**, lists the Uyğur cities as : Sulmi, Qočo, Janbalıq, Beš Balıq and Yangi Balıq "whose people are the strongest of the infidels and the best shooters."[63] Kâšğarî also produces various passages of Qaraxanid poetry and song which tell of ongoing raids and warfare that, on occasion, ended with the defilement or destruction of Uyğur temples.[64] Among the Yağma and Tuxsı (the former an important element in the Qaraxanid

59 Tekin, **Orhon Yazıtları**, p. 44; Kyčanov, **Očerki**, p. 21. Bailey (whose earlier work Kyčanov cites) suggests (**Khotanese Texts, VII**, pp. 78, 86-87) **ttâḥạtta * toġat** or **toġut** < **toβut** Bud. Skrt. **bhoṭa** "Tibet" (Tib. **bod čhen** "Great Tibet") and does not connect the Xotanese form with Tangut.

60 See discussion in Kyčanov, **Očerki**, pp. 11-23. Kwanten, **Imperial Nomads**, pp. 71-72 has questioned this association with Tibetan-speaking peoples and suggests that they may have spoken or been deeply influenced by Turkic. See also Dunnell, 1984, pp. 78-89.

61 Pinks, **Die Uiguren**, pp. 37,38,50,51,81-89; Kyčanov, **Očerki**, pp. 48-51; Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, pp. 71-77.

62 Barthold, **Dvenadcat' lekcij** in his **Sočinenija**, V, p. 51; Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 110; Malov, **Jazyk želtyx ujgurov**, p. 3.

63 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 140.

64 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 243,270,327.

confederation), the "Uyğur Infidels" were called **Tat**, a term which originally designated a "stranger" and was largely used with respect to Iranian peoples. The Uyğurs, in turn, referred to the Muslims as **čomaq** (literally "cudgel").[65] By the early 11th century, the Qaraxanids had expanded further into Eastern Turkistan (Kâšğar had long been under the control of the Yağma or kindred tribes) and taken Xotan.[66] In the early 1130's, the Kao-ch'ang Uyğurs and adjoining areas of Qaraxanid Eastern Turkistan fell under the sway of the Qara Qitai, the fugitive Liao dynasty (see below). The sequence of events and extent of actual Qara Qitai power is unclear. Thus, s.a. 1131, the **Chin-shih** reports that the Uyğurs of Ho-chou (in the Turfan region) captured some Qara Qitai forces and handed them over to the Jurčens. Thereafter, Uyğur groups are recorded in that source among those bringing "tribute" to the Chin court.[67] They continued to play an active role in international commerce and were known in China for their commercial acuity, especially in the area of precious stones. The **Sung-mo Chi-wên** by Hung Hao, a 12th century Sung envoy to the Chin court, reports that "merchants who engage in the trade between the Western Barbarians and the Chinese are incapable of completing trade agreements at a good price without the participation of the Uyğurs as middlemen." This same author comments that some of the Uyğurs, whom he had initially described as having "curly hair, deep-set eyes, straight and thick brows, many have curly beards," after residence and intermarriage in China did not have "such deep-set eyes and thick beards.[68] It seems unlikely that this points to large-scale intermarriage with the Han as Hung Hao implies. Rather, the Uyğurs and associated Turkic peoples, especially those that had sedentarized, after their incorporation of the Eastern Iranian and Toxarian population, were undoubtedly, as their namesakes are today, a mixed ethnic community with Europoid and Mongoloid strains.

By the early 13th century, the hitherto relatively light Qara Qitay (Qara Xitay) overlordship changed. Whether this was by design or merely reflected the personal idiosyncracies of the Buddhist monk who represented Qara Qitay authority, is unclear. In 1209, the Idıqut, Barčuq Tegin and his counselors, assassinated the Qara Qitay official and submitted, as appears to have been their plan, to the rapidly rising Mongol confederation. Barčuq then demonstrated his loyalty by beating off a force of Merkids, Mongol opponents of Činggis khan. The latter rewarded this display of fealty with a marital tie (a Činggisid daughter). Thereafter, Barčuq faithfully served in the

65 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I,pp. 191,265, II, p. 103; Clauson, **ED**, pp. 422,449, cf. **čomaq tat boynın čapdı** "the Muslim struck the neck of the unbeliever," noted by Kâšğarî as Uyğur dialect.

66 Barthold, **Turkestan**, p. 281; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 280; Samolin, **East Turkistan**, pp. 81-82.

67 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 621-622,634-635,637; Samolin, **East Turkistan**, pp. 82-83; Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 76.

68 Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 91,92.

campaigns against Küčlüg, the fugitive Naiman prince who had taken over the Qara Qitay realm, Xwârazm and the Tanguts.[69] We will resume the narrative of Uyğur history when we examine the impact of Mongol rule on the Turkic peoples (see Chap. 9). Before leaving them, however, something must be said about Uyğur culture and society.

## UYĞUR STATEHOOD

The Orxon Uyğur state succeeded and built on the foundations laid by the Türk Empire. This was done, however, on a much smaller scale. Although the Uyğurs did not create the pan-Eurasian nomadic imperium that their predecessors had established (their authority was largely limited to Mongolia, parts of Eastern Turkistan and adjoining lands), the qağanal title was not adopted by the rulers of other Turkic polities in Central Eurasia. This was still reserved to the holder of the holy refugia, the **Ötüken yış**, in the Orxon heartland. Thus, the rulers of the Qarluqs and Oğuz, tribal unions that had been intimately involved in Türk affairs, continued, for some time after 742, to style themselves **yabğus**. Only the Khazars and Bulğars in Western Eurasia could properly claim the qağanal mantle.[70]

Clearly, the Orxon qağans benefitted greatly from their involvement in and exploitaion of Chinese affairs. They were particularly successful in doing this, according to Barfield, because they adopted a father-to-son system of succession. "Assassination," in his view, "replaced civil war as a means to power."[71]

There were sacral aspects to Türk kingship, as we have seen, reflected in the investiture ceremony and ritual strangling of the Qağan. Similar elements, it has been argued, are to be found in the Orxon Uyğur state.[72] Orxon Uyğur titulature, with its emphasis on **qut**, followed patterns already elaborated by the Türks. To these, references to the "Moon god(dess), **Ay tengri** and "Sun god(dess), **Kün tengri**, were added. The sacralization of the Qočo qağans, who bore the old Basmıl title **Idıqut**[73], may be inferred from the 12th century **Risâlah fi'l-Aqâlim** (Ms. Köprülü 1623), based on earlier sources, which comments that "all the administrative affairs of his kingdom are handled by his wazîrs and chamberlains (ḥujjâb).[74] Gardîzî places the

69 Allsen, 1983, pp. 246-247.
70 Pritsak, 1951, pp. 273-274; Golden, 1982, pp. 53-61.
71 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 155.
72 Róna-Tas, 1983a, p. 39. For a description of the investiture of the Qatun, see Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, p. 120 (from them **Ch'iu T'ang-shu**).
73 They also used the titles **xan**, **elig xan**, **tengriken** as well as the elaborate throne names that were typical of the Orxon period, see von Gabain, **Das Leben**, p. 68.
74 See text in Şeşen, **Hilâfet ordusunun menkıbeleri**, Arabic text p. 35/Turk. trans. p. 33n. Toward the Mongol era, Uyğur documents mention a **Küčük Idıqut**, cf. Radloff, **Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler**, p. 30 (Doc.#22), perhaps a reference to a lesser qağan.

number of "wazîrs" at nine. These may have represented different clan chieftains and appear to have been an institution that derived from their Orxon state.[75] The account of Wang Yen-tê, the Sung ambassador who journeyed to the Turfan Uyğurs in 981-983, preserved in the **Sung-shih**, remarks that while Arslan (Shih-tsŭ) Xan was taking his comfort in Bešbalıq, his uncle Ata öge[76] (A-to) was running the affairs of state. This was probably some kind of a regency. The Ata öge, noted here, appears to have been a senior member of the ruler's mother's clan.[77] Chinese and Muslim sources (which often mix data from the Orxon and post-Orxon periods) report extensive court ceremonials connected with the ruler.[78] It is clear from the fragmentary documentation stemming from the Uyğurs themselves that they possessed a fairly elaborate bureaucratic state apparatus combining nomadic and sedentary elements, some inherited from the Orxon era.[79]

## THE UYĞUR ECONOMY

During the period of their Orxon empire, stock-raising and other activities (including a more than rudimentary agricultural sector and metallurgy) associated with pastoral production constituted the basis of the Uyğur economy.[80] Horses, as we have seen, were one of the major commodities traded/exchanged with China. Horse breeding continued in Bešbalıq and undoubtedly other regions in the post-Orxon period. Wang Yen-tê comments that "in Kao-Ch'ang there are many horses. The Qağan, the Qağan's wife and the heir engage in the breeding of horses which they pasture in the Ping ch'uan valley...The horses are grouped according to the color of their coat."[81] They seem also to have played a role in the fur trade, certainly as middlemen and possibly as primary producers, i.e. trappers, in both the Orxon and Eastern Turkestan realms. Sable from the Uyğur lands was well-known in China.[82] One of the products mentioned in Chinese sources in association with the Uyğurs was a type of cotton (**tieh** in Chinese). Thus, even in the

75 Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 134. The **Chiu T'ang-shu** and **Hsin T'ang-shu** (Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 120.121) report that each of the nine Uyğur clans had a "minister." Mackerras, "Uighur," **CHEIA**, p. 323, translates the Sino-Uyğur **Tu-tu/Tutuq** as "tribal chief" and believes that there were 11 of them, including one each for the Qarluqs and Basmıls.

76 Lit. "Father Counsellor" (Clauson, **ED**, pp. 40,101).

77 Maljavkin, **Materialy**, pp. 89,169; Wang/Izgi, pp. 63-64,69-70; Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 146,147; Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, p. 102. The Turkic **arslan** ("lion") may have been part of the ruler's official designation, see Von Gabain, **Das Leben**, pp. 54,71-72.

78 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 91-92; Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 134-135.

79 Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 52-55 and the materials collected by Radloff, **Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler**.

80 Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 29-30.

81 Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 90; Wang/Izgi, p. 65 (offering a slightly different translation).

82 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 64-65; Maljavkin, **Materialy**, p. 90.

period in which nomadism was of primary importance, there were sedentarizing elements within the Uyğur polity.

The Orxon capital, Ordu Balıq[83]/Qara Balġasun, was described by Tamîm b. Baḥr as a "great town, rich in agriculture."[84] It also became a center for handicraft manufactures. This appears to have been a deliberate policy of the Uyğur qağans who wanted to enjoy the benefits of urban culture and production while retaining their nomadic or semi-nomadic life-style. The towns, financed, as Barfield has suggested by the wealth plundered or extorted out of the T'ang, once established, attracted an agricultural as well as mercantile and manufacturing population. It seems very probable that the Soġdians, who figured so prominently in Uyğur political, commercial and cultural affairs, played an important role in Uyğur urban development.[85]

Nomadism continued to be an essential part of the Uyğur economy in the post-imperial period. Indeed, it is not unlikely that many, if not the majority of Uyğur tribes remained nomads for some time after 840. As was noted previously, the northern part of the Turfan realm with its center at Bešbalıq retained a more nomadic character. Nonetheless, there was an inexorable shift by part of the population to sedentary and in particular urban life. The number of urban "Uyğurs" undoubtedly rose with the Turkicization of the old Indo-European population of Eastern Turkistan. The mixed, but highly developed nature of their economy is seen in the products brought to China by the Uyğurs as tribute/exchange (see the citation from the **Ch'i-tan kuo chi** given above, n.58). Other sources also note : horses, camels, yaks and their hides, as would be expected from nomads, various precious furs and other products from the forest zone (e.g. castoreum) which nomads traditionally exploited, precious metals, stones (e.g. jade, diamonds[86]), various salts, fishing nets, cotton, hemp and goods manufactured from them. Uyğur agriculture, given the natural conditions of the region, was typical of oasis farming. In addition to basic grains (wheat, barley, millet, rice), various fruits (apples, apricots, pomegranates, water-melons, pumpkins), nuts, sesame etc. were cultivated.[87] Textile production from cotton, silk and wool were also

83 Located on the Orxon river by Juvainî (ed. Qazvînî, I, p. 40, Juvainî/Boyle, I, p. 54). Turk. **ordu** "royal camp" and **balıq** "town" (Clauson, **ED**, pp. 203,335-6). The name Qara Bal(a)ġas(un) is Mongol (**balıq > balaġasun**) and probably became associated with the ruins of the Old Uyğur capital in Činggisid times. In Juvainî's day, it was also called **Ma'u Balıq** ("Bad-Town"). On Ordu Balıq see Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza miast**, p. 47.

84 Minorsky,1948, p. 283.

85 von Gabain, 1949, p. 44; Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza miast**, p. 45; Tixonov, 1978, pp. 52,54; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 157-158.

86 The Kan-chou Uyğurs made diamond drills which were known in China, see Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 221.

87 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, pp. 90,91 (from the **Wu-tai shih chi** which notes that they used "camels to plough and sow"); Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 20-21; von Gabain, **Das Leben**, pp. 64-66; Pinks, **Die Uiguren**, pp. 91-101.

well developed servicing both a domestic and foreign market.[88] In this connection it is interesting to note that a kind of cloth served as money. Maḥmûd Kâšġarî defines qamdu (possibly a borrowing from Chinese[89]) as "a piece of cloth, four cubits and a span in breadth, sealed with the seal of the Uighur Khân, and used in commercial transactions. When it becomes worn it is patched, then washed and re-sealed; this occurs once every seven years."[90] Clearly, it was not the value of the cloth, but the authority that the seal represented that was important here.

## THE SOĠDIANS AND UYĞUR CULTURE

Uyğur material and spiritual culture developed in close connection with and under the influence of the Soġdians. There is little doubt that the Soġdians were, in many respects, the tutors of the Uyğurs in politics[91], trade and broad questions of culture. This was a relationship that they inherited from their predecessors, the Türk Qağanate.

All of the Turkic nomadic states incorporated and made use of sedentary, literate, non-Turkic specialists in commerce, diplomacy and culture. They constituted the buffer through which the nomads were initiated into the complexities of dealing with highly developed sedentary states. They were also the vehicle via which the cultures of sedentary society penetrated the steppe. The relationship was symbiotic. In Eurasia this almost inevitably involved Iranians. They were the bureaucrats of the Türk Qağanate, a tradition that was passed on to many subsequent Turkic states, including those that were later founded in the Near and Middle East (where this pattern of symbiosis joined an even older paradigm of Sâsânid-derived state and bureaucratic traditions in the Arabian Caliphate) and Indian subcontinent. It was only fitting that the sedentarized Uyğurs would later fulfill this role for the Činggisid Mongol state.

Soġdian influences can be traced in loanwords dealing with urban life (Turk. **kend** "town" < Soġd. **knδh**), Turk. **batman**[92] "a unit of measurement" < Middle Ir. **ptm²n**, Turk. **sıtır** a type of coin < Soġd. **styr** < Grk. στατήρ), agriculture and viniculture (Turk. **bekini**[93] "wine from millet" < Soġd. **bġ²ny**) and especially religion (Turk. **ažun** "existence" < Soġd. **²zwn**, Turk. **dindar** "Buddhist monk, Manichaean Elect" < Soġd. **δynδ²r**, **tamu** "Hell" < Soġd. **tmw**, Turk. **darm** "Buddhist teaching < Soġd. **δrm** <Skrt. **dharma**).[94] In much

88 Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 82-83.
89 Clauson, **ED**, p. 626.
90 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, p. 317.
91 This included the symbols of power and office as well, von Gabain, **CHIr**, 3/1, pp. 620,623.
92 Clauson, **ED**, p. 305 considers this Turkic (< **bat-** "to sink").
93 Cf. Clauson, **ED**, p. 328 **begni** "beer" perhaps a loanword.
94 Cf. the lists given by von Gabain, **CHIr.**, 3/1, pp. 617-618,623. These should be checked with Clauson, **ED**, pp. 503,728,802 etc.

of this the Soġdians simply served as middlemen. The Chinese viewed them as forming "a normal part" of the Qağanate, noting that "whenever the Uighurs had arrived in the Central State, they had constantly with them some Sogdians." Indeed, one Chinese official commented that "the Uighurs are not basically strong, but they are helped by the Sogdians."[95] This is certainly an overstatement, but it indicates the perception, in Chinese eyes, of the Uyğur-Soġdian relationship.

The most important contribution that the Soġdians made to Uyğur culture was writing. The Uyğur alphabet, or more accurately alphabets, developed out of the Soġdian variants (usually confessionally-based, e.g. Manichaean, Christian, as was typical of the medieval world) of Semitic (Syriac) script-systems. It was this script that was passed on to the Mongols and thence to the Manchus.[96] In addition to the script-systems based on Aramaeo-Syriac, the Uyğurs have left behind texts in the Runic alphabet, in a modified form of the Indic Brahmî script which came to them through the Tokharians, and in the Tibetan script which is also Indic in origin. These were employed exclusively in Buddhist texts.[97] Maḥmûd Kâšğarî says that the Uyğurs have two "writing systems, one in the Turkic script, composed of twenty-five (ms. "24"), letters...in which their correspondence is written, and another which they have in common with Şîn and in which they write their scriptures and registers--no one can read it except their priests."[98] The first script mentioned by Kâšğarî is most probably the Uyğur script itself. An-Nadîm, a 10th century Muslim authority on the cultures known to the Islamic world, reports that he was told that when "the great Turkish king...desired to write to a lesser king," he did so using characters that were traced on an arrow. These were "understood by the Turkish nobility."[99] Tixonov has suggested that as much as one quarter or one third of the East Turkistan Uyğur population was literate in one or another of these scripts.[100] There was a rich and varied literature, like most medieval literature of the Mediterranean world, religious in orientation : Manichaean, Nestorian Christian and Buddhist.[101]

95 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 36-37 and 88,89,91 (citing the **Chiu T'ang-shu** and **Hsin T'ang-shu**).

96 See discussion in Caferoğlu, **Türk Dili Tarihi**, I, pp. 162-189; von Gabain, **Einführung**, pp. 70-73; Menges, **TLP**, pp. 68-69.

97 Bombaci, **La letteratura turca**, p. 33, von Gabain, **Das Leben**, p. 167.

98 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 83.

99 An-Nadîm/Dodge, I, p. 37.

100 Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 21,49.

101 For brief surveys, see Bombaci, **La letteratura turca**, pp. 33-45; and the texts published by Malov, **Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti**, pp. 95ff.

## RELIGION

Presumably, Uyğur religious practices and beliefs initially were akin to those of the Türks : animism[102], shamanism, the Tengri (sky-god) and associated cults affected by the penetration of religious concepts emanating from neighboring sedentary societies. Developing monarchies, seeking to strengthen their position, often adopt one of the more sophisticated religions associated with the cultures of their imperial neighbors. It may be the religion that predominates among their neighbors, but more often it is not, for conversion to the official religion of an imperial neighbor invariably implied submission to the temporal authority of that neighbor.

In 762, as we have seen, the Uyğur Qağan Bögü (Chin. Mou-yü, Soġd. Pwkw) converted to Manichaeanism, a religion that was largely persecuted elsewhere, but was prominent among the Soġdians. The Chinese sources chose not to comment on the circumstances of the conversion. The fragments of the Uyğur Qara Balġasun inscription, written in Turkic, Soġdian and Chinese, allude to the former Buddhism of some of the Uyğurs and of their conversion to the "Religion of Light."[103] Muslim sources such as Tamîm b. Baḥr and al-Masʿûdî) note Manichaeanism as the dominant faith among the Toquz Oğuz without discussing the circumstances of their conversion. An-Nadîm reports that when the Manichaeans were persecuted in the Islamic world, the "Lord of the Toquz Oğuz" threatened to retaliate by slaughtering the Muslims of his realm and destroying their mosques.[104]

Juvainî, the Persian historian of the early Činggisid era, gives a detailed but confused or conflated account of the conversion. After relating the miraculous origins of "Buqu Khan" (Bögü Xan), "who knew all the tongues and writings of the different peoples," Juvainî relates an extraordinary tale replete with shamanic overtones. Bögü Xan was guided by a tutelary spirit (a maiden) to the mountain Aq Tağ to which, thereafter, he nightly repaired for a period of "seven years, six months and twenty-two days" to confer with this spirit. A great empire was predicted. Following successful campaigns against the Mongols, Qırğız and Xitay which brought booty "beyond measure or computation," Ordu Balıq/Qara Balasaġun was built "and the whole of the East came under their sway." The Uyğurs, in those days, "knew the science of magic, the experts in which art they called qam.[105]" Bögü then convened a religious debate at his court (cf. the accounts of the conversion of the

102 Cf. the tree cult briefly touched on by Juvainî (Juvainî, ed. Qazvînî, I, pp. 40-41/Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 55-56).

103 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, p. 5; Schlegel, **Die Chinesische Inschrift**, pp. 127-134 (trans. of Chinese text); Hansen, 1930, pp. 14-23 (Soġdian text).

104 Minorsky, 1948, p. 283; al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, ed. Pellat, p. 155; an-Nadîm, ed. Flügel, I, p. 337, an-Nadîm/Dodge, I, pp. 801-803; Bang-Kaup, von Gabain, 1929, pp. 412,413.

105 Clauson, **ED**, p. 625 "sorcerer, soothsayer, magician" i.e. a shaman.

Khazars, Chap. 8) between the **toyıns**[106] representing the Xitay and the **qams**. The **toyıns** proved more persuasive and thus the Uyğurs "adopted idolatry as their religion and most of the other tribes followed their example. And there are none more bigoted than the idolaters of the East and none more hostile to Islam."[107] From this, it would appear that Bögü converted to Buddhism which we know was not the case.

The conversion, which may well have reflected Bögü's personal predilections without involving larger issues of **Realpolitik**, and the proselytizing activities of Manichaean missionaries (which subsequently extended to the Middle Kingdom), were not uncontested within the Uyğur ruling strata.[108] It is difficult to determine how widespread the new faith became. Tixonov suggests that it spread largely to the aristocracy.[109] On the other hand, Tamîm b. Baḥr gives the impression that it was the dominant faith of the population of the capital. One should bear in mind that during the Orxon imperial period, the urban population, like that of other Turkic nomadic states, was probably largely non-Turkic. The Turkic elements were still primarily nomadic. Thus, the presence of a large number of Manichaeans among the urban population (perhaps predominantly Soġdian) should come as no surprise. Al-Birûnî (d.1048), the Xwârazmian polymath, reports that "most of the Eastern Turks, the people of Ṣîn, Tubbat and some of Hind" were Manichaeans.[110] This is, undoubtedly, an exaggeration, but it does indicate their areas of activity.

Manichaean missionaries, often Soġdian merchants (the Manichaean fragment noted above pairs **niġošaklar** "listeners" i.e. the lowest level of the faithful) and **sartlar** (< Skrt. **sarṭha** "merchant")[111] in a pattern that Iranian Muslim merchants would later follow in Central Asia, brought their faith (or faiths) to neighboring Turkic peoples such as the Qırğız. The Soġdians, as we have seen, were throughout Inner and Central Asia the great "culture-bearers," proselytizing Manichaeanism, Buddhism and Nestorian Christianity.

The Turfan (Qočo) state retained Manichaeanism as the state religion, although the bulk of the population, given the strong Toxarian Buddhist traditions that had developed in that region, seems to have been Buddhist and Nestorian Christian. In the Kan-chou state there were also Manichaeans, but Budddhism here appears to have been the religion of the majority.[112] We possess no information as to how these religions fared in their relations with

106 Clauson, **ED**, p. 569 "Buddhist monk" < Chin. **tao jên**.
107 Juvainî, ed. Qazvînî, I, pp. 40-45/Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 55-60.
108 Cf. the Uyğur Manichaean fragment published by Bang and von Gabain, 1929, pp. 414-419 (Uyğur text/Germ. trans), see also text in Çagatay, **Türk Lehçleri Örnekleri**, I, pp. 14-17; Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 152-153; Lieu, **Manichaeism**, pp. 193-195.
109 Tixonov, 1978, p. 57.
110 Bîrûnî, **Aṯâr al-Baqiyya**, ed. Sachau, p. 204.
111 Bang, von Gabain, 1929, p. 414. On **sart** see Chap. 5 n.208.
112 Lieu, **Manichaeism**, pp. 199-201; Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 293-294,307-308.

one another. The nomadic states of Eurasia were generally tolerant in these questions. There is little doubt that there was some antipathy towards Islam, given the expansionist and aggressive character of the latter among the Qaraxanids and the scattered reports we have of warfare between the Uyğurs and Qaraxanid Muslims. Gumilëv has suggested, without any textual base, that the anti-Muslim Uyğur Nestorian Christians, centered in Beš Balıq, "financed" the campaigns of the Qara Xitay under Yeh-lü Ta-shih against the Muslims.[113] In reality, we have no idea what power the Nestorian Christian community of Bešbalıq may have wielded. Moreover, the Qara Xitay needed little "outside" encouragement for hostilities with their neighbors.

The Uyğur diaspora we have just examined was touched off by the destruction of their Orxon state at the hands of the Qırğız, a tribal confederation from the North. It was as a consequence of Qırğız and then Qitañ activities that momentous ethnic shifts in the old Türk heartland occurred. When these shifts were completed, Mongolia had largely lost its Turkic character and became, as it remains today, the home of the Mongolian peoples. Gumilëv[114] has contended that it was desiccation that caused the Turkic peoples to abandon the Mongolian steppes. The region was then settled by the "Amur peoples," the Mongols. Several objections may be raised to this thesis. Presuming that the Mongolic peoples who entered this region were nomads (what other reason could they have for migrating to this region ?), and that the climatic conditions had sufficiently changed to permit intensive, wide-scale nomadism, why did other Turkic peoples, who were still nomads, not attempt to regain this territory ? Climatic conditions and their impact, about which there is no unanimity of opinion, do not constitute sufficient reasons for this radical shift. A change had occurred in the balance of power in the steppe. Therefore, it is very much in order that we briefly examine the history of the Qırğız and Qitañ.

## THE QIRĞIZ

The Qırğız (whose ethnonym still awaits a satisfactory etymology) appear in the Chinese sources as : Ko-k'un, Chien-k'un, Chieh-ku, Chi-ku, Ho-ku, Ho-ku-ssŭ, Hsia-chia-ssŭ[115] (the latter forms appear to have given rise to the "ethnonym" **Xakas** which will be discussed later). Most recently Pulleyblank, on the basis of his reconstruction of the forms masked by the Middle Chinese renderings noted above and the Byzantine Χερχίρ (found in Menander, one

113 Gumilëv, **Searches**, p. 121.
114 Gumilëv, **Searches**, p. 62.
115 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, p. 105. Cf. Hamilton, 1962, p. 31 :Kie-ku = *Kiet-kuət = Qırğız; Pulleyblank, 1983, p. 455: Ko-k'un = Kerjk-kwən = Qırqır, Chien-k'un = Ken-kwən.

ms. has Χερχίς) posits an original Qırqır (with the subsequent shift r > z).[116] There has been considerable debate regarding their origins and ethnolinguistic classification. Some scholars claim that this was originally a territorial name and only later became an ethnonym.[117] They were associated with the Upper Yenisei region, in particular the Minusa Basin. It has been presumed, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, that they were non-Turkic, perhaps of Kettic or Samodian stock. Linguistic data and details of their physical description, drawn from Chinese sources, have been adduced in attempts to prove one or another of these hypotheses.[118] For example, their ruler bore the title a-jê[119], in Chinese transcription, which does not appear to be of Turkic or Iranian origin, the usual or expected source for titulature among the Turkic tribes.

Kyzlasov has put forward the following reconstruction of Qırğız ethnogenesis : the Turkic Chien-k'un and their neighbors, the Ugric (?) Ting-ling[120] (Tagar culture), were attacked by the Hsiung-nu in 201 B.C. Some Ting-ling, pushed northward and mixed with the Chien-k'un[121] (Taštyk culture in the Minusa Basin). The Chien-k'un and Hsiung-nu introduced new cultural elements (e.g. cremation of the dead) associated with the nomadic world of Central Asia. In the mid-1st century B.C., clashes with the Hsiung-nu of Chih-chih brought more Chien-k'un to the Minusa Basin.[122] The ethnonym **Hsia-chia-ssŭ**, Kyzlasov argues, is the Chinese rendering of **Xakas**, not Qırğız. "Xakas" became the name for the whole of this mixed Chien-k'un (=Qırğız)-Ting-ling state. The Qırğız proper only constituted a Turkic ruling element over this ethnically mixed and Turkicizing state. The ethnonym Qırğız would later spread as a political designation. This state came into being at the same time that the Türk Qağanate appeared. The Qırğız, however, clearly distinguished themselves from the latter. Their ethnogenetic myth traced their origin to the mating of a god with a cow in a mountain cave.[123]

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116 Pulleyblank, 1990, pp. 98-108; Menander/Blockley, pp. 120/121,265.

117 Petrov, **Očerki**, pp. 33,37-38,41 derives **Qurğız** from Turk. ***qırğ*** "red" (Nadeljaev et al., **DTSl.**, p. 446 **qurğu** "rozovyj, rumjanyj") which referred to the color of the soil of their country.

118 Barthold, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, **Sočinenija**, V, p. 42; **Ḥudûd/Minorsky**, p. 282; Wittfogel, **Fêng**, **History**, p. 150n.12; Ligeti, 1950, pp. 150ff.; Menges, **TLP**, pp. 22-23,43; Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 59-60.

119 Schott, 1864, p.434; **Bičurin, Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 352; **Kjuner, Kitajskie izvestija**, p. 60; Barthold, **Kirgizy in his Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 480,487. This "title" may have been nothing more than the name of the ruler.

120 Many scholars consider them Turkic.

121 **T'ang-shu/Bičurin, Sobranie svedenij**, P. 350.

122 According to Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 62-63 these Chien-k'un were in the Kazakh steppe.

123 Kyzlasov, **Taštykskaja epoxa**, pp. 161-169, his **Istorija Tuvy**, pp. 88-93 and his **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 16-20,31,3252-60,63,64,67. Elements of this thesis go back to Kiselëv, **Drev. ist. južn. Sibiri**,pp. 24-27. Cf. also Savinov, **Narody**, pp. 13,40,42.

This is an interesting thesis and Kyzlasov is undoubtedly correct in positing a multi-staged process for Qırğız ethnogenesis. A crucial element, which should be emphasized here, is that the activities of the Hsiung-nu undoubtedly spurred on political development among these tribes.[124] Qırğız "statehood," then, has its ultimate origins in interaction with the Hsiung-nu imperial confederation. Some of Kyzlasov's ethnic identifications, however, are debatable. Barthold, in his "Twelve Lectures," long ago noted that the designation "Xakas" was, in effect, concocted, after the Revolution, on the basis of the Russian transcription (хакас, харас) of the Chin. Hsia-chia-ssŭ, by the "Minusinsk intelligentsia." The latter had some vague notion that this was the name that the Chinese had used to designate the people of their region and decided to use it as a common national designation of the former **inorodcy** ("heterogens, aliens," i.e. "non-Russians") of the area who, up to that time, had not had a common name.[125]

Archaeological evidence confirms the mixing of Europoid (hitherto associated with the Minusa region) and Mongoloid elements to form new groupings, but this had been going on for some time and continued beyond the era discussed above.[126] Indeed, the Turkicization of Samodian, Kettic and other Palaeo-Siberian elements has continued to the present day. In this connection, it should be noted that the **T'ang-shu** describes the Qırğız as "tall, with red-hair, ruddy-faced and blue-eyed. Black hair is considered a bad omen..."[127] Their seemingly Europoid appearance finds confirmation in the Islamic sources.[128] The **T'ang-shu**, in a pastiche of various, chronologically different accounts, goes on to note that the women outnumber the men and that both sexes wear tatoos. Agriculture (millet, several types of barley and wheat), it reports, was practiced but they lacked fruits and vegetables. They raised horses, camels, cows and sheep, especially the latter. Their land contained gold, iron and lead and they made weapons "which they constantly bring to the Türks." Their chief weapons were the bow and arrow and they fashioned a kind of armor from wood. Their ruler, as we noted above, was called/bore the title **a-jê** and commanded an army "gathered from all the clans." There were various layers of titled officials (including **tarqans**) who

124 Kiselëv, **Drevn. ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 477-478.

125 Barthold, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp.40-41.

126 Kiselëv, **Drevn. ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 467,468,472-474; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 70-71,88,344.

127 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 351; Kjuner, **Kitajskie izvestija**, p. 55.

128 Gardîzî/Martinez, 1982, pp. 124-123 tries to explain their "reddishness of hair and whiteness of skin" by giving them a "Saqlâb" ancestor, named Yigen/Yegen Yaqlar Idı who, after killing a Byzantine official fled successively to the the Khazars, Basjirt and thence further east. When internal strife broke out among the Toquz Oğuz, some of the latter fled to this Saqlâb who then named his "tribe" Qırğız. In the Islamic geographical literature, the term Ṣaqlâb/Ṣaqâliba (< Gr. Σκλάβος < Slav), designated the Slavs and eventually any ruddy-complexioned people of the northern lands.

also had military functions. Tribute was paid in sable and squirrel furs. Like other nomads, they ate meat and drank mare's milk.[129]

Their realm, according to the **T'ang-shu**, equalled that of the Türk Qağanate. To the Northeast of their state were the Türks "who travel on skis" and other tribes that live in huts covered with birch. "The Hsia-chia-ssŭ capture and use them for labor." In the east, their borders extended to the lands of the Qurıqan (towards Lake Baikal), in the south to Tibet and in the south-west towards the territory of the Qarluqs (the Altay, their southern neighbors also included the Čik and Az tribes of Tuva). "The Hsia-chia-ssŭ never maintained relations with China" until 648 when the Uyğurs/T'ieh-lê came into the orbit of the Middle Kingdom. Thereafter, commercial/tributary relations began.[130]

There were also important strategic considerations in this relationship, for the Qırğız, given their location in the Minusa Basin-Upper Yenisei region, were perfectly situated to strike in the rear of the nomadic states in Mongolia.[131] Türk warfare against them must have begun very early in the history of the Qağanate. Thus, Ištemi Qağan (Στιζάβουλος) is reported by Menander to have given Zemarxos a "female slave, a war-captive from the people called **Xerxir** (Χερχίρ)," presumably the Qırğız.[132]

We have little information on Türk-Qırğız relations during the period of the first Qağanate, aside from an account dealing with military hostilities. Muğan Qağan appears to have annexed their lands, ca. 560. But, the duration of Türk rule here is unclear. The **Sui-shu**, depicts them as "lurking in ambush with gnashing teeth for their chance" to attack the Türks. Clearly, at the least, there was ongoing resistance to Türk overlordship. Chü-pi (I-chu-chü-pi) Qağan (645-650) also subjugated them along with the Qarluqs.[133] It was about this time, as we have seen, that the Qırğız established relations with the T'ang. Typically, horses figured prominently in the trade/tribute that Qırğız embassies, which had to cross enemy terrain, brought to the T'ang court.[134]

During the era of the Second Türk Qağanate, for which our sources are somewhat more plentiful, relations continued to be hostile. The Orxon inscriptions paint a graphic image of grim warfare as the Türk Qağans staged a number of campaigns against the Qırğız and their neighbors the Az (to their south in the valleys of the Yenisei Basin) and Čik (northwest of the

129 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 351-353.

130 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 354-355. The **T'ai-ping huan-yü chi** of Yüeh Shih (Kjuner, **Kitajskie izvestija**, p. 56) traces relations back to 632 and reports that by 643 the Qırğız had already brought tribute to the T'ang. On Qırğız borders, see also Savinov, 1972, p. 340.

131 Giraud, **L'empire**, p. 175.

132 Menander/Blockley, pp. 120/121.

133 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 8,47,155,208.

134 Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 378-379; Schafer, **Golden Peaches**, p. 64.

Kögmen/Tannu-Ola mountains) to bring them under control. In 710, a Qırğız Qağan was killed in a dramatic nightime attack described in some detail in the Türk monuments.[135] We are not further enlightened by our sources about events that were, from the Chinese perspective, in the Far North. It may be conjectured that the Türk conquest was hardly complete. Moreover, the Türks would soon enter a period of irreversible decline. The Qırğız, however, do not figure in the accounts of the fall of the Qağanate. The **T'ang-shu** reports that during the reign of Hsüan-tsung (712-755, whose dalliance with the infamous concubine Yang Kuei-fei, contributed to the rise of her favorite, An Lu-shan and the revolt that ended the emperor's rule), the Qırğız sent 4 embassies to the T'ang Court,[136] but we are not informed as to the precise dates of these contacts. Did they antedate the fateful years 742-744 ? If so, they might be viewed as indications that the Qırğız were once again independent.

The Uyğurs, the new masters of the steppe imperium, immediately set about securing their hold over the north. In the 740's and early 750's, successful campaigns were directed against the Qarluqs and Čiks,[137] Qırğız allies. In 758, the T'ang chronicles report that the Uyğurs had "destroyed (an army of) 50,000 Qırğız" and severed the relations of the latter with China. The Qırğız, putting some distance between themselves and the new masters of Mongolia who had just forged an important alliance with the T'ang, were now blocked from China. Indeed, it would appear that the Uyğurs intended to make the Sino-nomadic trade their monopoly. As a consequence, the Qırğız set about opening new channels to the west, forging commercial links with the Qarluqs (by 766 the masters of the old Western Türk lands in Central Asia), Tibetans and Arabs.[138]

It is unclear if the active hostilities with the Uyğurs that resumed ca. 820 are to be linked with the Uyğur raid of 821 into Ušrûsana which, as Beckwith and others suggest, was prefaced by warfare with the Tibetans and Qarluqs.[139] If this is so, it may well be that Qırğız military actions were provoked by Uyğur attempts to interfere with their allies and trading

135 Tekin, **Orhon yazıtları**, pp. (Kül Tegin)12/13,18/19,(Bilge Qağan)42/43,46/47; Tekin, **Grammar**, pp. (Toñuquq) 251/287. Cf. the discussions in Barthold, **Kirgizy, Sočinenija**, V, p. 485; Giraud, **L'Empire**, pp. 35-36,41-42,50-51,97-98,174-177, 192-193; Gumilëv, **Drevnie Tjurki**, pp. 298-300.

136 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I,p. 355.

137 Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, pp. 344-345,347 (Moyun Čor inscription).

138 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 66-67; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 355; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 147.

139 Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 165. Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, VIII, p. 580 simply mentions that the "tuğurğuziyya" appeared here. Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 210-211, however, has a different view of these events, connecting them with the struggle to gain final Muslim control over Ušrûsana. The Uyğurs, invited in by one of the factions, were abandoned and died of thirst in the desert.

partners in the west. In any event, after 20 years of warfare, the Qırğız, assisted by a dissident Uyğur general, destroyed the Orxon Qağanate.[140] The Uyğurs scattered, some of them falling under direct Qırğız rule. According to Ssŭ-ma Kuan (late 11th cent.), early on (842), the Qırğız intended to settle some of their troops in the "old Uyğur state lands. Moreover, five tribes submitted to them : An-hsi (Kuča), Pei-t'ing (Beš Balıq), Ta-ta (Tatars) and others."[141] This plan, if it was ever carried out, did not have a long-term effect.

Barfield has argued that the unsophisticated Qırğız did not know how to create a nomadic state and consequently how to exploit the Chinese "tributary" system. He suggests that they simply took their "loot from Karabalghasun and went home," thereafter ignoring China.[142] This is perhaps too harsh a judgement. The Chinese Court, in the decades following the conquest, continued to award titles to Qırğız rulers and embassies from these distant "barbarians" continued to come to China. But, T'ang policy-makers had no great enthusiasm for these ties, arguing that now that they were free of the Uyğurs, there was no reason to build up the Qırğız. During the reign of Hsien-t'ung (860-873) three such contacts are noted. After that, the record is not clear. The T'ang sources simply comment that records were not kept.[143]

While it can be argued that China was not encouraging in promoting relations with the Qırğız, we are hard put to explain the Qırğız lack of interest in Mongolia. Possession of this territory was not only the key to economic ties with China, it was the nomadic territory par excellence, with its rich pastures and its age-old traditions of nomadic imperium. It may well be that the Qırğız preferred their own lands and their trading relations with the west met their needs for goods from sedentary societies. Kyzlasov suggests that the Qırğız ruler left Külüg Bağa Tarxan, the Uyğur who had defected to the Qırğız, as his representative in the Orxon region. The Qırğız state that came into being, in his view, held their old heartland, the Xakas-Minusa Basin, the Altay and extended to the Middle Irtyš in the west, the Ob'and Angara in the northwest and north, Tuva, Northwestern Mongolia and Lake Baikal in the east. He contends that some Uyğur tribes continued to live in Mongolia under Qırğız overlordship. Qırğız expansionism, he concludes, was directed (not very successfully) toward Eastern Turkistan.[144] Whatever the circumstances (Kyzlasov is largely engaging in conjecture), Mongolia clearly did not hold for them the same attractions that it had for their predecessors.

140 Mackerras, **Uighur Empire**, pp. 124-125; Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, pp. 355-356; Maljavkin, **Materialy**, pp. 26-27.
141 Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, p. 101.
142 Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 164.
143 Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 357.
144 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, p. 72,74.

In reconstructing the post-840 history of the Qırğız, the Chinese sources have been largely neglected since Schott's work which appeared in 1865.[145] Even though these appear to be rather sparse, this material merits another review by Sinologists. Of the Islamic sources, Gardîzî and the **Ḥudûd al-ᶜÂlam** give rather more detailed but at times fanciful information. This is particularly true of Gardîzî's narrative. The **Ḥudûd**, in a series of notices that probably stem from the early 10th century, presents the Qırğız realm as lying west of China, north of the Toquz Oğuz and some of the Qarluqs and east of part of the Kimek lands. To their north were the frozen "Uninhabited Lands." This would seem to place them in their earlier habitat in the Yenisei region. To their east lived the Qûrî [or Fûrî], a subject tribe with whom they did not mix and whose language was different from that of the Qırğız. If this form is not a corruption of **Qûn**, a Mongolic grouping who played an important role in the genesis of the Qıpčaq tribal union, or Qurıqan, it is not unlikely that they were a Tungusic or Palaeo-Siberian people. By the Činggisid era, they appear to have been Mongolic. Not unexpectedly, they are described as cannibals and savages.[146] Also subject to them were the *Kištim (ms. k.sym), who while living in felt huts were engaged in forest pursuits, hunting "furs, musk, **khutu** (horns) and the like." Their language was closer to that of the Qarluq and their dress like that of the Kimek.[147] From the Qırğız land "are brought in great quantities musk, furs, **khadang**-wood, **khalanj**-wood, and knife-handles made of **khutû**...Their wealth consists of Khirkhîz merchandise, sheep, cows and horses."[148] They are ruled by a Qağan[149] and "are at war and on hostile terms with all the people living round them." The Qağan resided in the only town of their land, K.m.jkaṯ.[150]

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145 Schott, 1865, pp. 429-474.

146 Menges, **Tungusen und Ljao**, p. 21. Cf. the comments by Barthold, **Kirgizy, Sočinenija**, V, p. 497; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 285-286. They are noted also in Gardîzî/Martinez, 1982, pp. 127-128; Barthold /Gardîzî (**Sočinenija**, VIII, pp. 29-30/47-48) who paints a picture of equal savagery. Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Romaskevič et al., I, p. 232, notes them alongside of the Barqût and Tulâs in his listing of Mongol tribes. Later Turkic tradition (Abu'l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Türk**, ed. Desmaisons, p. 45) connects them with the Oirats.

147 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 97,286, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 81. The term **kištim**, as Minorsky notes, was later used by the Russians to designate the subject peoples of the Qırğız. There is a grouping among the Altay Turks, the Ač Keštim/Ac-Qıštım or Aq Keštim (so Potapov, **Etničeskij sostav**, p. 24) whom Aristov, 1896, p. 340, considered Turkicized Samodians and Yeniseians. See also Radloff, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 94-96.

148 al-Balxî, ed. Huart, IV, p. 65 reports that they have "lands under cultivation and trees" indicating some agricultural activity.

149 Also noted in al-Balxî, ed. Huart, IV, p. 65.

150 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 96-97, 282-286, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 80. Minorsky, following Barthold, **Kirgizy, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 494), suggests that Kmjkaṯ is a corruption of Mkjkaṯ = Chin. Mi-ti-chih-t'o, noted as the name of the Qırğız principal camp/"capital" in the **T'ang-shu** (Schott, 1965, p. 434, Bičurin, **Sobranie svedenij**, I, p. 352). Kyzlasov, **Ist. Tuvy**, p. 96, interprets this as Kemijkaṯ, the "city on the Kem...one of the former Uyğur fortress towns on the Uluğ Xem in Tuva," see also Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza miast**, p. 84. Al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., IV, p. 517, states that the Qırğız live near the sea and that there are 4 towns in their region.

Al-Balxî depicts them as typical Turkic pagans. They cremated their dead and worshipped idols. Some paid homage to the sun, others the heavens (Tengri cult). Some of them adhered to the grisly custom of burying alive the slaves and servants of the deceased.[151] Gardîzî comments that "some worship oxen, some the wind, some the hedgehog, some the magpie, some the falcon and (some) others (yet) stately and handsome trees." He also, in a clear reference to shamans, speaks of a caste of people who, to the accompaniment of "minstrels...go into a trance and then (people) ask them all of the things that are going to happen in that year..."[152]

If we are correct in assuming that the silence of our sources indicates that the Qırğız Qağans engaged in little military activity following their destruction of the Uyğurs, it may also indicate that their stay in Mongolia, where they were more clearly in the purview of the Chinese, was of short duration.

This may be, of course, a completely mistaken assumption. In any event, from the data of the **Liao-shih**, we learn that the Qitañ, in 924, having first defeated the Mongolic T'u-hun and Tsu-pu and the Tangutic Tang-hsiang (probably in Inner Mongolia) made their way to the old Türko-Uyğur royal grounds in Mongolia. Here, A-pao-chi, the Qitañ Qağan ordered Bilge Qağan's inscriptions erased and replaced by his own in Qitañ, Turkic and Chinese.[153] We are not informed as to what opposition they faced and from whom. According to the **Ch'i-tan kuo-chi**, A-pao-chi, prefacing his Mongolian campaign with a punitive expedition against the Shih-wei (a Mongolic grouping) and the Nü-chen (Jürčens), "seized the ancient lands of the Türks." He then fell on the Hsi (Qay, another Mongolic grouping).[154] The Qırğız do not appear to have figured in these events.

## THE QİTAÑ

Having introduced the Qitañ, a few words should be said about their early history. Their origins lie in the Hsien-pi tribes of the Tung-hu peoples of the Mongolian-Manchurian borderlands (Liao-hsi, Šara Muren Basin). These tribes had a mixed economy of stockbreeding, hunting (they traded horses and furs to China) and agriculture. The Qitañ language, for which they developed a Chinese-appearing writing system, is believed to have been Mongolic.[155] The Qitañ tribes, like the Hsi (Qay) and Shih-wei, who were

151 al-Balxî, ed.Huart, IV, p. 22.
152 Gardîzî/Martinez, 1983, p. 128.
153 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, p. 576.
154 Yeh Lung-li, **Istorija**/Taskin, p. 42. The Qitañ campaigns to subjugate the Shih-wei and Hsi (Qay) date to 901, see Viktorova, **Mongoly**, p. 142.
155 Ligeti, 1927, pp. 293-310; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 150-152; Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 57-60.

probably closely related to them,[156] came within the orbit of the nomadic states in Mongolia and the Chinese empire. Their confederational bonds were strengthened in the 6th century in response to political and military pressures emanating from the Tabğač, Jou-Jan and Türks. At times, China and the Türks appear to have held a kind of condominium over them. It was largely under Türkic rule, reflected in borrowed political vocabulary (titles), that their political evolution advanced.

In the course of the late 9th-early 10th century, the hitherto loosely tied 8 Qitañ tribes with a rotational leadership, came under the increasingly forceful authority of the I-la tribe. A-pao-chi (b.872) of the Yeh-lü clan, supported by the Hsiao clan of Uyğur origin and buttressed by control over an important technology (metal-working) and the resources of a subject sedentary population, transformed the previously limited authority of the Qitañ rulers into a qağanate (907). Taking advantage of the collapse of the Uyğurs and the Tang, A-pao-chi created, as Barfield has suggested, a "mixed state" with dual organizations to rule its tribal and sedentary (largely Chinese) populations. This state then moved to conquer both steppe and sown.[157]

Barthold put forward the hypothesis that the Qitañ conquests drove out or in some fashion set in motion the migration of the remaining Turkic populations from Mongolia. These were now replaced by Mongolic peoples, giving the region the ethno-linguistic character that it has today.[158] There is no direct written evidence for this. But, an allusion to the aftermath of this development, in Barthold's opinion, may be seen in Maḥmûd Kâšğarî's comments on the bilingualism of the Čömül, Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar and Basmıl,[159] some of whom were Mongolic. Barthold viewed this as evidence of a westward movement of Mongolic peoples. But, Mongolic groups like the Qay and Tatar had long been part of Turkic states and hence their

156 The Shih-wei were north of the Qitañ, in Eastern Mongolia and Heilungchiang. They were semi-nomadic, raising cattle, horses and pigs, but no sheep "by custom." Among the Shih-wei tribes were the Mêng-wu in which name we may, perhaps, see the ethnonym Moŋǧol. Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 46, 49,152; Pelliot, 1920, p. 146, Pelliot, 1923, p. 326, Clauson, 1960, pp. 120-127. The sources on the (K'u-mo-)hsi present a contradictory picture of sheep-breeding nomads or semi-nomads, like the Shih-wei, with a fairly well-developed agricultural sector, see Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 142-153; Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 124-125,349-350. Yeh Lung-li (**Istorija**/Taskin, p. 313) comments that they have "few horses, the majority of them are infantry," indicating that they were probably not pastoral nomads at this time.

157 For the Chinese sources of early Qitañ history, see Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 154-215. See also Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 59,142,573-574; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 139-143; Holmgren, 1986, pp. 42-74; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 19,101,104,105,168-172.

158 Barthold, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, **Sočinenija**, V, p. 86 and **Kirgizy**, **Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 498-499. Petrov, **Očerki**, p. 45 suggests that the tribes of the Upper Yenisei began to shift towards the northwest under pressure from expanding Mongol tribes.

159 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 83.

bilingualism is not remarkable and may have been of long standing. The Qay eventually entered the Turkic world and appear as a Turkic/Turkicized people in Islamic Central Asia and Eastern Slavic Western Eurasia. The Tatars remained within the Mongol orbit and their ethnonym subsequently became associated with the Činggisid Mongols in the Islamic and Christian lands.

However spotty the evidence, it is clear that a significant westward shift of the Turkic nomads had occurred. Perhaps, evidence of this migration can be seen in the report by Ibn al-Aṯîr that s.a. 960, "200,000 tents of the Turks" converted to Islam.[160] Although the numbers are undoubtedly exaggerated, the notice may indicate that Turkic groups were moving westward and having come within range of Muslim merchants and missionaries were converting. Turkic elements, however, remained in Inner Asia. Hu Chiao (10th century), a Chinese official who spent 3 years of captivity among the Qitañ, reports that southwest of Ju-chou (in Chahar) there were Türks and Uyğurs.[161]

Qitañ expansion continued even after the founding of the Sung dynasty (960) to their south. Their state encompassed Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, varying parts of Outer Mongolia, particularly the eastern regions and districts of Northern China (Hopei, Shansi, Peking would be their capital). The state thus formed had a predominantly Chinese population (3/5), with the remaining (2/5) more or less evenly split between ethnic Qitañ and non-Qitañ tribal elements.[162]

In the treaty of Shan-yüan of 1005, relations were regularized with the Sung. The Qitañ, who had taken the Chinese dynastic name Liao, relinquished some lands, but in return were to receive annual payments of silver and silk.[163] The money and goods, thus extorted from the Sung, formed the basis for extensive Qitañ commerce with the lands to the west. It was in this way that the ethnonym **Qitañ**, in its Turkic variant, **Qıtay** (> Arabo-Pers. **Xaṭây/Xiṭâ/Xitây** etc., Russ. **Китай**, Eng. **Cathay**) came to be associated with China.[164]

We need not concern ourselves further with the details of Liao history. Once more amicable relations with the Sung were established, much of the drive for expansion, crucial to a state of this type, seemed to fade. The growing harshness of Liao rule, the consequence of declining revenues from conquest, provoked frequent revolts of both the sedentary and tribal

160 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), VIII, p. 532.
161 Yeh Lung-li, **Istorija/Taskin**, pp. 324,327,357.
162 Lewis, **Nomads**, p. 11 who suggests a total population of about 4 million, 2.5 million of whom were Chinese. See also Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 52-58.
163 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 326-327,586; Tao, **Two Sons**, pp. 10-15; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 171-174.
164 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 1-2; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 143-144; Gernet, **History**, p. 353; Vasmer, **Ètim. slov.**, II, pp. 240-241.

populations. In the early 12th century, the Jürčens (ca.1113-1124) destroyed the fading Liao with an opportunistic assist from the Sung.[165] Qitañ survivors fled into the Central Asian steppes where they established the Qara Qitay (Northern Qitañ) state (see Chap. 7).

Of more immediate concern to us is the question of the extent of Qitañ rule in Mongolia. There is some evidence for a sustained Qitañ presence in Outer Mongolia. A considerable number of settlements of Qitañ origin have been discovered here as well as in Inner Mongolia, Manchuria and the Soviet Far East. The Qitañ set up cities for captives and Chinese refugees, which became agrıcultural colonies, frontier defense posts and fiefs for the aristocracy. In all, sources note some 150 Qitañ cities. A number of these were located in Inner and Outer Mongolia, but do not appear to have survived the Jürčen conquest.[166] There is no evidence to indicate that they were directed against the Qırğız. Thus, it seems quite likely that the Qırğız were already gone from the central Mongolian steppelands, perhaps well before the advent of the Qitañ.

It also seems quite likely that the Qitañ, although hardly by design, during the course of their rule set in motion the movement of various Mongolic peoples into Mongolia and beyond. It is unclear whether the Mongolic peoples pushed out the Turkic tribes[167] or the latter simply chose to decamp for pasturages in the west, further away from rapacious Qitañ tax-collectors. Fugitives from Liao rule were not limited to Turkic populations. Mongolic elements, stemming from Hsi/Qay and perhaps Shih-wei groupings that were never completely reconciled to Qitañ overlordship, also made their way westward, joined Turkic confederations (e.g. the Qıpčaqs) and ultimately Turkicized.[168]

The Qitañ did not appear to trouble themselves about the corner of northwestern Mongolia and Tuva in which a Qırğız presence may have continued. In any event, the Qırğız established ties with the Liao. The **Liao-shih**, s.a.948, remarks that a Qitañ aristocrat, found guilty of plotting, was punished by being designated as an envoy to the Qırğız. Tribute-bearing delegations are noted s.a. 952 and 977.[169] It is this state, with its center on the Kem/Yenisei, that is described in the Islamic geographical literature. Petrov posits, in this period, a more northwesterly shift in the orientation of the Qırğız. He suggests that it was in the Yenisei-Ob' mesopotamia that some Yenisei Qırğız and Kimek tribes had begun to intermingle, part of a larger

165 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 595-598; Yeh Lung-li, **Istorija/Taskin**, pp. 174ff.; Tao, **Two Sons**, pp. 87-97; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 177-179.
166 Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 145-146; Jagchid, 1977, p. 201.n.4 and Jagchid, 1981, pp. 70-88.
167 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 79-81.
168 Golden, 1986, pp. 5-22.
169 Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, pp. 320,321,417.

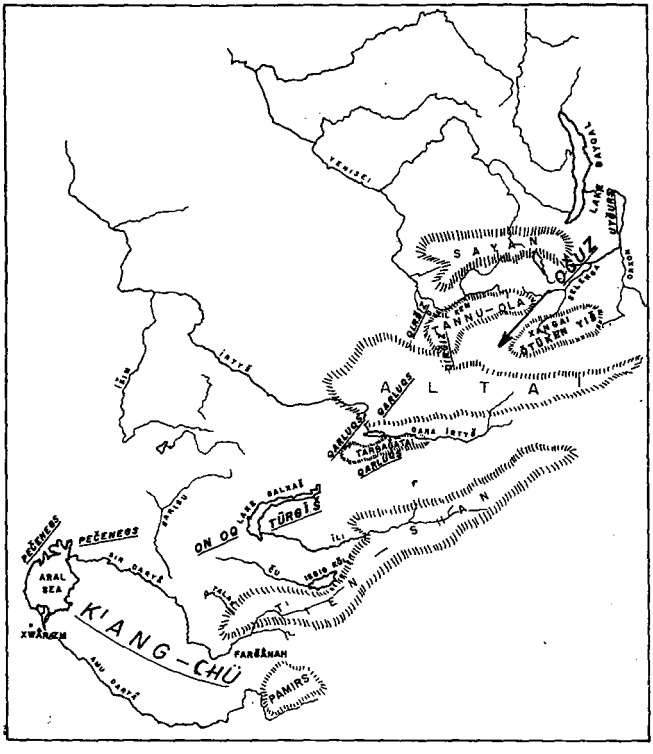
process of mixing of peoples that had been going on since the middle of the 1st millennium A.D., laying the ethnic foundations for the modern Qırğız people,[170] a topic to which we shall return.

The Qırğız were attacked by the Qara Qitay as the latter attempted to gain a homeland in Central Asia. These initial attacks (ca. 1130) were, apparently beaten off. Once they established themselves, however, the Qara Qitay sought revenge (1133). Although Juvainî, our source, does not give us further details, it would appear that since the Qara Qitay were successful elsewhere, the Qırğız may well have come under their sway as well.[171] The Činggisid Mongols, however, were another matter.

The focus of Turkic history in the post-Uyğur period had shifted westward. It is to the Central Asian and Western Eurasian steppes that we must now turn.

170 Petrov, **Očerki**, pp. 36,45-46,63-66.

171 Juvainî, ed. Qazvînî, II, pp. 87,88, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 355,356; Wittfogel, Fêng, **History**, p. 624, having ignored Juvainî's further comments, believe that the Qara Qitay, having been rebuffed "resolutely abandoned" further attempts against the Qırğız. The evidence is not clear, see also Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 82-83.




MAP PEOPLES OF THE TÜRK QAĞANATES CA. 700 A.D.

# THE SUCCESSORS OF THE TÜRKS IN CENTRAL ASIA

## IRANIANS, MUSLIMS AND TURKS

Turkic tribal groupings had been in contact with the Iranian oasis city-states of Central Asia since the migrations touched off by Hsiung-nu movements, if not earlier. Having entered Western Turkistan, they continued a pattern of relations with which they had become familiar in the course of their contacts with the Eastern Iranian and Toxarian city-states of Eastern Turkistan. In Central Asia, these city-states were divided linguistically into three Eastern Iranian groupings : the Xwârazmians at the western end of Transoxiana, the speakers of Soġdian in Samarqand, Buxârâ, Čâč/Šâš (Taškent) and adjoining regions, with colonies spread across Central and Inner Asia and the Bactrian and other Iranian languages of "Ṭuxâristân."[1] The early political history of these states is only imperfectly known. By the 7th century, Xwârazm had evolved into a more centralized state headed by a king, the **Xwârazmšâh** (rendered with the Aramaic ideogram **mlk'**), who ruled over several subordinate princelings. A similar, but less centralized system had, apparently, developed in Soġdia (cf. references to the **sġwδy'n'k mlk'** "Soġdian King"). The Samarqandian ruler, sometimes noted as **sm'rknδč mr'y** (**mr'y** <Aramaic, this ideogram was also used to render ***'βšyn** : **Afšîn** of the Muslim authors), "Lord of Samarqand," who has been reckoned the most powerful of these Soġdian dynasts, bore the title of **'ġšyδ** (< W.Iran. **xšâeta, ixšîd** in Arabic transcripition, in Soġdian documents : **mlk'**). The Soġdian princelings had the title of **ġwt'w** (= xvatâv ) or **ġwβ(w)**. These rulers, whom Chinese sources claim belonged to one clan (the house of Chao-wu [t'siäu-mi̯u] = jmûk [jamûg] of the Muslim authors), were more often than not merely the first among equals in the class of **dihqâns**, aristocratic landholders who lived in fortified castles.[2]

In addition to a highly developed oasis-, irrigated agriculture, the Xwârazmians and Soġdians were also deeply involved in handicraft manufactures and trade. The Xwârazmians tended to focus their mercantile interests on Western Eurasia/Eastern Europe and their land became in the Islamic era the great entrepôt for goods from the Northern forests (esp. furs and timber) to the Islamic world. The Soġdians, as we have seen, created a trading network along the Great Silk route that took them to Mongolia and East Asia. In the course of their contacts with many lands and cultures, the Soġdian trading diasporas developed what Frye has termed "a mercantile secularism" and a tolerance for a variety of religions. Zoroastrianism,

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1 Oranskij, **Vvedenie** (2nd ed.), pp. 28-29, 158ff.197ff.

2 Bartol'd, **Ist. Turkestana, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 117; Gibb, **Conquest**, pp. 5-6. See Zeimal, **CHIr**, 3/1, pp. 255-256 and Smirnova, **Očerki**, pp. 38-69 for interpretations of these titles. Frye, **Golden Age**, pp. 27-29,46-49,214 considers the Jamûg Turkic.

Manichaeanism, Buddhism and Christianity were all known to them in addition to various local, often syncretistic cults. Although Buddhism had died out by the Islamic era, the others were still represented in 10th century Samarqand.[3] The rulers and great merchants also maintained personal retinues or guards called čâkirs (Chin. Che-chieh, Arab. **šâkariyya**). In these guards, who, perhaps, were drawn from the sons of the aristocracy, one may see a possible source for the later **ġulâm/mamlûk** system of the Islamic world (see below).[4] These city-states, often at odds with one another, had been under Hephthalite, Türk and Arab rule at various times.

The destruction of the Sâsânid realm by the Arabs, the death of the Shâh Yazdagird in 651 and the flight of remnants of the royal house to China, brought the Muslim armies to the borders of Central Asia. Some probes for plunder soon followed. A more concerted effort was mounted only in 674 by ᶜUbaydallâh b. Ziyâd, the governor of Xurâsân, his successor Saᶜîd b. ᶜUthmân in 676 and by ᶜUbaydallâh's brother, Salm, in 680. These expeditions still retained much of the character of razzias for booty, but ended with treaties with the local rulers and the taking of hostages by the Muslims. The local polities were so weak, however, that by the early 680's it appeared that the Arabs would take the region. Arab internecine strife, however, both on a local and imperial scale following the death of the Caliph Muᶜâwiya (in 680) which was resolved only during the caliphate of ᶜAbd al-Malik (685-705), delayed the Muslim conquest.[5]

Under the dynamic Qutayba b. Muslim (705-715), the Arabs, overcoming Türk and Soġdian forces, brought Transoxiana, Mâ warâ᾽-nahr (lit. "What [lies] beyond the river") in Arabic, into the Caliphate. Once again, Arab domestic politics intervened. Qutayba perished in a mutiny and much of his work was undone.[6] Various Soġdian princelings now attempted, with the aid of Western Türk (largely Türgiš-led) forces to throw off Arab rule. This struggle for control of Central Asia involved T'ang China and Tibet as well. The defeat of the Türgiš Qağan Su-lu (probably the "Abu Muzâḥim" of the Muslim sources) in 737 and his assassination by domestic rivals (winter of 737-738) marked the end of Western Türk resistance and the break up of their confederation.[7] The defeat of the T'ang army by the Muslims in 751 (Chap. 5), was a significant event, but much more important in the long run was the Chinese contribution to the dismantling of the Western Türk state.

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3 Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 351-352; Bartol'd, **Ist. Turkestana, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 116.

4 Chavannes, **Documents.**, pp. 147,313; Frye, **History of Ancient Iran**, pp. 352-353; Beckwith, 1984, pp. 29-43.

5 Gibb, **Conquest**, pp. 17-23. The most important sources are aṭ-Ṭabarî, Naršaxî and al-Balâḏurî.

6 These campaigns are analyzed in Chavannes, **Documents.**, pp. 288-292; Gibb, **Conquests**, pp. 29-57; Shaban, **ᶜAbbâsid**, pp. 63-75; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 72-82.

7 Chavannes, **Documents.**, pp. 44-47,81-83,284-285; see the discussions in Gibb, **Conquest**, pp. 60-85 and Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 85-120.

There was now no organized opposition to the complete Arabo-Muslim takeover of Central Asia by a rejuventated caliphate under the ᶜAbbâsids.[8]

By the middle of the 8th century, then, Transoxiana had become part of the Muslim world. Under the aegis of Islam, a number of important ethnic processes took place. The power and prestige of the Sâsânid realm had begun the process of spreading the language of the capital city, **darî** (< **dar** "court"), as a lingua franca, to the Iranian East. This process continued and was strengthened in the Islamic era with the arrival of the Arabs and their Persian-speaking converts. By the 9th-10th century, much of the urban population of Transoxiana had adopted Persian. It was here, then, not in Iran proper, that Neo-Persian literature, written in the Arabic script, developed. In Transoxiana, it came to be associated with the Muslims, a fact that is preserved in the ethnonym now used for the Central Asian speakers of Neo-Persian : **Tâjîk** (< Arab tribal name **Ṭayyiʾ**, Syriac **Ṭayâyê** + suffix **-čik** > **Tâčîk, Tâjîk**).[9] Islam and Islamic culture, as it expanded eastward to the Turkic world, was presented through a Persian medium.

The Muslim East, Xurâsân, the wealthy eastern province of Iran in particular, played a significant role in the ᶜAbbâsid takeover. It was in this frontier blend of Arab and Iranian, as Frye has suggested,[10] that the Islamic ecumenism that distinguished the ᶜAbbâsids from the Umayyads came into being. Iranian **mawâlî** (lit. "clients," sing. **mawlâ**, the term used to designate non-Arab Muslims who were, in essence, brought into the Arab tribal structure) came to figure more prominently in Caliphal government. In the power-struggle between al-Amîn and al-Maʾmûn, the sons of Hârûn ar-Rašîd (787-809), al-Maʾmûn, whose headquarters was in Xurâsân, made use of these Eastern elements. He also began to assemble a slave army that drew, in part, on this eastern connection. Ṭâhir b. al-Ḥusayn (d.822), one such **mawlâ** or an Arab with long-standing ties to Xurâsân, who helped al-Maʾmûn to power, with the grant of the governorship to that region in 821, laid the foundation for a semi-independent dynasty. These Ṭâhirids (821-873) undertook campaigns into the Turkic tribal regions of the Transoxanian steppes, conquering, as al-Balâḏurî noted, "places which had not been reached by any before" them.[11] The value of 2000 Turkic slaves (apparently Oğuz) gathered in tribute during the governorship of ᶜAbdallâh b. Ṭâhir (828-845) was placed at 600,000 dirhams. ᶜAbdallâh appears to have regularly provided the Caliphate with **ġulâms** (Arab. lit. "boy," pl. **ġilmân**,

8 Gibb, **Conquest**, pp. 97-98.

9 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, p. 48; Gafurov, **Tadžiki**, pp. 372-374; Lazard, **CHIr.**, pp. 595-602; Frye, **Golden Age**, pp. 25,99-100; Bailey, **Culture**, pp. 87-88 : Saka **Ttaśika**, Chin. Ta-shih [t'ai-dź'ək], Tibet. **ta-žig, tačhig**, Soġd. **tʾz-yk**, Xwârazm. **tʾćyk**, Orxon Türk. **tezik** etc.

10 Frye, **Golden Age**, pp. 101-102.

11 al-Balâḏurî, ed., Raḍwân, p. 420.

subsequently specifically designating "slaves, military slaves") taken in the Turkic steppe. Al-Masᶜûdî similarly notes gifts of "servitors" (waṣîf) that were given to the Caliph al-Mutwakkil (847-861).[12]

The Caliph al-Muᶜtaṣim (833-842), whose mother was a Turk, had already begun to buy slaves (e.g. the Khazar Itax) to create his own personal retinue.[13] This furthered the formation of a ġulâm army. Typically, the ġilmân would be recruited from the periphery of the state among peoples that were ethnically and linguistically distinct from the society against which they might be used. The ġulâm corps became a feature of many later Muslim regimes. As Kennedy has observed, the servile status of these ġulâms has been overemphasized. Indeed, their social status stood in sharp contrast to that of others held in bondage in the Islamic world. In addition, neighboring states were also incorporating ethnically distinct elements from the periphery into their military (cf. the Armenians in the Byzantine empire). Moreover, not all the recruits into this new caliphal army were slaves and not all were Turks.[14] Nonetheless, Turks and Turkic speech became closely associated with the ġulâm or mamlûk institution. In time, the ġulâms rose to positions of great power and contributed to the centrifugal tendencies of the state, taking control over various provinces of the empire. Among these early ġulâms was Tulun/Tolun, whose son, Aḥmad, was the founder of a local dynasty, the Ṭûlûnids, that ruled in Egypt and Syria (868-905) under loose ᶜAbbâsid overlordship. A generation later, Muḥammad b. Tugj (whose father began in Tulunid service) and his descendants, the Iḫšîdids (935-969) held this same region, under similar conditions, before the coming of the Fâṭimids.[15] Meanwhile, the slave-soldiers, even with the take-over by the Daylamite Shîᶜite Buyids in 945, continued to wield great power within the Caliphate.[16]

The family most closely associated with provisioning the caliphal armies with recruits from the Turkic steppes, aside from the Ṭâhirids themselves, were their subordinates the Sâmânids (819-1005).[17] When the Ṭâhirids were brought down by the forces of Yaᶜqûb b. Layth aṣ-Ṣaffâr, in 873, it was the house of Sâmân that fell heir to their authority in Islamic Central Asia. Of Iranian, possibly Transoxanian origin, converts to Islam in the early 8th

12 Ibn Xurdâḏbih, ed. de Goeje, pp. 37,39; al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, ed. Pellat, V, p. 42; Frye, **CHIr**, 4, p. 99; Pipes, **Slave Soldiers**, pp. 146-147, 180-181. For the various Arabic terms for "slave," see Pipes, **Op. cit.**, pp. 195-198.

13 al-Yaᶜqûbî, **Kitâb al-Buldân**, pp. 255-256.

14 Much controversy has surrounded the question of the origins of this institution, its members and their actual status in ᶜAbbâsid society, see Shaban, **Islamic History,2**, pp. 63-66; Crone, **Slaves**; Pipes, **Slave Soldiers**; Beckwith, 1984, pp. 29-43; Kennedy, **Prophet**, pp. 158-161; Patterson, **Slavery**, pp. 308-314.

15 For an overview of the role of these early Turks in the Middle East, see Bosworth, 1970, pp. 4-12, Bosworth, 1973, pp. 1-10 and Merçil, **Müslüman Türk Devletleri**, pp. 5-13.

16 Cf. Ağırkaya, 1989, pp. 607-635.

17 For a summary of Sâmânid history, see Frye, **CHIr**, pp. 130-161.

century, the Sâmânids had been in ᶜAbbâsid service as local governors in Soġdian territories (Samarqand, Farġâna, Šâš) and Herat since ca. 819. Here, they engaged in warfare against the remaining Soġdian petty princelings and their Turkic allies (e.g. the campaign of Nûḥ b. Asad, in 840, against Ispîjâb[18]). Although Naṣr b. Aḥmad Sâmânî (864-892) was given the governorship of Transoxiana by the Caliph al-Muᶜtamid (870-892) in 875, it was his brother, Ismâᶜîl (d.907) who, in the aftermath of fraternal strife (888), emerged as the most powerful figure here. The Sâmânids became the overlords of a series of lesser Iranian city-state dynasts and frontier kings, the **mulûk-i aṭrâf** noted in the **Ḥudûd al-ᶜÂlam**.[19] The slave-trade was a source of great wealth. The Sâmânids not only brought in captives for the slave markets, but they also established training centers to prepare their human booty for their subsequent careers in the caliphal army and bureaucracy. By the late 10th century, the large numbers of slaves flooding the market had lowered prices. The **Ḥudûd** notes Farġâna as the "Gate of Turkistân. Great numbers of Turkish slaves are brought here."[20] We have no way of determining what the impact this population drain had on Turkic nomadic society. But, it seems clear that in this era more nomads were taken off into slavery in the Islamic world than were sedentaries into the nomadic world. The latter had little need for slaves as it was not labor intensive. Although, slavery in the Islamic world was largely of the domestic variety (some economic units, however, with large concentrations of slave labor can be found, e.g. the Zanj in Iraq), there was a continuing need for military-slaves in some numbers.

Ismâᶜîl, the self-proclaimed "wall of the district of Bukhârâ"[21] against nomadic incursions, and his successors undertook a number of campaigns into the Turkic steppe. These were in part slave-raids, in part wars for Islam and perhaps preemptive defensive operations (or such could be their rationalization). In 893, Ismâᶜîl launched an expedition that brought to an end the surviving Afšîn rulers of Us(t)rûšana (upper Zaravšân valley), took the city of Ṭarâz/Talas, an old Soġdian center previously associated with the Western Türks and now with the Qarluqs. Thousands were killed, 10-15,000 fell captive, among them the **xâtûn**, the wife of the Qarluq ruler. The "amîr" of the city, along with numerous dihqâns, converted to Islam.[22] Islam,

18 Barthold, **Turkestan**, p. 211.

19 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 102,106,114-119, ed. Sotoodeh, pp. 88-89,95,109-119.

20 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 115-116, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 112. According to al-Muqaddasî (ed. de Goeje, p. 340), writing in 985, the annual **xarâj** of Xurâsân included 12,000 slaves. The Sâmânids, moreover, exacted a tax for every slave that crossed the Jaiḥûn (Oxus); Frye, **CHIr.**, IV, p. 150.

21 Naršaxî, ed. Raẓavî, p. 48, Naršaxî/Frye, p. 34.

22 Aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, X, p. 34; al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, ed. Pellat, V, p. 150; Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), VIII, pp. 464-465; Naršaxî, ed. Raẓavî, p. 118, Naršaxî/Frye, pp. 86-87; Senigova, **Srednevekovyj Taraz**, pp. 11-15.

however, despite the violence associated with Ismâ'îl's military activities, was spread not so much by the sword as by the activities of missionaries, ṣûfîs and merchants. These were Muslims, affected, as Frye has suggested, by an "upsurge of Islamic piety and evangelism" in the last half of the 9th century, who brought both the new faith and the goods of that civilization to the steppe.[23] Once implanted, Islam was further spread to the Turkic peoples by Islamicized Turks.

## THE TURKIC TRIBES

The Sâmânid frontier (ṯaġr) bristled with forts (ribâṭs) against the Turks. The Ḥudûd describes Oš as "a prosperous and very pleasant place with a warlike population. It is situated on the slope of a mountain, on which watchers and scouts are posted, to observe the infidel Turks." The unidentified "Š.lât" is recorded as another frontier outpost, while Čâč's inhabitants were "active fighters for the faith, warlike and wealthy." There were also areas of more peaceful intercourse. Sutkand was the "abode of trucial Turks. From their tribes many have turned Muslims." Similarly, in the steppes between Ispijâb (a major trading center with the nomads, present day Sajram, near Čimkent in the Kazakh SSR)) and "the bank of the river" are a "thousand felt-tents of the trucial Turks who have turned Muslims." Fârâb, a "resort of merchants," according to the Ḥudûd, had armed detachments of Muslims and (presumably) Islamicized Qarluqs. Sabrân was a trading center for Oğuz merchants and Navikaṯ served the same function for the Qarluqs.[24] Before examining further the process by which Islam spread among the Turkic tribes, we must first identify the latter.

Beginning with the Hunnic era, there had occurred periodic migrations of Turkic nomads into the Western Eurasian steppes. Here they supplanted and/or absorbed earlier Iranian groupings as well as some of the Uralic peoples with whom they came into contact in the forest-steppe zone. We may reconstruct, on the basis of the Islamic geographers and historians, the broad contours of the major components of the Turkic world in the early Sâmânid era, i.e. ca. 850-900. These tribes, on the periphery of the sedentary world, stretched from "Ṣîn" (China) and "Tubbat" (Tibet) to the steppes near Xurâsân (Eastern Iran) and "Rûm" (Byzantium). In the far West, in Danubian Europe (Pannonia) and the Balkans were the Oğuric Bulğar tribes. The Balkan Bulğars were on the eve of Slavicization. Many of the

23 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 59,67-68 and his **Ist. kul'turnoj žizni, Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 239,241; Frye, **Golden Age**, p. 148.

24 Ḥudûd/Minorsky, pp. 116-119, ed. Sotoodeh, pp. 113-118. See also Ibn Xurdâḏbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 31; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, II, p. 511 who has the same report on Sutkand and the tribes camped between Fârâb, Kanjida and Šâš (=Čâč/Taškent).

other Bulğars were still under Khazar overlordship, both those in the Pontic steppe zone and the tribes that had coalesced into a state on the Middle Volga which in the early 10th century converted to Islam. The Khazar Qağanate contained a variety of Turkic (as well as non-Turkic) elements in the Ponto-Caspian steppelands extending to the borders of Xwârazm. Their neighbors, in the Volga-Ural mesopotamia and subsequently the Pontic stepppes, were the Pečenegs. North-northeast of them, east of Volga Bulğaria, were the "Baškirs" whom al-Iṣṭaxrî presents as subjects of the latter.[25] To the east of the Pečenegs were the Oğuz around the middle and lower Syr Darya. North of them, in Western Siberia and the areas approaching the Volga lands, was the sprawling, loosely-held Kimek union. This confederation, in particular, the subconfederation of the Qıpčaqs, put considerable pressure on its neighbors to the south and south-west. The immediate eastern neighbors of the Oğuz were the Qarluqs who occupied the area from the southern fringes of Western Siberia (the lower Irtyš) in the north, where they adjoined the Kimek lands, to the borders of the Sâmânid realm in the south, extending from Ispîjâb to the Farğâna valley[26] and northeastward to the Ču and Ili rivers. Here were the Čigil and Tuxsi tribes around Issıq Köl. The southern and southeastern neighbors of the Qarluqs were the Yağma in the northwestern regions of Eastern Turkistan. To their east were the Toquz Oğuz/Uyğurs. North of Mongolia, in the Minusa basin-Yenisei region were the Qırğız.[27]

Most of these tribes constituted a linguistic community in which there was mutual intelligibility. Thus, al-Iṣṭaxrî comments, with regard to the Toquz Oğuz, Qırğız, Kimek, Oğuz and Qarluq, that "their languages are one, intelligible to one another."[28] This is borne out by the more detailed analysis of Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî. They also shared a common nomadic lifestyle. Al-Yaᶜqûbî reports of the tribes of "Turkistân" that "each has a separate country and they war with one another. They have no permanent abodes nor fortified places. They dwell in the ribbed domes of the Turks.[29] Its pegs are belts

25 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 225. The Islamic geographers also used the ethnonym "Basjirt" (Baškir) to designate the Hungarians. As we shall see, Baškiria was an area of Turko-Ugric symbiosis, a crucial factor in Hungarian ethnogenesis.

26 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 290 :"from Isbîjâb to the futhermost parts of Farğâna."

27 The literature is too extensive to be cited here. Of the most important 9th-10th century sources we may note: Ibn Xurdâḏbih, Ibn Rusta, al-Balxî, al-Iṣṭaxrî, Ibn Ḥawqal, Ibn al-Faqîh, Qudâma b. Jaᶜfar, Ibn Faḍlân, the **Ḥudûd alᶜÂlam**, al-Yaᶜqûbî, al-Masᶜûdî, al-Muqaddasî, Gardîzî and from later periods (but containing notices relating to earlier eras) al-Bakrî, ad-Dimišqî, al-Idrîsî and Yâqût. Among the more useful collections of (partial) translations of these sources are (Russian) Volin et al., **Materialy**, 2 vols., (Turkish), Şeşen, **İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre**. Useful data and analysis are also to be found in Miquel, **La géographie humaine**, II, pp. 203-308.

28 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 9.

29 Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 6 reports that they are on wheeled carts pulled by two oxen, i.e. a **kibitka**.

made from the skins of beasts and cows. Its cover is felt. They are the most clever people in making felt because they clothe themselves with it. There is no agriculture in Turkistân except for millet, i.e. "jâwars" (= Pers. **gâvars**). Their food is mare's milk and they eat its flesh and most of what they eat is the flesh of wild game. There is little iron among them. They make their arrows from bones."[30] Ibn al-Faqîh reports that they have few children.[31] Nomadic populations, as we know, were not as large as those of sedentary society

All of these tribes had been part of the Türk Empire, east and/or west. The Türk legacy was reflected, albeit in somewhat distorted form, in the tribal legends of the Qarluqs and Yağma reported in Gardîzî,[32] and in the titles of their rulers and political elite (yabğu, šad, tarxan, tutuq, inal, irkin etc.). The Qağanate, however, did not appear among them until after the fall of the Uyğur state in Mongolia.

## The Qarluqs

Their ethnonym may be etymologized on the basis of Turkic **qar** ("snow"), **qarluğ/qarluq** "snowy" (signifying a force of nature[33]). There are many serious lacunae in our knowledge of the early history of these tribes in the Irano-Muslim borderlands. The Qarluqs, as we have seen (Chapter 5), at first submitted to the Uyğurs who in 744 had become the "qağanal," i.e. ruling confederation in Mongolia. The bulk of the Qarluq tribes soon fled westward from their homeland between the Western Altay and the Tarbagatai into the Western Türk lands in Semireč'e/Jeti-su ("Land of the Seven Rivers"). A smaller grouping continued to live around the Xangai. At the Battle of Talas (751) the Qarluq confederation defected to the Arabs thereby contributing to the Arab victory. There were ongoing hostilities with the Uyğurs which, undoubtedly, put pressure on them to continue their advance into the Western Türk lands. By 766, they were in possession of the Western Türk capital, Suyâb and the city of Talas/Tarâz,[34] having supplanted the fading Türgeš as the dominant grouping among the nomads. They dominated an area lying to the south of Lake Balxaš, around Issıq Köl, the Ili, Ču and Talas rivers and the spurs of the T'ien-shan (where there was conflict with the Uyğurs).[35]

30 al-Ya'qûbî, **Kitâb al-Buldân**, ed. de Goeje, p. 295.
31 Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 6.
32 Gardîzî/Martinez, 1982, pp. 119-120,123-124.
33 Neméth, **HMK**, p. 50.
34 Moyun Čur inscription, Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, p. 344, Malov, **PDrTPMK**, p. 35; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 85-86n.4,286; Maljavkin, **Tanskie xroniki**, p. 41; Gibb, **Conquests**, p. 96; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, p. 139.
35 **Hudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 286-289; **Ist. kazaxskoj SSR**, I, pp. 340-342,344; Miquel, **Géographie**, II, pp. 208-210.

The Qarluq core consisted of three tribes or tribal groupings (the Üč Qarluq) whose names are reported in the Chinese sources : Mou-lo [Miəu-lôk] or Mou-la (= *Bulaq[36] ?), Chih-ssŭ or P'o-fu/P'o-so/So-fu (Čigil[37] ? Sebeg ?) and T'a-shih-li (*Tašlığ?).[38] This confederation, led by a **yabğu**, the title to which the Qarluq **il-teber** had been elevated after the fall of the Türks,[39] expanded, undoubtedly incorporating elements of the Western Türk union. The Čigil and Tuxs(î) probably became part of the Qarluq confederation in this way. The anonymous author of the **Ḥudûd**, without further explanation, comments that the Čigil land "originally belongs" to the Qarluqs. From his random data we learn that there were 3 Qarluq tribes called Bistân, Xaym and Bríš between the villages of Kûlân and Mirkî, the latter, apparently, a center to which merchants came to trade with the nomads. The "large village" Ġnksîr (?) had "numerous" Qarluq clans or tribes. Some 7 unnamed Qarluq tribes obtained their salt from "Tûzûn ᶜÂrj, the lake Tuz Köl (lit. "Salt Lake"). Some of the Qarluq groupings called L(a)bân (Alban?) lived in Kirmînkaṭ.[40] Later sources, such as al-Marwazî (with ᶜAwfî following him), depict a union of 9 tribes : 3 Čigil tribes, the 3 Bġskl (or Hskî) tribes, the Bulaq, the Kökerkin/*Külerkin[41] and the Tuxsî. An unknown number of Qarluq tribes were in the steppes of Ṭuxâristân.[42]

The **Ḥudûd** remarks that they are "near to civilized people, pleasant tempered and sociable" and that their population engaged in herding, agriculture and hunting. Hence, their wealth "is in sheep, horses and various furs."[43] The Tuxs(î), in whose territory Sûyâb lay, held a land which exported "musk and various furs. Their wealth is in horses, sheep, furs, tents and felt-huts."[44] By the 11th century, they had already assimilated Soġdian and other Iranian speakers. Kâšġarî, as we have seen, comments on the slurred speach of those who use two languages (e.g. the Soġdaq, Kenček and Arğu) and reports that the people of Balasağun (the principal Qarluq city, also termed Quz Ordu, Quz Uluš[45]), in the territory of the Arğu (extending from Ispîjâb

36 Ligeti, 1949, pp. 169-170.

37 See discussion in Pelliot, 1929, pp. 225-226. This has been questioned by Ecsedy, 1980, p. 35n.44.

38 Maljavkin, **Tanskie xroniki**, p. 41 and his extensive commentary, pp. 168-170.

39 Pritsak, 1951, pp. 273-275.

40 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky,pp. 97-99,292, ed. Sotoodeh, pp. 81-82. The L(a)bân were ruled by a *Qut Tegin according to the **Mujmal at-Tavârîx**, p. 421.

41 Kâšġarî (Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, p. 137) notes **kōl irkin** as "the title of the Qarluq chiefs."

42 Marwazî/Minorsky, p. 19 (Arabic text)/ p. 31; ᶜAwfî, text in Marquart, **Komanen**, p. 40(Pers.)/p. 42 :3 Čigilî, 3 Hskî, 1 Ndâ/bdw², 1 kwâlîn and txsîn. The Aya Sofya Ms. 3167, f.489a (Turkish trans.) gives : 3 Čigil, 3 Heskelî, 1 bwâwî, 1 kwâknw, 1 Kîmâkand, see **Şeşen, İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre**, p. 92. On Qarluqs (Xallux) in Ṭuxâristân, see **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 108, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 99 (Tuxâristân).

43 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 97, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 81.

44 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 99, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 84.

45 It, too, was located in the Čū valley and may well have been on the same site as Sûyâb, the Western Türk capital, or very near to it. The city showed Buddhist and Zoroastrian influences, see **Ist. kirgizskoj SSR**, I, p. 270; Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza**, pp. 116-117;

to Balasağun), Taraz/Talas and Isbîjâb are bilingual, speaking both Soǧdian and Turkic.[46]

The Qarluqs, not long after acquiring their new homeland, tested the strength of their neighbors. Qarluq attempts, together with their Tibetan allies, to gain permanent control over Eastern Turkistan were routed by the Uyǧurs. The latter drove them out of Bešbalıq in 791 and again defeated them in 792. On and off hostilities continued, culminating in a major Uyǧur drive into the Qarluq lands in 821 that netted the invaders considerable booty. It was only after the collapse of the Uyǧur Qağanate that the Qarluqs (into whose territory Uyǧur tribal elements fled) were able to gain control over some areas of Eastern Turkistan. During this same period, Qarluqs and Tibetans were also involved in warfare with the Arabs without success.[47]

In the aftermath of the events of 840, the Qarluq yabǧu may have staked out his claim to the Qağanate. The Mašhad ms. of Ibn al-Faqîh's (scr.ca. 903) **Kitâb al-Buldân** reports that in Xurâsân one "did not cease to hear" of the peoples of Transoxiana, "the infidel Turk-Oğuz, Toquz Oğuz and Qarluq. The kingdom is with them (the Qarluq, PBG) and they have among them a high position and strong haughtiness with respect to enemies."[48] Al-Masᶜûdî, writing in the the 930's, says of them that of the Turks, the Qarluqs are the "most beautiful in form, the tallest in stature and the most lordly in external appearance...They had political power and from them came the the Qağan of Qağans. Their king united the various countries of the Turks; their kings were subject to him. From this Qağan was Farâsîyâb the Turk, victor over the land of Persia. Of them was Šâba (var. lect. šânh, šâyh). At the present time, there is no Qağan of the Turks to whom their kings submit since the destruction of the city called Bᶜamât (var. lect. bᶜmân) which is in the deserts of Samarqand."[49]

These notices are ambiguously worded and open to various interpretations. But, other evidence, in particular the accounts related by Gardîzî (scr. ca. 1050), deriving, no doubt, from the Turkic legends common in his day, would appear to indicate that the Qarluqs had, indeed, asserted their qağanal status. According to Gardîzî, the "Yabâğu Xallux" (Qarluq) tribe settled in the Western Türk lands and were soon joined by the other Qarluqs. The Türgeš attacked and slaughtered the (Western) Türks. With this the Qarluq "Čûnčân" fell heir to the empire of the "Xâqân." How or why

Ögel, **TKT**, pp. 325-328.

46 Dankoff/Kâšǧarî, I, pp. 83,84. On the names Quz uluš (**quz** "shaded side mountain," **uluš** "village" in the Čigil dialect, "city" in Arğu), Quz Ordu (**ordu** "residence of a king") and on the Arğu lands, see Kâšǧarî, **Op. cit.**, **I**, pp. 84,105,148 and Pritsak, 1955, pp. 252-253..

47 See the discussion of these events in Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 153-165.

48 Text available to me only in Russ. translation, Volin et al., **Materialy**, I, p. 153 (=f.171b).

49 Al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, ed. Pellat, I, p. 155.

this should have occurred is unclear. In any event, "Xutoğlan" (Qut Oğlan ?), the last of the "Xâqâniyân" was slain and the "first of the Xallux who sat (on the royal throne) was ʾylmâlmsn Jabğûye[50]. (After him) that paramountcy remained within the Xallux."[51] While we may consider these events the prehistory of the Qaraxanids, the relationship of this Qarluq Qağanate to the Qaraxanid state is by no means clear. It is similarly uncertain if the "pagan Turks" who seized the city of Balasağun, ca. 940,[52] are to be viewed as the destroyers of the Qarluq polity and the catalyst for the appearance of the Qaraxanid dynasty.[53] By the mid-10th century, the Qarluq realm extended from their borders with the Oğuz in the west (along Fârâb-Ispîjâb) to Tibet in the east, from the Kimek lands on the Irtyš in the north to the Sâmânid-controlled zone of Transoxiana (Tarâz/Talas being one of the frontier towns) in the south. Qarluq concentrations were around Issıq Köl, along the Talas, Ču and İli rivers, in the T'ien-shan foothills, in Farğâna and Ţuxâristân. Their state now included other subconfederations and tribal groupings such as the Čigil, Tuxs(î), Arğu and Yağma as well as sedentary elements, both of Iranian (largely Soğdian) and Turkic origins.[54]

As the Qarluqs probed the defenses of their neighbors, perhaps, in some measure, responding to pressure from their Oğuz neighbors,[55] they came into contact with the Irano-Islamic culture of the cities and towns with which they traded and raided. Although the notice in al-Yaᶜqûbî that the Qarluq yabğu converted to Islam during the reign of the ᶜAbbâsid Caliph, al-Mahdî (775-785), has been questioned by Barthold,[56] by the 9th century, Islam was making some headway among the Qarluqs and other tribes.

### The Čigil and Tuxs(î)

The Čigil (Chin. Ch'u-yüe), from whom the Sha-t'o Turks derived[57] and Tuxs(i)/Toxsı were two subconfederations of the Qarluq union. Neither ethnonym has been etymologized satisfactorily. A Čigil **Tutuq** is noted in the

50 =*İl-almış ("he who has taken the polity") Yabğu ?

51 Gardîzi, text : Gardîzî/Barthold, text p. 26/trans. pp. 42-43; Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 118-120.

52 Noted by Niẓâm al-Mulk, see Niẓâm al-Mulk/Zaxoder, pp. 214, 343n.406; Barthold, **Očerki, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 40.

53 The argument implied in the **Ist. kazaxskoj SSR**, I, pp. 346-347. See the cautionary comments of Pritsak, 1951, p. 293.

54 Šanijazov, **Uzbeki-karluki**, pp. 18-22.

55 Gumilëv, **Poiski**, p. 93 (mistranslated in **Searches**, p. 84) states that the Sâmânid government incited the Oğuz (descendants, in his view, of Turkicized Parthians) against the Qarluqs. These Türkmen, he argues, "accepted Islam early on and compelled the Qarluqs to do the same in 960." This is certainly an exaggeration. Indeed, the Qarluq movement into the Islamic orbit was as early if not earlier than that of the Oğuz.

56 Al-Yaᶜqûbî, **Taʾrîx** (Beirut ed.), pp. 397-398; Bartol'd, **Očerki, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 39.

57 Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 21,31,32-33,57,59 etc.; Ligeti, **Magyar nyelv**, p. 361; Beckwith, **Tibetan Empire**, pp. 58, 153.

Uyğur Moyun Čur inscription[58] which may point to the title, at that time, of the ruler of this (sub-)confederation. Gardîzî and the **Mujmal at-Tavârîx** mention a **Čigil tügsîn** as the title of their chieftain.[59] The **tügsin**, as we know from Kâšğarî was the title "of a commoner in the third rank from the king." Under Qarluq overlordship, their ruling clan was not supplanted by one from the Qarluq royal clan. This is confirmed by the **Ḥudûd** which remarks that "their king is one of themselves."[60]

Centered around the Issıq Köl and İli river regions with groups extending to the Oğuz lands on the Syr Darya, the Čigil were certainly one of the more numerous of the Central Eurasian Turkic tribal groupings.[61] The Oğuz, who had a long-standing enmity with them, called, incorrectly as Kâšğarî comments, "all the Turks from the Jayḥûn (Oxus) to Upper Şin Čigil."[62] Pressure from the latter may well have been one of the factors that pushed the Oğuz into the Syr Darya-Aral Sea zone.[63] This ethnonym appears as a place-name in Muqaddasî who places the small settlement of "Jkl" (Čigil) near Tarâz (confirmed by Kâšğarî) and notes that it has a Friday mosque.[64] It also appears as an anthroponym and toponym in Turkic Manichaean texts (cf. Čigil Arslan, Čigil Balıq, Čigil Kent). In the era of the **Qutadğu Bilig** (1069) the expression **biligsiz čigil** (lit. "ignorant Čigil") denoted a "country bumpkin."[65] Clearly, they did not belong to the most sophisticated of the Qarluq-dominated tribes. With regard to their religious inclinations, the **Ḥudûd** merely notes that "some of them worship the Sun and the stars."[66] Abu Dulaf, however, reports that there were Christians among them (perhaps Nestorians). It is unclear if these were Soğdian missionary-merchants in their midst or Čigil converts.[67]

Our information about the **Tuxsî**, the neighbors of the Čigil with whom they are usually mentioned (Kâšğarî terms them "Tuxsî Čigil[68]), is even more scanty. According to the **Ḥudûd**, Sûyâb, the old Türgeš capital, was in their

58 Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, p. 351; Malov, **PDrtPMK**, p. 37.
59 Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 129 who mistakenly corrects it to **tegin**, Gardîzî/Bartol'd, Pers. p. 31/trans.p. 51; **Mujmal**, ed. Bahâr, p. 421.
60 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 329-330; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 99, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 84.
61 Šanijazov, **Uzbeki-karluki**, pp. 20-21; Petrov, **K istorii dviženija**, pp. 31-32.
62 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 301.
63 Agadžanov, 1980, pp. 344-345.
64 Muqaddasî, ed. de Goeje, p. 274-275; Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 301 who also places them around Quyas/Qayâs in the Tuxsî borderlands (also II,p. 238) and in villages near Kašğar. The settlement "Čigil" has been identified with Žolpak-tûbe, Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Geneza miast**, p. 107.
65 Nadeljaev et al.; **DTSl.**, p. 145; **QB**,ed. Arat, p. 447, **QB**/Dankoff, p. 185 "ignorant bumpkins."
66 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 99, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 84.
67 Bartol'd, 1894, pp. 286-287.
68 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 320.

territory. There were a few other settlements, like "Bîglîlġ" (cf. the "byklyġ" noted by Gardîzî in which the brother of the Yabğu resided[69]), known in Soġdian as "Smknâ," over which the **Yinal** "brkyn"[70] ruled. Like the Čigil, they were typical nomads. The names of two of their tribes or clans are known : **Lâznh** (perhaps a corruption of al-**âziyyah** or **aziyân**, as Minorsky suggested) and **frâxyh** (**qara** ?).[71]

## The Yağma

Closely associated, but independent of the Qarluqs at this time, were the **Yağma**. This ethnonym may derive from Turk. **yağ-** "to pour down, rain"[72] (cf. **Qarluq**) although the form with **-ma** (negative or verbal noun suffix) is unusual. The Yağma are, perhaps, to be identified with the Yen-mien of the Chinese sources (located, it would appear, between Lake Balxaš and Ala Kül), one of the T'ieh-lê peoples.[73] The Islamic geographers make it clear that they are derived from one of the Toquz Oğuz tribes that fled to the Qarluq lands after 840. Their ruler, in the Türk era, bore the title **Yağma Tutuq**.[74] The **Ḥudûd** presents them as a powerful, numerous (some 1700 tribes, surely an exaggeration) nomadic people whose "king is from the family of the Toquz Oğuz kings...Both the low and the nobles among them venerate their kings."[75] This would certainly point to the continuance of a branch of the old Uyğur royal house among them and perhaps traditions of sacral kingship. According to the **Mujmal at-Tavârîx**, the Yağma "padšâh" bore the title of **Boğra Xan**[76] which, as we shall see, figured prominently in Qaraxanid titulature. The Bulaq (blâq) tribe/clan, also listed among the Qarluq tribes, is noted by the **Ḥudûd** as one of their constituent components, "mixed with the Toquz Oğuz." The city of Kâšğar is recorded among the Yağma frontier lands which were formerly ruled by Qarluq or Yağma chiefs but, according to the **Ḥudûd**, belongs to "Činistân." Some of the towns in Yağma territory had mixed populations of Qarluq, Yağma and Toquz Oğuz.[77]

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69 Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 143, Gardîzî/Bartol'd, Pers. p. 41/trans.p. 62.
70 Perhaps for "brky" **bürge** "flea, light-hearted, fickle man" (Clauson, **ED**, p. 362).
71 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 99,300-303, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 84.
72 Clauson, **ED**, p. 896. What relationship, if any, **Yağma** may have with Pers. **yağmâ** (> Osm. **yağma**) "prey, plunder, booty, spoils" (Steingass, p. 1532) is unclear.
73 Gumilëv, **Drevnie tjurki**, p. 213; Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 76,122,123,272.
74 Noted in Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 123-124 who has a brief, rambling account of their migrations westward and internecine strife which is open to a variety of interpretations, see, Czeglédy, 1973, pp. 262-265.
75 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 95-96, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 79.
76 **Mujmal**, ed. Bahâr, p. 421.
77 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 96, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 79.

## The Kimek

To the north of the Qarluq and Yağma lands lay the sprawling **Kimek** confederation. The ethnonym **Kimek** does not appear in the Türk or Uyğur inscriptions. Sümer associated them with the Čik,[78] but there is little evidence to support this. Pritsak has attempted to connect them with the Proto-Mongolian, Hsien-pi-derived people called, in Chinese, **K'u-mo hsi**. These he views as two peoples the K'u-mo [k'uo mâk = ***Quomâġ** < Mong. **quo** "yellowish" = Mong.denominal suffix **-mAk**, **Kimek** being the Turkic reflection of this] and the Hsi [giei] = Qay, the Tatabı of the Orxon inscriptions. After the fall of the Uyğur state, in which they were a subject tribal union, the Quomâġ/Kimek shifted westward and after ca. 850 came to dominate the Western Siberian steppes.[79] As I have noted elsewhere, this is a highly problematic reconstruction, but one that is not without appeal.[80] Other interpretations, however, are possible, e.g. ***Qumaġ** (Mong. "fine sand")-**Ġay**, i.e. the "Desert Qay." Moreover, no explanation is offered as to how **Kimek** is produced from **Quomaġ**. Nonetheless, the connection with the Proto-Mongolian world, put forward earlier by Marquart[81], must be considered seriously.

Gardîzî, in his account of their ethnogenetic myth, states that they were of Tatar origin. He lists 7 tribal groupings that comprised the Kimek union : ʾymy [for ʾymr : *Eymür, cf. the Oğuz tribe of that name[82]], **İmek** (Yimek/Yemek, cf. the Yemäk noted by Kâšġarî[83] and the Половци Ємякове, Yemek Qumans, reflecting the **k-** > **0** shift, i.e. **Kimek** > **İmek**, found in some Middle Qıpčaq dialects[84]), Tatâr, *Bayândur (ms. ?lâ?ḏr, cf. the Oğuz tribe Bayındur/Bayandur[85]), Xfčâq (Qıpčaq), Lnîqâz, ʾjlâd.[86] Al-Masᶜûdî makes note of the "Kmâk yyġûr" (var. lect. byġûr) who are on both

78 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 31.
79 Pritsak, 1982, pp. 331-333.
80 Golden, 1986, pp. 17-18.
81 Marquart, **Komanen**, pp. 95ff.
82 Marquart, **Komanen**, p. 96n.7.
83 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, II, p. 161 : "a tribe of the Turks. They are considered by us to be Qifčâq, but the Qifčâq Turks reckon themselves a different party." Elsewhere (I, p. 260), he notes the "**ertiš suwi yemekī**" "Yemek of the Irtyš River."
84 Halasi-Kun, 1950, pp. 52-53. The early 14th century Mamlûk-Qıpčaq glossary of Abu Ḥayyân (**Kitâb al-Idrâk**, ed. Caferoğlu, Arab text p. 98), among others, notes the "ymk" (Yimek) a tribe of the Qibjâq." Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 40,45 following Hambis and Zuev, proposes to see Yimek/Yemek in the Yen-mo, a people associated with the Western Türk Qağanate in the 7th century in the Chinese sources. This seems unlikely, for at that time **Kimek** was, in all likelihood, not yet **Yimek**.
85 This reading is highly conjectural. Much more substantial evidence would be required to establish the linkage between these two Kimek tribes (the *Eymür and *Bayandur) and the Oğuz.
86 Gardîzî/Bartol'd, Pers. p. 27; Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 120.

the Black and White Irtyš.[87] This may stand for *Kimek Yiğur = Kimek Yuğur; i.e a group of the Uyğurs who found refuge with the Kimek. This metathecized form of **Uyğur** is subsequently in evidence among the Eastern Qıpčaqs. The Ottoman Turkish translation of ᶜAwfî (d.1233) reports that the Kimek have 3 tribes and mentions one called "mḍrbh"[88] (*mṣrbh : masar-aba ? cf. basar-aba). Regrettably, none of these provides more precise evidence regarding Kimek origins.

Gardîzî's tale, replete with eponymous tribal ancestors and migrations to the Irtyš, may well contain a kernel of historical truth. Curiously, the main protagonist of these events, the younger son of the Tatar leader, Šad, who comes to lead this union, is ultimately given a new name (incorrectly etymologized by Gardîzî or his informant), "Tutuğ," i.e the Türk title **tutuq/totoq**, a term of Chinese origin designating a "military governor," significantly lower than **šad** in the Turkic hierarchy. At the conclusion of his account, clearly quoting from another source, Gardîzî says that their "chief" has the title of **Yinal yabğu**.[89]

Kumekov's reconstruction of early Kimek history places them in the Irtyš region among the subject tribes of the Western Türk. Up to the mid-9th century, they ranged from the Southern Urals and Aral Sea steppes in the west, central Kazakhstan to the northern Lake Balxaš region in the south and the Western Altay in the east. Their southern territories bordered on the Toquz Oğuz/Uyğurs and Qarluqs, between the Oğuz and Qırğız. They were difficult neighbors for the latter, the Kimek "king" being "demanding in his requests, bellicose to all around him."[90] By the late 9th-early 10th century, the Yayıq/Ural river formed the boundary between the Oğuz and Kimek.[91] After 840, some Uyğur elements fled to them and joined their union. In this way, he explains the presence of the title yabğu. In ensuing struggles with their Turkic neighbors, a Kimek state came into being.[92] Indeed, al-Masᶜûdî reports that wars between the Oğuz, Qarluqs and Kimek had brought other Turkic tribes into the Western Eurasian steppes.[93] Let us examine this question more closely.

Of contemporary sources, Tamîm b. Baḥr and Ibn al-Faqîh term the ruler

87 al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 116. There is some confusion in the medieval Islamic geographers over these hydronyms which could also designate the Yayıq/Ural and Emba rivers, or some other combination, see **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 215-216,308-309; Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 62-63.

88 Ms. Aya Sofya 3167, f.489a cited in Şeşen, **İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre**, pp. 92-93.

89 Clauson, **Ed**, p. 453; Gardîzî, Bartol'd, Pers. pp. 27,28/44,45; Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 120-121,123.

90 al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., p. 520.

91 al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, pp. 9,222; Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, I, pp. 14,393; Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 57-58,61-63.

92 Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 113-116.

93 al-Masᶜûdî, **Tanbîh**, pp. 180-181.

of the Kimeks "king."[94] It is unclear if this is to be taken literally or is merely a topos for their ruler. The Ḥudûd, however, which portrays them as nomads living in felt tents, states that the "king of the Kimek is called Xâqân." His summer quarters are in the town of "Namakiyya" (= Yamakiyya < Yemek), 80 days travel from Ṭarâz. "He has eleven lieutenants within the Kimek country and the fiefs (aᶜmâl) are given by heritage to the children of the lieutenants."[95] If the Ḥudûd's source was not refashioning a tribal structure (the "eleven lieutenants" merely clan or tribal chieftains) into something more elegant, then, these details, uncorroborated elsewhere, would appear to indicate that the Kimeks had developed a state complete with a Qağan at the helm and various officers of government. Why ? The Kimeks, of the major Turkic tribal confederations of this era, were the most removed from direct contact with the great sedentary states. Their northern borders were the "uninhabited lands." Whence, then, came the catalyst for state-formation ?

Kumekov argues that it arose from warfare among the Turkic tribes, but this cannot be demonstrated. Moreover, such warfare, presumably, would have had the same effect on the Oğuz. But, Oğuz statehood, as we shall see, had a very different origin. Paradoxically enough, the catalyst for Kimek statehood may have come from the forest zone, the so-called "uninhabited lands" and more distantly the Islamic lands. The Ḥudûd notes that Kimek "commodities" are "sable-skins and sheep." The latter, expected from a nomadic economy, need not concern us. It is the trade in sable-skins (and ermine noted by Gardîzî as well), that is important.[96]

Kimek statehood, we may conjecture, developed in response to the need/desire to exploit the fur-trapping Uralic population of the Siberian forests. This pattern can be observed as early as the Scythian era and continued until the Russian conquest of Siberia when the nomads were replaced by the Muscovite state.[97] The buyers of these products were the Islamic lands. Furs, as a casual glance at the Islamic geographical literature shows, were one of the major articles of commerce of Northern Eurasia with the Muslim world. The Kimek lands were well-known to the Muslim merchants and hence geographers. Gardîzî, for example, gives a detailed account of the routes to Kimekiyya and the conditions of life there. The ultimate catalyst for this advance in Kimek political organization, then, was the commercial stimulation of the Muslim merchants interested in the luxury furs of the northern lands. Thus, although the Ḥudûd reports that there is

94 Minorsky, 1948, arab. p. 281/trans. 284; Ibn al-Faqîh, Mašhad ms. f.168a cited in Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, p. 116.

95 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 99-100, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 85.

96 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 99, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 85; Gardîzî/Bartol'd, pp. 28/45, Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 123.

97 Ligeti, 1943, pp. 41-42,54-57; Allsen, 1985, pp. 28-31.

only one town in the Kimek country, later Muslim sources (e.g. al-Idrîsî, d.1166) and archaeological evidence indicate that town and sedentary life had advanced.[98] There is some very fragmentary evidence attesting the use of the Turkic runic script within Kimakiyya. Thus far, examples have largely been found on scattered objects of personal use (e.g. mirrors). Islam coming from Transoxiana may have begun to penetrate the region. Al-Idrîsî, a Westerner, writing in Norman Sicily more than a century after the Qıpčaqs had supplanted the Kimeks, notes fire-worshiping "majûsî" and Manichaeans (**zanâdiqa**) among them. There is also some evidence for adherents of Buddhism in their midst, perhaps from Uyğur elements. All of this, of course, was largely a superficial veneer over older Turkic practices (Tengri cult, solar, astral and hydrolatrous cults, the miraculous rain-stone etc.).[99]

Like other nomadic states before them, Kimek statehood arose out of the need to acquire goods (furs, in this instance) that could be bartered for the products of sedentary society. This state, however, did not develop grand political traditions nor implant deep roots. Its successor, the Qıpčaq confederation, which came into being in the aftermath of the Qun migration and the movement of other peoples from the eastern steppes (see Chap. 8), never moved beyond the limitations of a tribal union. The progenitor of the latter, at this time, according to the **Ḥudûd**, had shifted off towards the Pečeneg lands in the west. Here, touching on the Oğuz territories as well near the Syr Darya, they were in direct contact with the Muslim border cities like Sabrân/Sawrân.[100] Their "king," however, was designated by the Kimek Qağan.[101] The history of the Qıpčaqs which ultimately spanned all of Eurasia and the Near and Middle East will be taken up in Chap 8. We should now turn to the Oğuz, the Turkic people who would have the greatest impact on the Near and Middle East.

## The Oğuz

The ethnonym **Oğuz** (in Western or Oğuric Turkic **Oğur** etc. as was noted in Chap. 4), is rendered Οὖζοι (**Uz**) in the Byzantine sources. In Rus' and Khazarian Hebrew sources they were termed **Tork**, Торкъ, Торчинъ, Торци, טורקיא (ṭwrqy°), the latter perhaps from a Byzantine Τουρκία (the usual designation in the 10th century for the land of the Hungarians). Oğuz

98 Al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., pp. 718-719, says they have 16 towns, gives some of their names ( °sṭûr, nj°h, bwrâġ, sysîyân, mnân, mstnâḥ, the city of the king called Xâqân, bnjâr, ḍhlân, xnâwš) and details about the routes there. See also Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 98-109.

99 al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., p. 718; Kumekov, **Gosudarstvo kimakov**, pp. 109-112; Arslanova, Kljaštornyj, 1972, pp. 314-315. On Kimek writing, in addition to Kumekov, see Marquart, **Komanen**, p. 100n.3 and Arslanova, Kljaštornyj, 1972, pp. 306-315.

100 Muqaddasî, ed. de Goeje, p. 274.

101 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 101, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 87.

derives from a Turkic root *oğ/uq denoting kinship. Thus, this ethnonym may be rendered as "clan, tribe, tribal sub-grouping, union of related clans/tribes." Hence, in addition to **Oğuz**, we often find in the sources a numeral prefixed to this ethnonym/technical term indicating the number of its constituent groupings : the **Üč Oğuz** ("Three Tribal Groupings"), the T'ieh-lê/Uyğur **Toquz Oğuz** ("Nine Tribal Groupings," Chin. **Chiu-hsing** "Nine Surnames") of the Orxon Türk and Uyğur inscriptions and the **Sekiz Oğuz** ("Eight Tribal Groupings") of the mid-8th century Šine Usu inscription.[102] The Chinese sources usually translated rather than transcribed this ethnonym. References to **Oğuz** in the Türk and Uyğur inscriptions appear to refer, for the most part, to the Toquz Oğuz groupings. But, some may be interpreted as refering to another tribal grouping using this ethnonym without a prefixed numeral. This confusion is reflected in Islamic sources as well. Thus, al-Marwazî mentions 12 tribes of the Oğuz, "some of whom are called Toquz Oğuz." He calls their ruler "Toğuz-Xâqân" but places their lands on the borders of Transoxiana and Xwârazm.[103] In any event, we have little in the way of direct evidence linking the Oğuz who appear in the Syr Darya to either of these confederations.

The earliest history, then, of the Transoxanian Oğuz, too often taken for granted because of the Inner Asian antecedents of the ethnynom **Oğuz**, is difficult to reconstruct due to the paucity and imprecision of our sources. Pritsak has conjectured that in the rearrangement of the politically dominant tribes that took place in 744, bringing, as we have seen, the Uyğur ruling house to the Qağanate and the Qarluqs to the status of a **yabğuluq bodun** ("yabğu-led people"), the Oğuz were elevated to the position of "right yabğu" slightly inferior to that of the Qarluqs.[104] When they first came into the view of the Islamic sources (e.g. al-Xwârazmî, d. 850), their leader did, indeed, bear this old Türk title.[105] It is a much later source, however, Ibn al-Aṯîr (early 13th century), in a comment on the events of AH 548/1153-54 and based on Xurâsânian written tradition, who provides some evidence for the movement of Oğuz from the east. He reports that the "ġzz" (i.e. Ġuzz, Oğuz) "are a tribe which migrated from the borderlands of the most distant parts of the Turks to Mâ warâ'n-nahr in the days of al-Mahdî. They became Muslims and al-Muqannaᶜ, the master of incredible lies and tricks, asked for their aid." Naršaxî, without naming the Oğuz as such, remarks that Ibn al-Muqannaᶜ's summons attracted many from "Turkistân" who "came...in the hope of plunder."[106] The reference is to the reign of the ᶜAbbâsid Caliph al-

102 Orkun, **ETY**, p. 168.
103 Marwazî/Minorsky, Arabic text p. 18/trans. p. 29.
104 Pritsak, 1951, pp. 273-274 and Pritsak, 1953, p. 403.
105 Al-Xwârazmî, ed. van Vloten, p. 120, cf. also the ***jbwyh = jabûya = jabğu/yabğu** of al-Birûnî, **Aṯâr al-baqiyya**, ed. Sachau, p. 101.
106 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut reprint), XI, p. 178; Naršaxî (ed. Raẓavî, pp. 89-104, Naršaxî/Frye, pp. 65-76) gives a detailed account of these events.

Mahdî (775-785) and the "veiled Prophet" of Xurâsân who led an anti-ᶜAbbâsid movement ca. 776-783.

The point of origin of these Oğuz would appear to be Mongolia or adjacent lands. Their connection to the Toquz Oğuz, if any, is unclear. Perhaps, they were under the leadership of a core of clans or tribes deriving from the Oğuz or Toquz Oğuz. In any event, the bulk of these tribes were distinct from the latter who spoke a Turkic of the Turkî/Southeastern type. By Kâšğarî's time, their language was already quite different from that of both their Qaraxanid and Qıpčaq neighbors. This may, perhaps, be explained on the basis of an undoubted dialect differentiation that had already occurred among Turkic peoples in their Inner Asian homelands as well as Iranian influences (substratal elements ?). Kâšğarî alludes to this, commenting with regard to the Oğuz dialect word **ören** (<Pers. **vîrân** "ruined") that "when the Oğuz mixed with the Persians they forgot many Turkic words and used Persian instead."[107]

As with any migration of a tribal confederation, new elements were added **en route** or absorbed in the new homeland. Among the incorporated elements were Pečeneg, Xalaj, Čaruq and perhaps others.[108] Indeed, the Oğuz fought a series of wars with the Pečenegs for possession of the Volga-Ural, Syr Daryâ and Xwârazmian steppe zone, the memory of which was preserved in Oğuz tradition. The Oğuz, cooperating, if not allied with the Khazars, emerged victorious from these struggles by the late 9th century.[109] By this time the Pečenegs had already begun to move into the Pontic steppe zone where they displaced the Hungarians. On the basis of the names found in Kâšğarî, with variants deriving from other sources also recorded by Rašîd ad-Dîn and Abuᵓl-Ġâzî, we can reconstruct the composition of the Oğuz confederation. It consisted of some 22-25 clans or sub-tribes :

fig.1 [K = Kâšğarî, R = Rašîd ad-Dîn, A = Abuᵓl-Ġâzî]

1. K, R, A **Qınıq**[110]
2. K **Qayığ** R, A **Qayı**
3. K, R **Bayındır**, A **Bayındır**
4. K **İwe/Iβa**, R **Yıwa**, A **Iwa/İwe**
5. K **Salğur**, R, A **Salur**
6. K **Afšar** R, A **Avšar**

107 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 51.
108 Agadžanov, 1980, pp. 346-347.
109 See Rašîd ad-Dîn's **Oğuz-nâma** (from his larger work) : **Oğuzen** /Jahn, pp. 24-25, **Oguz-Name**/Šukjurova (trans. based on the Istanbul, Topkapı, Bağdat Köşkü ms. 282), pp. 34-35 (= struggle with Oıl Baraq ); Abuᵓl-Ġâzî, ed. Kononov, Trkmn text, pp. 41-42; Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 131-132.
110 The subtribe/clan of the Seljuk royal house.

7. K **Bektili/Begtili**, R, A **Begdili**
8. K, R, A **Bügdüz**
9. K, R, A **Bayat**
10. K **Yazğır**, R, A **Yazır**
11. K **Eymür**, R, A **İmür**
12. K **Qara Bölük**, R, A **Qara Evli**
13. K **Alqa Bölük**, R, A ***Alqa Evli**
14. K, A **İgdir**, R **Yigdir/Bigdir**
15. K **Üregir/Yürcgir**, R, A **Üregir**
16. K **Tutırqa**, R **Durdarğa/Durdurğa**, A **Dudurğa**
17. K **Ula Yondluğ**, R, A **Ala Yontlı**
18. K **Töger**, R, A **Döger**
19. K **Bečenek**, R, A **Bečene**
20. K **Čuvuldur**, R, A **Čavuldur**
21. K, R, A **Čepni**
22. K **Čaruqluğ**
23. R **Yaparlı/Yapurlı**, A **Yasır/Yapır**
24. R, A **Qızıq**
25. R **Qarqın/Qarqır**, A **Qarqın**

According to Rašîd ad-Dîn (followed by Abu'l-Ġâzî), the **Bozoq**, the senior subconfederation constituting the right wing of the army, consisted of the sons of Kün Xan (Qayı, Bayat, Alqa Evli, Qara Evli), the sons of Ay Xan (Yazır, Döger, Dudurğa, Yaparlı) and the sons of Yulduz Xan (Avšar, Qızıq, Begdili, Qarqın). The junior **Üčoq** subconfederation, which formed the left wing of the army was composed of the sons of Gök Xan (Bayundur/ Bayındur, Bečene, Čavuldur, Čepni), the sons of Taq Xan (Salur, İmür, Ala Yontlı, Üregir) and the sons of Tengiz Xan (Yigdir, Bügdüz, Yıwa and Qınıq).[111]

The Qınıq at the head of the list clearly reigned supreme at the time of Kâšğarî's writing, i.e. the early Seljuk era. Just below them are the Qayı and Bayındur who, along with the Salur also enjoyed a certain paramountcy within the confederation at different times.[112] Suggestions that the Qayı were

111 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 101-102; Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Romaskevič et al., I, pp. 119-124 and the **Oğuz-Nâma**, see Rašîd ad-Dîn, **Oğuzen**/Jahn, pp. 45-48 and **Oguz-name**/Šukjurova, pp. 64-68; Abu'l-Ġâzî, ed. Kononov, Trkmn. text, p. 31. Later Ottoman historians preserved (and reworked) these traditions. Cf. the listing found in Neşrî, ed. Unat and Köymen, I, pp. 12/13. The best collection of data on these tribes can be found in Sümer's **Oğuzlar** (3rd ed.). On the Bozoq-Üčoq, see Sümer, **Op. cit.**, pp. 202-206.

112 In the Qorqut Ata/Dede Qorqut cycle of Oğuz tales, the eponymous Bayındur appears as the "xan of xans" (**xanlar xanı Xan Bayındur**) in the era preceding the return to political supremacy of the Qayı, predicted by Dede Qorqut, "in the final time" (**axır zamanda xanlıq girü Qayıya dege**), i.e. the Ottoman era. The author pointedly notes that he is referring to the Ottoman house (**didügi 'Osmân neslidür**) in whom the rule will continue until judgement day, see **Dede Korkut**, ed. Ergin, pp. 1,3.

the sub-tribe/clan from which the yabğus were chosen may have been influenced by the later supremacy of the Ottomans.[113] Until the establishment of the Qınıq-derived Seljuk dynastic house, this confederation, like other nomadic unions, did not have a strong central authority. Indeed, the **Ḥudûd** comments that "each of their tribes has a separate chief on account of their discords with each other."[114]

Ibn Faḍlân, who journeyed through their lands in the early 10th century confirms a multitude of "kings" (**mulûk**) and "chieftains"(**ruʾasâ**). They addressed their "great men," he remarks, as "lords (**arbâb**)." We have no evidence, however, that this implied exalted, monarchical institutions among them. In addition to the **yabğu**[115] ("the king of the Ġuzz Turks"), Ibn Faḍlân mentions his deputy (**xalîfa**) who bore the title **kül erkin** (kwḏrkyn = kwlrkyn), the "Lesser Yinal" (**ynâl aṣ-ṣağîr**), ṭarxâns, a "commander of their armies" (**sâḥib jayšihim** = Turk. **Sü-başı**, named Etrek Alqaṭağan) and and some other figures garbled in the Mašhad ms. (e.g. ʾiylğz).[116] Significantly, the Oğuz ruler did not lay claim to the qağanal dignity.

The Islamic geographers show some hostility towards them, reflecting, no doubt, their uneasy presence on the borders of Transoxiana. The **Ḥudûd** depicts them as typical nomads "with arrogant faces," possessing no towns, living in felt-tents and raiding the "lands of Islam." Their "wealth is in horses, cows, sheep, arms and game in small quantities." Significantly, "among them merchants are very numerous."[117] The Xwârazmians (whose capital, Kat, was the "emporium of the Turks"), in particular, as well as a number of other Central Asian cities (e.g. Sabrân), were associated with Oğuz trade. Despite the **Ḥudûd**'s disparagement of Oğuz urban development, even that source mentions the village of Dih-i Nau (Pers. "New Village" = Arab. Madîna al-Jadîda/Qarya al-Ḥadîṯa = Turk. Yangı Kent) as the winter quarters of the Oğuz ruler.[118] Indeed, al-Masʿûdî notes both nomadic and settled Oğuz in this region and remarks that they are divided into three groupings, "upper,

113 The Ottoman historian Yazıcıoğlu ʿAlî has Oğuz Xan declare that since Qayı "will later become Xan," he should first be named **beylerbeyi** of the right wing and Bayındur **beylerbeyi** of the left wing, see Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 81.

114 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 101, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 87; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 217,315; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 38-39,236n.1; Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 135-137; Köymen, **Alp Arslan Zamanı**, pp. 5-8.

115 In some sources we find the variant **bayğu** (e.g. **Mujmal**, ed. Bahâr, pp. 102-103). Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 139-140, connects ***bayğu** "falcon, hawk" with other, contemporary Turkic names/titles such as **toğrul**, **čağrı**, **toğan** etc. It seems much more probable to me that "bygw" is a corruption of "ybğw," a common confusion in Arabic-script mss.

116 Ibn Faḍlân ed. Dahân, pp. 91,96,97,101,103, Ibn Faḍlân/Togan, pp. (Arabic) 11/20,13/25,15/28,16/30-31.

117 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 100, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 86.

118 Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, II, p. 488; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 119, 121, 122, ed. Sotoodeh ed., pp. 118,122,123; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 34; Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 133-135.

lower and middle."[119] Kâšġarî, however, writing more than a century later, indicates a growing urban element. He designates Sabrân, Sitkün, Suğnâq, Qarâčuq (Fârâb) and Qarnâq as Oğuz towns. Al-Idrîsî notes some 9 towns in the "country of the ʾġzâz" (i.e. ʾġzz).[120]

The Oğuz, given the lack of strong central authority, were difficult neighbors. Under steady pressure from the Kimek-Qıpčaq union, they tested their western and southern borders, raiding the Volga Bulğar and Finnic lands, crossing into Khazaria and into Sâmânid Transoxiana. Konstantinos Porphyrogennetos, writing in the mid-10th century, after noting that the Oğuz (Οὔζοι) can attack the Pečenegs and Khazars, reports that 50 years earlier, the Oğuz had been allied with the Khazars and had driven the Pečenegs out of their Ural-Volga habitat.[121] But, this situation had clearly changed by his day, for Ibn Faḍlân, in the 920's, reports that there were Oğuz prisoners held by the Khazar ruler. Al-Masʿûdî (writing in the 930's) mentions Oğuz winter raids into Khazar Volgan lands.[122] The Khazar Cambridge document (Cambridge, ms. T-S Misc.35.38), in a somewhat garbled account tells of an apparently Byzantine-inspired coalition of As, Pečenegs (פיינ ל [pyynyl] = פיצנ יך [pyṣnyk]) and [יא]טורק (ṭwrq[yʾ] = Turqiya/Torqiya, i.e the Oğuz) that warred against the Khazars in the late 9th century. In the early 10th century, however, according to this same document, the Khazars "hired the king of Torqiya" to beat off a Byzantine-induced Alan attack.[123] Clearly, the Oğuz were an unstable element. Moreover, it is by no means certain that the Oğuz tribes or subconfederations acted in concert. Indeed, given the subsequent history of the Seljuk-led confederation, it seems most probable that different Oğuz groupings pursued their own "foreign policies." We do not have evidence of the Yabğu acting as the spokesman for the entire confederation in their dealings with their sedentary neighbors. By the latter half of the 10th century, with the emergence of the Qaraxanid and Ghaznavid states and the continuing pressure of the Kimek-Qıpčaq union the instability of the Oğuz confederation became more pronounced.

In 965, the Oğuz took part in the Rus' attack on the Khazar cities that heralded the collapse of the Qağanate as a major regional power. They joined the Rus' again, in 985, in an attack on Volga Bulgaria.[124] Although the western groupings of the Oğuz proved troublesome to the Rus' and

119 al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**,ed. Pellat, I, p. 116.

120 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 329,333,352,353,362; al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., p. 837 : ʾdrmâh, Nwjh, Bâdğh, Jâjân, Mrqâšân, Drqw, Drndh, Grbyân, Grġwn.

121 Const. Porph. **DAI**, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 62/63,166/167.

122 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 104, Ibn Faḍlân/Togan (Arabic), pp. 16-17/31; al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, ed. Pellat, I, p. 218.

123 See Golb, Pritsak, **Khazarian Hebrew Documents**, pp. 112,114/113,115, 128,132-134 for the most recent edition of the text and commentary.

124 **PSRL**, I, c.84; Golden, 1972, pp. 78-80.

ultimately Byzantium's Danubian territories, it was in Islamic Central Asia that their impact was most deeply felt. Al-Yaᶜqûbî (d.897) and Qudâma b. Jaᶜfar (d.948) tell of continual raids by the "Turks" (many of whom were undoubtedly Oğuz). This turbulence continued into the Seljuk era. Thus, al-Bîrûnî (d.1051) makes note of annual early winter campaigns by the Xwârazmians to drive Oğuz away from their borders.[125]

One of the factors contributing to the fissiparous tendencies of the Oğuz was the impact of the neighboring Muslim cities. We know from Ibn Faḍlân that they followed the "Tengri" cult and, like a number of other Eurasian nomadic peoples adhered to a water taboo. Their shamans, termed in the **Ḥudûd ṭabîbân** (Pers. "physicians") or **pijiškân** (Pers. "doctors"), were held in high esteem and had a "command over their lives and property."[126] In Ibn Faḍlân's time, Islam was beginning to penetrate some Oğuz tribes, not without local hostility, through their commercial contacts with the Islamic cities. Towns, like Sutkand, became the "abode of trucial Turks. From their tribes many have turned Muslims."[127]

## THE SPREAD OF ISLAM

Islam, as was noted earlier, was propagated not so much by the sword or the threat of force (although this was not absent), as by the allure of the rich civilization, material, cultural and spiritual, that the outposts of the Muslim world presented to the steppe peoples. The development of the **madrasa** which strengthed the intellectual infrastructure of Islam was pioneered in Central Asia (and brought to Western Asia by the Seljuks) undoubtedly played a role in this process. Merchants and Ṣûfîs,[128] as was also true of the spread of Islam in the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia and Africa, were one of the key factors in the success of Islam here. We should also point out that the Eurasian nomads, having been exposed to a variety of universal religions and having adopted several of them (e.g. Manichaeanism and Buddhism among the Uyğurs, Judaism, Christianity and Islam among the Khazars), were a relatively sophisticated audience, already familiar with the fundamental notions of the monotheistic faiths of the Mediterranean world.

Muslim sources often depict the entire frontier as the scene of Jihâd.[129]

125 Al-Yaᶜqûbî, **Kitâb al-Buldân**, ed. de Goeje, p. 295; Qudâma, ed. de Goeje, p. 261; al-Birûnî, **Aṯâr**, ed. Sachau, p. 236.

126 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 91-92; Ibn Faḍlân/Togan, pp. (Arabic)10/20-21; **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 100, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 86. On the water cult see Roux, **La religion**, pp. 121,137ff.

127 **Ḥudûd**/ Minorsky, p. 118, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 117.

128 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 60,67-68..

129 Cf. al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 290 or the later al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., p. 518 who writes that the Turks "are of diverse creeds. They fight the Muslims. Those Muslim Turks, to whom Islam was brought and who embraced Islam, fight with them and carry them off into slavery..."

Strictly speaking, this was undoubtedly an exaggeration for much of the military activity taking place here was merely the normal interaction of nomads and sedentary populations. Jihâd, in Central Asia as in Southeast Asia and Africa, when practiced was more often the domain of the newly Islamicized local population pursuing political goals than of foreign Muslims.

The Islam that penetrated the steppe was filtered through Persian and especially Central Asian Iranian culture and then adjusted to local Turkic conditions. It was Sunnî in its fundamental character, but heterodox or at least unorthodox practices were not unknown and Muslim sectarians attempted to gain followers here.[130]

The border towns, then, began to acquire Islamicized Turkic populations that were interested, for a variety of motivations, in bringing Islam to their Infidel kinsmen. Isbîjâb became one such center. Sutkand, according to Ibn Ḥawqal was a center for the Oğuz and Qarluq that had become Muslim. He also reports that 1000 tents of the Turks in the steppes between Fârâb (Bârâb), Kanjdah /Kanjdih and Šâš (Taškent) had converted to Islam.[131] The "king of the Turkmân" who resided in the small town of Ordu, according to al-Muqaddasî, habitually sent gifts to the ruler of Isbîjâb.[132] Clearly, this was one of the Turkic groups that had been brought into the Muslim orbit. The use of the term "Turkmân" is interesting. Al-Birûnî comments that the Oğuz call "any Oğuz who converts to Islam" a Türkmen.[133] Kâšğarî mentions "Turkmân" who are Qarluq, not Oğuz. But, he also says elsewhere, without embellishment : "Turkmân [Türkmen]. They are the Oğuz."[134] Marwazî, who confuses Oğuz and Toquz Oğuz, clearly associates the former with the Türkmen : "When they (the Oğuz, PBG) came into contact with Muslim countries some of them embraced Islam; these were called Turkmâns." In subsequent warfare, the Islamicized Türkmen "overwhelmed the infidels and drove them out" into the Pečeneg lands in the Pontic steppe zone. The Türkmen then became masters of much of the Islamic world.[135] Initially, in the Islamic era, it would appear that **Türkmen** was perhaps a technical term denoting Islamicized Turkic populations. It may, however, have a history that antedates this process. A Soġdian letter of the 8th century mentions **trwkkm'n** which, if it is not **trkwm'n** ("translator") may be the earliest reference to this ethnonym. The Chinese historical work, **T'ung-tien** (ca.801) mentions the T'ê-chü-meng in Su-tê (Soġdia) which has also been viewed as a rendering of this name.[136] **Türkmen** later came to be used

130 Cf. Isḥâq of the Muslimiyya mentioned by an-Nadîm/Dodge, II, p. 823.
131 Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. de Goeje, p. 511. Sutkand = (Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 333) "Sitkūn a city of the Oğuz"(?).
132 al-Muqaddasî, p. 275.
133 al-Birûnî, **Kitâb al-Jamâhir**, p. 205.
134 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I,p. 353,II,p. 362.
135 Marwazî/Minorsky, pp. (Arabic)18/29.
136 Livšic, **Sogdijskie dokumenty**, vyp. II, p. 177n.4; Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. Trkmn, Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 550-551.

exclusively to designate part of the Oğuz population. Contemporary popular etymologies (e.g. al-Birûnî) attempted to connect this ethnonym with Turk + Iran. **mânand** "like, resembling." Modern scholarship, however, views it as deriving from **Türk** + Turk. **-men** (a suffix of strengthening).[137]

The 10th century is pivotal for the expansion of Islam in the Turkic world. As we know from Ibn Faḍlân's report, the Volga Bulğar ruler, in his day (ca. 921-922), was moving to strengthen Islam in his realm. In 960, some "200,000 tents of the Turks" converted to Islam (probably a reference to the Islamicization of the Qaraxanids).[138] Ca. 985, the Oğuz under Seljuk entered into the Islamic orbit (see below). Ibn al-Aṯîr reports that in Safar 435/September-October, 1043, "10,000 tents of the infidel Turks who used to make nocturnal attacks on the Muslim towns in the region of Balasağun and Kâšğar...embraced Islam." This left, he remarks inaccurately, the Tatars and Xitâ(y), the only ones who have not yet converted to Islam.[139] These widescale conversions had immediate repercussions in the Turkic steppe. Kâšğarî mentions a battle between "Ġâzî Arslan Tegin," a Qaraxanid, and the Infidel Yabaqu who, miraculously, were defeated. He also repeats a poem describing the defilement of Infidel temples and idols, commenting that "it is customary for the Muslims when they capture a country of infidels to defecate on the heads of their idols in order to profane them."[140]

A new ethnic element had been brought into the Islamic world. As individuals and as a caste (the **ġulâms** or **mamlûks**), they had contributed to change in the Islamic heartlands. They would now seek to create an Islamo-Turkic civilization in Central Asia and the lands of their further expansion. Islam, as we have seen, came to the Turkic peoples as one component of nomadic-sedentary interaction. It became a factor in trade, as Ibn Faḍlân's account already indicates. Muslim merchants encouraged their Turkic trading partners to adopt their faith, for in addition to dealing with coreligionists, the same Sharîᶜa-derived standards would facilitate trade. Moreover, Islam played an important role in Turkic state-formation. It was a necessary element for the success of Turkic regimes ruling Muslim sedentary populations both in Central Asia and subsequently in the Near and Middle East. In time, Islam also became a critical element in shaping the identity of different Turkic peoples.[141] The Qaraxanids and Seljuks provide ample evidence of this.

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137 For a discussion of these early citations see Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 80-83 who views them as a mestizo, Islamicized, largely Oğuz grouping in Western Semireč'e and the Middle Syr Darya, and Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, esp. pp. 51-52. See also Chap. 11.

138 Ibn Miskawaih, ed. Amedroz, II, p. 181; Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), VIII, p. 532; Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 69-70.

139 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), IX, p. 520.

140 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 270, II, p. 268.

141 Lapidus, **History**, pp. 246-247.

## THE EARLY QARAXANIDS

The usages **Qaraxanid** or the older **Ilek xanid** are scholarly conventions of the modern era, derived from the titulature of that dynasty. Kâšgarî comments that **qara** "is used as a name for the Xâqânî kings."[142] Contemporary Islamic sources called them **al-xâqâniyya** ("the Qağanal [House]), **al-mulûk al-xâniyya al-atrâk** ("the Xanal kings of the Turks") or **Âl-i Afrâsiyâb** ("the Dynasty of Afrâsiyâb," the Turanian ruler).[143] Their origins remain in dispute. Barthold (not without some hesitation and a willingness to entertain other views) and others were inclined to derive the dynasty from the Yağma confederation. According to this line of thought, they were, most probably, the "pagan Turks" noted by Nizâm al-Mulk, who attacked Balasağun ca. 943[144] and within a generation were brought into Islam. This identification with the Yağma was based on their connection with the Toquz Oğuz ruling house, the prominence of the title **Buğra xan**, associated in the **Mujmal at-Tavârîx** with them, in Qaraxanid usage and their long-standing control over territories (such as Kâšğar) that were later centers of Qaraxanid rulers.[145] Togan while noting their ties to the Yağma and Čigil, viewed them as descendants of the Türk A-shih-na house.[146] Pritsak, on the other hand, connected the Qaraxanid ruling house, which he also considered A-shih-na in origin, with the Qarluqs, giving the Yağma and Čigil a subordinate role.[147] A contemporary source, however, Ibn al-Aṯîr, remarks that the Qarluqs played the same role in the Qaraxanid realm that the Oğuz played in the Seljuk state.[148]

The earliest pages of Qaraxanid history, given the sparse and legendary character of our sources, remain the subject of conjecture. Pritsak has suggested that the first Qaraxanid Qağan was *Bilge Kür (Kül) Qadır Xan who is to be identified with the Qarluq ³ylmâlmsn Jabğuye of Gardîzî. Presumably, the Qağanate was claimed after the collapse of the Uyğur Orxon state. It was against these nomads that Sâmânid campaigns (e.g. those of 840, 893) were directed (see above). A descendant of this Qağan, seemingly his grandson, Satuq Buğra Xan (in Islam ᶜAbd al-Karîm, d.ca.955), converted to Islam and aided its propagation among the Turkic peoples. One of his

142 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, p. 265.
143 Pritsak, 1954, pp. 18-21.
144 Nizâm al-Mulk/Zaxoder, p. 214; Bartol'd, "Balasagun," **Sočinenija**, III, p. 356.
145 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, **Soč.**, V, pp. 70-73 and his **Očerk ist. Semireč'ja**, **Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 40; Czeglédy, 1963, pp. 60-62; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 30; Genç, **Karahanlı**, pp. 36-38,125-127.
146 Togan, **UTTG**, pp. 58,431.
147 Pritsak, 1951, pp. 282-285 Pritsak, 1953-54, pp. 21-24.
148 Ibn al-Aṯîr (Beirut ed.), XI, pp. 82-83; Bartol'd, 1894, **Sočinenija**,II/2, p. 289.

immediate successors, perhaps his son Baytaš, completed the implantation of Islam among those tribes under Qaraxanid rule. The conversion of "200,000 tents of the Turks" noted by Ibn Miskawaih, Ibn al-Aṯîr and others (see above) s.a. 960 was undoubtedly the dramatic denouement to these events.[149]

The reconstruction of Qaraxanid history is further complicated by the structure of the state. When fully articulated, it was a dual qağanate in which the eastern qağan (initially centered at Balasağun/Qara Ordu/Quz Ordu and Kâšğar), bearing the title **Arslan Qara Qağan** was superior to the western qağan, the **Buğra Qara Qağan** (in Ṭarâz and subsequently Samarqand). Beneath them were four sub-rulers (**Arslan İlig, Buğra İlig, Arslan Tegin, Buğra Tegin** and other administrators from the qağanal house.[150] Various members of the dynasty held different posts (and titles) in the course of their political careers. It is only with the adoption of Islamic names and honorifics that we can begin to piece together movements of some of the more prominent and active members of the dynasty. It is unclear whether the Qaraxanid Qağanate was bipartite **ab ovo** or chose this form of organization in response to outside stimuli. In the course of the 11th century, two independent Qağanates, corresponding roughly to Western and Eastern Turkistan, emerged.[151]

Satuq's successors, despite Islamization, were soon testing Sâmânid defenses. After steady encroachments, Isbîjâb fell in 990 and in 992, Hârûn Buğra Xan, abetted by treachery, briefly took Buxârâ and then, having fallen ill, abandoned it. Qaraxanid internecine strife, arising, presumably out of intra-dynastic competition, tended to blunt their impact on Sâmânid holdings. The result was that the Sâmânids, themselves beset with internal discord, as evidenced by the creation of the Ghaznavid **gulâm** state (see below), were able to hold on to some territories longer than might otherwise have been the case. In any event, Qaraxanid statehood comes more clearly into view in the course of their conflicts with the Ghaznavids and conquests of Sâmânid sedentary lands. The resultant state was the product of the grafting onto the pre-existing Sâmânid administrative institutions of old Turkic political forms and traditions that had been maintained within the tribal union. In 999, the Qaraxanid Naṣr İlig (the **Arslan İlig** of the western Qağanate) took Buxârâ, the Sâmânid capital, "amidst general indifference," as Barthold noted, and carried off the defeated dynasty to captivity in

149 For the vague data on Satuq Buğra, see Jamâl al-Qaršî, in Şeşen, **İslâm Coğryacılarına Göre**,pp. 203-204 and the Ottoman historian Müneccimbaşı (d.1702), Müneccimbaşı/Nedîm, II, pp. 509ff., Müneccimbaşı/Lugal, pp. 2-3. The conversion legend is also noted by Ibn al-Aṯîr, XI, p. 82. See also Pritsak, 1953-54, pp. 24-25; Genç, **Karahanlı**, pp. 38-41; Karaev, 1983, pp. 10-14.

150 Pritsak, 1953-54, pp. 23-24.

151 See discussions in Pritsak, 1953-54, pp. 36-37; Davidovič, 1968, pp. 67-76; Karaev, 1983, pp. 45-47.

Özkand.[152] An attempt to revive the dynasty's fortunes by Ismâʿîl II al-Muntaṣir (1000-05), who escaped and managed to involve some Oğuz groupings in his cause, ended in failure.

Inevitably, the Qaraxanid ruling elite would become more interested in the cities. As Sunnî Muslims, and officially recognized by the ʿAbbâsid Caliphate, they were acceptable to the urban-based ʿulamâʾ. In time, some of their subject tribes would be drawn to or forced into more sedentary pursuits. The Turkicization of the local Iranian population, as we know from the testimony of Kâšġarî, was also beginning.

## THE GHAZNAVID ĠULÂM STATE

The ġulâms, in whose importation to the Caliphate the Sâmânids played such an important role, soon assumed positions of prominence within the Sâmânid state as well. By the middle of the 10th century, as the dynasty faced a variety of religio-sectarian, family and fiscal difficulties, some self-inflicted, the Turkic ġulâms, largely took over. In 962, one Turkic clique under Alp Tegin, having failed to achieve supremacy in Buxârâ, established itself at Ghazna. Although formal Sâmânid overlordship was restored in 965, the ġulâms in Ghazna were self-governing. Under Sebük Tegin (977-997), and his son Maḥmûd (998-1030), this "slave-soldier" state overshadowed its progenitor. It gathered enormous wealth from raids into "Infidel" India while retaining Sâmânid Xurâsân and sedentary, Iranian Central Asia. With its Turkic soldiery, Iranian bureaucracy and Iranian and Indian subject population, the Ghaznavids became one of the greatest Islamic powers and the prototype of the Turko-Islamic states that would emerge in the Near and Middle East. The Oxus formed the border with their hostile neighbors, the Qaraxanids. Frequently absorbed with Indian affairs, the Ghaznavid empire collapsed, as we shall see, as the result of conflict with the steppe.[153]

## QARAXANIDS, GHAZNAVIDS AND THE RISE OF THE SELJUKS

Internecine strife was not limited to the region's "great powers." The Oğuz union was increasingly caught up in internal struggles. We have little direct evidence regarding the causes of these disputes, but relations with the Central Asian trading cities, especially those of Xwârazm, the principal focus of Oğuz contact with sedentary culture and the question of Islamization that inevitably arose out of these contacts, form the backdrop to these events. Commercial and concomitant religious penetration of the nomads were powerful outside stimuli. The loosely-organized Oğuz were also subject to

152 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), IX, pp. 148-149; Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 267-268.
153 On the Ghaznavids, see Bosworth, **Ghaznavids** and his **Later Ghaznavids**.

considerable pressure from their neighbors in the steppe, especially the Kimek-Qıpčaq union, which may have contributed to their instability. Some of these disturbances spilled over into sedentary society. Xwârazm, in particular, maintained a strong front against them. Although the Oğuz nomads often proved bothersome as predatory raiders, their disunity precluded their becoming a mortal danger. Indeed, as their history indicates, they were more often the victims than the victimizers. The **yabğu**-led tribal union would soon splinter, producing a dynamic force under the leadership of the house of Seljuk.[154]

The form and etymology of this anthroponym are in dispute. Islamic tradition (and Syriac authors borrowing from it) usually transcribed it **sljwq** : **Salčuq/Saljuq**. As such it would be a derivative of the verb **sal-** "to move (something), to put into motion with some implication of violent motion."[155] This would certainly be in keeping with Turkic anthroponymy of that era. Kâšğarî, however, writes this name as **s$^{a}$lj$^{u}$k** = **Selčük** "name of the grandfather of the present Sultans." A similar form is noted in the Oğuz epic, **Kitâb-ı Dede Qorqut** : **Qıyan Selčük**.[156] There is no suitable etymology for such a form.[157] Nonetheless, Kâšğarî, as a contemporary, and the Dede Qorqut tale, a respository of Oğuz tribal tradition, have to be taken into account. Modern Turkish usage appears to skirt the issue, having **Selçuk, Selçuklu**. This hybrid pronunciation is, perhaps, the result of orthographic custom. In any event, Seljuk, the son of Toqaq Temir Yalığ,[158] of the Qınıq

154 Needless to say, there is a very considerable literature on the Seljuk empire. For introductory purposes we may note, in particular, Cahen, 1969, the chapters by Bosworth, Lambton and Bausani in the **CHIr.**, V, Agadžanov, **Očerki** and his **Sel'džukidy**, Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, Turan, **Selçuklular Tarihi**, Kafesoğlu, **Melikşah** and the studies of Köymen, **Selçuklu Devri** and **Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu**.

155 Clauson, **ED**, p. 824. Cf. also Redhouse, p. 1161 **şalmaq** "to loose, to free, to let go...to throw, fling...to be violently aggressive or pugnacious."

156 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 356; **Dede Korkut Kitabı**, ed. Ergin, p. 14.

157 A verb **sel-** is not found in Middle Turkic or Modern Oğuz. An **i** > **e** shift is possible, presupposing ***silčük**, but **sil-** "to rub, to wipe, to smear, to massage, to caress, stroke" (Clauson, **ED**, pp. 824-825) seems most unlikely.

158 Toqaq Temir Yalığ : **toqag/toğaq/tuqaq/doqaq** etc. < Turk. **toğ-** "to go straight for (something)" (Clauson, **ED**, p. 465). The name Toqaq is noted in an Uyğur juridical document (Radloff, **Uighurische Sprachdenkmäler**, p. 128), **temir** "iron," **yalığ** usually rendered as "bow," hence "He who goes straight for something Iron Bow." But, **yalığ** (Clauson, **ED.**, pp. 924-25), according to Kâšğarî, meant "saddle-bow" and "cock's comb." It also was a variant for **yâl** "horse's mane"(Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, pp. 152,231). The Islamic and other sources garble the name or its meaning. Al-Ḥusainî's **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, f.1b/p. 23 and commentary, p. 171n.1, translates the name "yqâq" (a common ms. mistake for "tqâq") as "iron bow"(**al-qaws min al-ḥadîd**, which Bunijatov renders as "iron arrow"), a conflation of the various parts of his name. Ibn al-Aṯîr, IX, p. 473, correctly has "t$^{u}$qâq" which he, too, translates as **al-qaws al-jadîd** ("the new bow," but **jadîd** is clearly a corruption of **ḥadîd**). Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, p. 195), however, mentions the warrior in Khazar service called Tûqâq, "who, because of his strength was called Temûryâlig, that is to say "iron bow."" See also Sümer, **Oğuzlar**,pp. 61-62.

tribe of the Oğuz, the "army commander" (sü **başı**) of either the Oğuz **yabğu** or the Khazar Qağan, following a falling out with his overlord, ca. 985, fled to Jand on the Syr Darya. Here, he converted to Islam. His sons (Mîkâ'îl, Isrâ'îl, Mûsâ and Yûnus) all bore Old Testament names, indicating some previous contact with Khazar Judaism or perhaps Nestorian Christianity.[159] Seljuk, now a "fighter for the faith," died in Jand in robust old age and his followers became part of the Islamicized, Turkic border population that warred with the "pagans" in the steppe. They also became embroiled in the contest for dominion of the regional powers, the Qaraxanids, Ghaznavids and fading Sâmânids.

The Ghaznavids, under Maḥmûd, on occasion employing Oğuz warriors (as had the Sâmânids and Qaraxanids), successfully fought off Qaraxanid efforts (often muted by internal feuding) at expansion. By 1017, Maḥmûd had placed Xwârazm under his ḥâjib Altuntaš, who now became Xwârazmšâh (1017-1032). This brought Ghaznavid power directly to the borders of the Oğuz tribes. These events coincided with a series of nomadic migrations, initiated in Inner Asia on the borders of the Qitañ state, which led to the expulsion westward of the Qun and Qay and the reshaping of the Kimek union (see Chap. 8). As elements of the latter pressed westward, they, in turn, displaced some of the Oğuz, increasing the pressure on the Ghaznavid holdings. Attempts by the regional powers to control them usually led to the further dispersal of the nomads. During this period of turbulence, the Seljuks appear to have been largely, but not exclusively, in the employ of 'Alî Tegin, the Qaraxanid dynast who controlled much of Transoxiana. With his death, in 1034, the Seljuks, now under the leadership of two sons of Mîkâ'îl, Toğrul and Čağrı, shifted their allegiance to the Xwârazmšâh Hârûn b. Altuntaš (1032-1034). Mas'ûd I of Ghazna (1031-1041), fearful of his vassal's growing independent power-base, had him murdered. At the same time, the Seljuks, defeated by the Oğuz **yabğu**, Šahmalik, with great human and livestock losses, were driven into Xurâsân (whither other Seljuk bands had previously gone or been settled by Maḥmûd).

The Oğuz refugees asked for lands and assistance from the Ghaznavids. The latter acquiesced to some requests and remained silent regarding others. Faced with increasingly difficult conditions, the nomads raided. Their depredations caused havoc in wealthy Xurâsan. The raids, however, were largely without central direction, the actions of hungry men. Ghaznavid attempts to bring the situation under control met with failure. Mas'ûd, faced with the complete breakdown of Ghaznavid authority, brought a large army, complete with Indian battle elephants, to Dandânqân (near Merv) in the

159 For the **Malik-nâma**, elements of which have survived in a variety of Islamic and Syriac sources, see Cahen, 1949. Useful accounts of Seljuk beginnings may be found in Bosworth, **Ghaznavids**, pp. 204-226 and Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 163-179.

hope of gaining control over the situation. Here, on May 23, 1040 his exhausted troops, who had begun to kill and pillage each other, were defeated by the even more desperate Seljuk-led nomads. With the collapse of Ghaznavid rule, the Seljuks now became masters of this rich region and gave evidence of more purposeful, political activities.[160] In 1042, Toğrul and Čağrı drove out their old nemesis, Šâhmalik, from Xwârazm. Central and Western Iran, parts of Transcaucasia were brought under their control and in 1055, Toğrul entered Baġdâd, evicting the already weakened remnants of Shîᶜite Buwayhid rule. He was honored by the ᶜAbbâsid Caliphate as the champion, the Sulṭân[161] of Sunnî Islam. Toğrul cemented this relationship, with a not very willing Caliph, through marital ties.

Not unexpectedly, Toğrul and Čağrı appear to have divided their responsibilities. Čağrı (1060) was to rule the east (Xurâsân and whatever parts of Transoxiana that could be brought under Seljuk dominion) while the heirless Toğrul, apparently the senior partner, held the west. Bar Hebraeus makes an interesting comment in his report on the death of **Xâtôn** (i.e. **Xatun**), the wife of Toğrul, that "all the business of the kingdom was administered by her."[162] Clearly, we have intimations here of the much more important political position of women in steppe society than was typical of the Islamic Middle East. This is even more evident in our sources for the Mongol era.

## THE SELJUK SULṬÂNATE

The path to Baġdâd had been well-prepared. Toğrul and Čağrı were not steppe ruffians, but sophisticated and remarkably well-informed politicians who operated with considerable skill in both the nomadic and sedentary milieus. Nonetheless, the dynasty could not sustain this delicate balancing act for long. The steppe chieftains easily acclimatized to the regal trappings of Middle Eastern monarchy. Turkic notions of legitimacy were useful in dealing with the Oğuz, but without appeal to the now vast sedentary populace they controlled. Islam was the only ideology that could bridge these two worlds. The Seljuks would have to become masters of the Islamic heartlands and ultimately universal Islamic rulers and the primary patrons of the Islamic institutions of their state.

160 See Baihaqî, ed. Ġânî, Fayyâz, pp. 616-34, al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, ff.7a-8a/pp. 31-32; Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), IX, pp. 480ff. and the analysis of Bosworth, **Ghaznavids**, pp. 241-268.

161 Ar. **sulṭân**, cf. Aram. **šoltânâ** "political power." By the 10th century, this term was being used by individual Muslim rulers. In particular, Maḥmûd of Ghazna bore this title. With the Seljuks it came to denote a more fully articulated concept of political power exercized on behalf of the Muslim community under the spiritual leadership of the Caliphate.

162 Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 23-50; Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, p. 215.

The Seljuk state, created by the fighting power of nomads, was not a nomadic state, but rather a nomadic dynasty grafted onto a traditional Middle Eastern state. The bureaucratic infrastructure was Iranian, a tradition that went back not only to older Turkic polities, but had equally strong roots in the Middle East. The governmental institutions of their ᶜAbbâsid, Buwayhid and Ghaznavid precedessors were retained and sometimes reworked. The sedentarization of the dynasty meant that eventually the nomads would either have to become "good" subjects (and sedentarize) or be perpetually at odds with the dynasty. The state, in any event, soon came to rely on **ġulâms**[163] (largely, but not exclusively of Turkic, steppe origin) and the role of the Oğuz or Türkmen tribesmen was diminished. The institution of the **iqṭâᶜ**, so important for the regime's military servitors, was further elaborated, perhaps in some measure to reduce the tendencies of the tribesmen towards rebellion and to provide an economic base for a new kind of army that was not dependent on the anarchic tribes.[164] Clearly, from the early stages of their rule, the Seljukids realized that they would need at their disposal a more politically reliable military force. This only served to alienate further the tribal elements who expressed this estrangement in heterodox religious movements. This was particularly true of the Seljuks in Rûm (Anatolia). Here they found themselves among a highly variegated population with a long history of religious heterodoxy under Byzantine rule.

In many respects, the Seljuk state retained the characteristics of a tribal union. Steppe political traditions pertaining to the selection and investiture of the ruler were still very much in evidence.[165] Political power, although, in theory, centralized in the person of the Sulṭân, was often splintered among the Seljukid princes ruling different parts of the state. The ruling house was often at odds with itself. In keeping with old Turkic traditions of "collective sovereignty," the polity was viewed as the possession of the ruling clan. The eldest usually put forward his claim, but, in reality, any able Seljukid male could aspire to supreme rule.[166] The resultant and ultimately fatal tensions among feuding dynasts and between the dynasty and their nomadic followers, became visible very early on. In 1063, Çağrı's son, Alp Arslan (d. 1072),

163 Yinanç, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 98-100.

164 Agadžanov, **Očerki**, pp. 216-17 and his **Sel'džukidy**, pp. 57-58; Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 81-84, Lambton, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 231-239. Akin to the Western fief, but different, the **iqṭâᶜ** entailed tax-collecting rather than proprietary rights over land. It was initially a system of salary distribution. Whether this can be genuinely termed a kind of feudalism is much debated, see Ashtor, **Social and Economic**, pp. 213-214; Lapidus, **History**, pp. 149-152; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman Turkey**, pp. 38-40.

165 Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 87-88.

166 Turan, **Selçuklular Tarihi**, pp217-219; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Devleti**, pp. 21-23. On the throne struggles, see Köymen, **Selçuklu Devri**, pp. 58-95. Kafesoğlu, **Bozkır Kültürü**, pp. 59-60,66, rejects the thesis that Turkic ruling houses viewed the state as the common possession of the ruling house/clan.

succeeded his uncle as supreme Seljukid. He immediately faced a revolt by his uncle Qutlumuš, who rallied Türkmen tribes to his support and later had difficulties with his brother Qavurd.[167]

With the help of his Iranian vazîr, best known by his honorific, Niẓâm al-Mulk (d.1092), who began his career in the Ghaznavid bureaucracy, Alp Arslan sought to establish an orderly regime and extend his authority to the Arab statelets in Syria and Fâṭimid holdings in Syria and Egypt. He also directed the bellicose proclivities of the Oğuz tribesmen toward the borders of the Christian world. As early as 1048, we have indications that Oğuz nomads entering the region were encouraged by the Seljukids to go to the western borders to raid the "infidels" in "Rûm" i.e. the Byzantine Empire.[168] Türkmen raids into Transcaucasia and Eastern Anatolia had begun perhaps as early as 1016 or 1021. They became more systematic by the 1040's and 1050's.[169] Azarbayjan became a major staging point for the further advance of the incoming Turkic nomads. Barthold suggests that it was out of a desire to protect their own agricultural population that the Seljukids sent the nomads to the Byzantine and Georgian borders. This laid the groundwork for the Turkicization of Anatolia and Azarbayjan[170] In 1064, Alp Arslan took Ani, the old Armenian capital and in 1067-68 ravaged Georgia. But, Bagrat IV (1027-72), the resourceful Georgian ruler, managed to maintain his realm.[171]

Türkmen raids, however, now forced Alp Arslan to turn his attention to Anatolia. In Byzantium, Romanos IV Diogenes (1068-1071), a representative of the "military faction" that had been largely out of power since the death of the redoubtable Basil II in 1025, was attempting to revive the Byzantine military presence in a now endangered Anatolia. In 1071, as the Seljuk Sulṭân was preparing to advance on Egypt, the threatening movements of the Byzantine Emperor, who was responding to Türkmen depredations, caused him to turn about and enter Eastern Anatolia. There, at Manzikert, the Seljuks defeated the Byzantines and captured Romanos.[172] Alp Arslan, still anxious to press his attack on Egypt, was content to ransom Romanos in

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167 Lambton, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 218-219; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman Turkey**, pp. 32-46; Lapidus, **History**, pp. 145,147-151,173-174,353-354; Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 58-59. For Seljuk institutions, see Horst, **Die Staatsverwaltung**; Lambton, **CHIr.**, V, chap. 2; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Devleti**, pp. 1-58.

168 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), IX, p. 546.

169 Kafesoğlu, 1953, pp. 259-274. This dating is contested by Agadžanov and Juzbašjan, 1965, pp. 147-157. See also discussion in Šengelia, **Selčukebi**, pp. 165ff. On the historiography of the Turks and Transcaucasia, see Gusejnov, 1978, pp. 26-53.

170 Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. turkmen., Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 580; Gusejnov, 1973, pp. 375-381.

171 **K'art'lis C'xovreba**, I, pp. 306-14; Aristakes Lastivertc'i /Juzbašjan, pp. 128-129; Matt'êos Uṛhayec'i/Andreasyan, pp. 118ff.; al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, ff.20b-23b,25b-26b/pp. 48-51,54-56; Šengelia, **Selčukebi**, pp. 219-248; Barhebraeus/Budge, I, p. 216.

172 Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, pp. 219-223; Cahen, 1934, pp. 613-642; Yinanç, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 62-85; Vryonis, **The Decline**, pp. 69-80,95-103.

return for tribute, marital ties and some border territories. These generous terms indicate that he did not envision the conquest of Byzantium. Nonetheless, Anatolia was thenceforth open to Türkmen penetration. Romanos was deposed upon his return to Constantinople and the Seljuk-Byzantine agreements nullified. But, Alp Arslan's attention was now drawn to Central Asia. He had campaigned here in 1065-66, in Minqıšlâğ and toured the old Seljuk centers in Jand. In 1072, determined to bring the Western Qaraxanids under his control, he marched into the region but was murdered by Yûsuf al-Xwârazmî, one of the captured defenders of a castle that had been taken, whom he had condemned to death.[173]

The Qaraxanid realm had long been weakened by intra-dynastic ravalries. In the 1040's, the divisions between the two halves were becoming clearer.[174] The Eastern Qağanate of the Hârûnid-Ḥasanid line of descendants of Satuq Buğra consisted of Eastern Turkistan, Eastern Farġâna and adjoining areas of Kazakhstan and Kirghizistan, with its urban centers at Balasağun and Kâšğar. The Western Qağanate comprised Western Turkistan or Transoxiana, Western Farġâna and adjacent regions, with its principal centers at Buxârâ, Samarqand, Uzgand/Özkent, under the ᶜAlîd descendants of Satuq Buğra. It was against the ᶜAlid Ibrâhîm Tamğač Xan (ca. 1052-1068) that earlier Seljuk pressure had been directed. His son, Šams al-Mulk Naṣr (1068-1080), was forced to acknowledge the overlordship of Alp Arslan's successor, Malikšâh, in 1074. In 1089, the latter, in another campaign, firmly established Seljuk supremacy in the region and received the obeisance of the Eastern Qaraxanid ruler as well. He also suppressed a revolt of the Čigils.[175]

Under Malikšâh (1072-1092)[176], the Empire of the Great Seljuks reached the zenith of its power. Most of Transcaucasia was overrun (the **didi t'urk'oba** "the Great Turkish Era" of the Georgian historians[177]) and brought under Seljuk control. Only Georgia survived as an independent state. Malikšâh and his brother Tutuš, who commanded the Syrian front, also made gains in Northern Syria and Mesopotamia.[178] Marital ties with the Caliph, al-Muqtadî (1075-1094), had produced a grandson whom Malikšâh may have considered placing on the caliphal throne.[179]

With Malikšâh's death, several months after the murder of Niẓâm al-Mulk by Ismâᶜîlîs, the centrifugal tendencies that the Sulṭân had held in check, with

173 Al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, ff.24a,31b-32a/pp. 52,62; Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), X, pp. 49,73-74.

174 See n.151. Karaev, 1983, p. 47 places the juridical separation of the two in the 1070's.

175 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), X, pp. 77,92,171-173; al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, ff.34a-36a,37b-38a/pp. 66-68,70-71; Kafesoğlu, **Sultan Melikşah**, pp. 18-20,28-29,119-123.

176 See Kafesoğlu's excellent study, **Sultan Melikşah**.

177 **K'art'lis C'xovreba**, I, p. 320. See Šengelia, **Sak'ukebi**, pp. 301ff.; Lordkipanidze, **Istorija**, pp. 83-88.

178 Turan, **Selçukhular**, pp. 143-149; Sevim, **Suriye**, pp. 127ff.

179 Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, p. 101.

difficulty, came to the fore. His son Sanjar, who controlled the eastern part of the realm under Berkyaruq (1094-1105) until, in 1118, he assumed supreme authority, was the only effective Seljukid. Although he proved to be resourceful in controlling the Qaraxanid dynasts, he was unable to deal with the Qara Xitay threat. In 1141, Sanjar was defeated in the Battle of the Qaṭwân Steppe and the Gür Xans (the Qara Xitay rulers) now extended their sway over much of Central Asia. In 1153, rebellious Oğuz tribesmen defeated Sanjar and held him in captivity until his escape in 1156. He died the following year. Al-Ḥusainî considered him the most worthy of the Seljukids. But, after the disastrous latter years of his reign, "the rule of the Seljuks in Transoxiana and Baġdâd came to an end and the Xwârazmšâh took possession of his kingdom."[180] In the surviving western or "Iraqî" sultanate, the process of fragmentation continued. The severed head of Toğrul III (1176-1194), the last western Seljukid, was sent by the Xwârazmšâh Tekiš to Baġdâd.[181]

Scholarly opinion is divided in its assessment of the economic impact and legacy of the Seljuks. Did the Turkish migrations and subsequent regimes set in motion the economic decline of the Near and Middle East ? What the role of these movements was in the disruption and rerouting of East-West trade is unclear.[182] The early Seljukids had great wealth at their disposal. Apparently, there was a recovery, after the initial disruptions, from the impact of the mass migrations bringing Oğuz tribesmen to the region. But, the fragmenting of the state after the death of Malikšâh, the emergence of lesser polities, each with its army that had to be supported, created crushing tax burdens on the population. The iqṭâ$^{c}$ system, considerably expanded by Niẓâm al-Mulk, although it initially may have raised agricultural production in some regions, ultimately had negative consequences. The lot of the peasant and townsman appears to have deteriorated. Constant warfare, natural disasters (including plague), the excesses of local Turkic rulers, it has been argued, all contributed to population decline, the ruination of some regions and the beginnings of technological stagnation.[183] These are questions that have yet to be fully explored.

Before turning to the Xwârazmšâh state, we must briefly comment on some of the other Seljuk polities.

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180 Al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, f.70a/p. 115. A detailed study of the reign of Sanjar may be found in Köymen, **Büyük Selçuklu İmparatorluğu**, II.

181 Al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, f.109b/pp. 163-4.

182 Chaudhuri, **Indian Ocean**, p. 56 implies a Seljuk impact but notes that as early as 1023, before the Seljuk rise to power, the Sung emperors of China were rerouting the Arab "tributary" envoys to the sea rather than the troubled overland routes. Winks, **Al-Hind**, I, p. 56 also points to a "greatly reduced intercontinental trade."

183 Ashtor, **Social and Economic History**, pp. 211-221.

## THE SELJUKS OF RÛM

The Turkic conquest of Anatolia was not a deliberate policy of the central government. In all likelihood, the Seljuks did not realize how weak the Byzantine Empire actually was. The movement was spearheaded by the raiding of the Türkmen tribesmen who brought their dynamism to the "ġâzî line," a frontier zone that had stood between Islam and Christendom since the era of the Arab conquests. Tribal groupings, but not entire tribes, made their way to the region, saturating some areas and bringing about their eventual Islamicization and Turkicization, especially in the Çinggisid and Ottoman eras. Eremeev estimates that the number of Oğuz-Türkmen (and smaller groupings of other Turks) entering Anatolia in the 11th century totalled 500-700,000. On the eve of the Mongol conquests, they numbered perhaps one million. They held political power and were the only large (but by no means the largest) ethnic grouping that was spread throughout the region. They were to be found in the countryside and in the towns and cities. Anatolia was acquiring a Turkic character.[184] Turkicization was uneven geographically and chronologically. We shall return to the question of the ethnogenesis of the Turkish people in our discussion of the Ottomans (see Chap. 11). The ġâzîs, dervishes and nomads, adherents, often of heterodox forms of Islam, were followed, in time, by the axîs (Muslim guild-brotherhoods) and the ᶜulamâ², the bearers of high Muslim culture.

The Seljukid Sulaymân b. Qutlumuš, the son of Alp Arslan's nemesis who perished in 1064, assumed (titular) control over the nomads invading Anatolia. By 1081, he held Ikonion/Konya and Nikaia/İznik, the former eventually becoming the capital of the Rûm Sultanate. He proclaimed himself Sulṭân, but was killed in 1086 by Malikšâh's brother, Tutuš, when he attempted to encroach on the latter's holdings in Syria. The dynasty was reestablished by Qılıč Arslan I (1092-1107) only after the death of Malikšâh. It was against these Seljuks of Rûm that the First Crusade was, in part, directed. Seljukid rule here was hampered not only by foreign foes (the Byzantine threat, such as it was, was ended by the victory of Qılıč Arslan II (1155/56-1192) over Manuel I at Myriokephalon in 1176), but by local Turkic competitors (e.g. the Danišmendids) and intra-dynastic feuding. The zenith of Seljukid power was reached on the very eve of the Mongol invasion during the reign of Kay Qubâd I (1219-1237).[185] The last Rûm Seljukid died in 1308. By that time, they had long been in eclipse and replaced by dynamic new statelets (**beyliks**) of tribal and ġâzî origin.

184 Eremeev, **Ètnogenez**, pp. 83ff.; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman Turkey**, pp. 143-155. For the conquest as seen from the Byzantinist perspective, see Vryonis, **The Decline**, pp. 143ff.

185 The standard work on the Rûm Seljukids is Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman Turkey**. See also Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**; Köymen, **Selçuklu Devri**.

There were distinct Seljukid dynasties in Syria (descended from Tutuš (d.1095), whose bid for supreme power was thwarted by Berkyaruq) and Kirmân in Iran (descended from Qavurd, d. 1073). The former were supplanted by **atabegs** in the first half of the 12th cenury and the latter collapsed in the face of rebellious Oğuz tribes in the last quarter of the 12th century.

In Azarbayjan, Eastern Anatolia and Syria, the Seljukids were replaced by a series of **atabeg** statelets. **Atabegs** were originally tutors and guardians of Seljukid princes, the nominal rulers of certain provinces. In time, as the dynasty declined, they simply took over the territories under their care. The powerful El-Digüzid (or El-Deñizid, descended from a Qıpčaq ġulâm, see below) line that controlled Azarbayjan from 1136 to the coming of the Mongols and were the power behind the throne of the last "Iraqî" Seljukids is an example of the more successful atabeg states.[186] Other atabeg statelets or tribal principalities were the Artuqids of Eastern Anatolia, the Sökmenids of Axlat in Eastern Anatolia, the Börids and Zangids of Syria (whose protegés were the Ayyûbids), the Begteginids of Arbil, the Salğurids of Fârs and numerous **beyliks** in Anatolia (e.g. Čobanids, Dânišmendids, Mengüjükids etc.).[187]

Azarbayjan was largely Turkicized during the Seljuk era, although there are still pockets of Palaeo-Caucasian and Iranian speech today, the linguistic vestiges of the original population. The Oğuz, not unexpectedly, played the leading role and Azerî Turkic is an Oğuz language. Qıpčaq elements were also present, initially as **ġulâms** and then in larger groups together with the Oğuz. Toponyms reflects tribal origins such as Qangly, Qarluq, Qıpčaq etc. The first stages of Turkicization began in the North (except Širvân), in the 11th century, on the frontiers (uj) and then in the south by the 12th century.[188]

## THE XWÂRAZMŠÂH STATE

The vacuum created by the collapse of Sanjar, left Central Asia open to two new forces : the Qara Xitay and the nominal vassals of the Seljuks, the Xwârazmšâhs. In the late 1120's, an unnamed Qaraxanid ruler of Balasağun, beset by turbulent Qarluq and Qanglı tribesmen, offered his realm to the Qara Xitay in exchange for assistance against the nomads. This provided the excuse for the entry for the Qitañ refugees into the region. The Gür Xan then

186 See the study of Bunijatov, **Gosudarstvo atabekov**. El-Digüz/El-Deñiz/El-Dengüz : < Oğuz **dengiz** < **tengiz** "sea" ? Cf. also ***dügüz** < Oğuz **tügüz** "complete, perfect" (Clauson, ED, p.48). El-Digüz, it should be remembered, was a Qıpčaq.

187 There is an extensive literature on these statelets, for a brief overview, see Merçil **Müslüman-Türk Devletleri**, pp. 197-321.

188 Gusejnov, 1980, pp. 349-352.

compelled the Xwârazmšâh Atsız (1127-56) to accept his overlordship as well.[189]

As we have seen, the important trade emporium Xwârazm was brought into the Seljuk orbit by 1042. Atsız was a descendent of Anuštegin (ca. 1077-1097), an Oğuz ġulâm who became prominent in Malikšâh's inner circle. In return for his services, he was given control over the finances of Xwârazm, while the walî (governor) of the region was a ġulâm of Qun origin, Ekinči b. Qočqar (d.1097) who perished in a revolt. Anuštegin's son, Quṭb ad-Dîn Muḥammad Aybek (1097-1127), an able soldier and loyal Seljuk vassal, closely associated his house with the old Iranian title **Xwârazmšâh**. His son and successor, ᶜAlâᵓ ad-Dîn Atsız, however, through a combination of successful campaigns to bring the local Qıpčaq tribes under his sway, court intrigue which turned Sanjar against him and caliphal blandishments (the latter hoped to restore his political power), sought to gain some measure of independence. This produced a Seljuk attack, in 1138, in which Atsız's son, Atlığ was killed and Xwârazm taken by Sanjar. Atsız retook Xwârazm in 1139, offered his submission to Sanjar, while preparing, once again, to go his own way. The Caliph legitimated his title, an indication that their **entente** in which each used the other as a counterpoise to the Seljuks was still operative. Atsız's maneuverings, however, now had to be more subtle. He sought to use the growing Qara Xitay threat to weaken Sanjar while at the same time professing his loyalty to the latter. After the Seljuk disaster at Qaṭwân, Atsız's realm was twice invaded by Sanjar (1143/4 and 1147) in retaliation for disloyalty. Atsız submitted and then returned to his subversion, but curiously did not exploit fully Sanjar's difficulties with the Oğuz. Atsız predeceased Sanjar by some 9 months. His reign had built the foundations of a powerful state that would dominate Western Central Asia and the Middle East.[190]

His successors İl Arslan (1156-1172) and ᶜAlâᵓ ad-Dîn Tekiš (1172-1200) continued to work to strengthen the dynasty's hold on the region (despite intra-dynastic feuding) and maintain a strong posture vis-a-vis the surrounding nomadic tribes. Their goal was to extend their hegemony into the growing political vacuum in Iran left by the Seljuk decline. In 1158, in response to an appeal from the Qarluqs, İl Arslan defeated the Qaraxanid ruler of Samarqand, Jalâl ad-Dîn ᶜAlî Čağrı Xan, a vassal of the Qara Xitay and restored the nomads to their lands. İl Arslan became an important source of authority in the chaotic struggles of the Oğuz chieftains in Xurâsân and the political turmoil of Central and Western Iran. This led to conflict with the "Iraqî" Sultanate dominated by the Atabeg El-Digüz. Although the Xwârazmians defeated an El-Digüzid army at Sava (1167) and raided

189 Juvainî, ed. Qazvînî, II, pp. 86-88, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 354-56; Ibn al-Aṯîr, XI, pp. 81ff.

190 Kafesoğlu, **Harezmşahlar**, pp. 38-72; Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 140-146; Bunijatov, **Gosudarstvo xorezmšaxov**, pp. 6-31.

Azarbayjan, they were unable to bring the puppet Seljukid sultanate under their control. In 1171, the army of the ailing Xwârazmšâh, once again brought into conflict with the Qara Xitay by the Qarluqs, was defeated by the Gür Xan. İl Arslan's death shortly afterwards produced another bloody throne-struggle which was ultimately won by Tekiš. An uneasy vassal of the Qara Xitay, Tekiš competed with the Ġûrids of Afghanistan for paramountcy in the Muslim East. He strengthened his ties with the Qıpčaqs, marrying the daughter of the chieftain of the Baya³ut grouping of the Yimek (Kimek) of the Eastern Qıpčaqs or Qanglı. She was known by her title, **Tergen Xatun**. Many Qıpčaqs entered Xwârazmian service. But, this proved to be a double-edged sword. Thus, after a series of victories that established his hegemony in Iran (which produced conflict with the Caliphate) and ended with the defeat and death of the last "Iraqî" Seljukid, Toğrul III in 1194 (see above), Tekiš was defeated by Qıpčaqs in the winter of 1194-5, largely due to the defection of some of his Qıpčaq troops. This proved to be a weak spot for his successor as well.[191]

ᶜAlâ³ ad-Dîn Muḥammad (1200-1220) was the last Xwârazmšâh. With the dimunition of the Ġûrid threat after the death of Šihâb ad-Dîn (1203-1206), the Xwârazmians were able to impose their suzerainty in Transoxiana as well as in Eastern and Central Iran. Muḥammad, who enjoyed more than his share of luck, sought to further this progam. He now was ready to rid himself of Qara Xitay overlordship. Local discontent allowed him to establish his authority in Buxârâ ca.1207. He then opened negotiations with ᶜUṯmân, the Qaraxanid ruler of Samarqand (and Buxârâ), who was disenchanted with his overlord, the Gür Xan. The latter, however, completely defeated the Xwârazmians and Muḥammad himself was either captured and escaped or just barely managed to elude captivity by a ruse. By 1208, he was again campaigning in Xurâsân and in 1210, the Xwârazmians triumphed over the weakening Qara Xitay in the İlalmıš steppe, capturing the **Tayangu**[192]. Xwârazmian rule over Transoxiana was established and a marital alliance with the Qaraxanid ᶜUṯmân arranged. This marked the full independence of the Xwârazmian realm. ᶜUṯmân, now Muḥammad's son- in-law, broke with the Xwârazmšâh as soon as he was allowed to return to Samarqand. Here, he joined a popular revolt, slaughtered all Xwârazmians within reach and declared his willingness to submit to the Gür Xan. Muḥammad took the city (1212), putting 10,000 of its inhabitants to the sword, including all the offspring of the Western Qaraxanids that could be found. Qaraxanid rule in Western Turkestan had come to an end.

191 Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 337-349; Kafesoğlu, **Harezmşahlar**, pp. 73-147; Bunijatov, **Gosudarstvo xorezmšaxov**, pp. 38-62.

192 Turk. "chamberlain" (Clauson, **ED**, p. 570), the title of the Qara Xitay military commander.

Meanwhile, the Qara Xitay, already enfeebled by the destruction wrought by the Naiman refugee, Küčlüg, and his followers, the revolts of the Muslim population and the destruction of their army at the hands of Muḥammad, were fading away. When the Gür Xan died in 1211, Küčlüg became the ruler of the Qara Xitay realm (including the Eastern Qaraxanids who now disappear from view) until the advent of the Činggisid Mongols in 1218.[193]

Muḥammad's empire which in addition to its Xwârazmian core included other parts of Transoxiana, Iran and Iraq was, in reality, a hastily put together, unstable entity. His successes had as much or more to do with the domestic difficulties of his opponents as his own abilities and military might. The latter, resting largely on unreliable tribal elements, was suspect. The subject population had little affection for the Xwârazmšâh whose troops looted and pillaged. There was, then, nothing remarkable about the rapid collapse of this state when confronted by the Mongol onslaught.

As a consequence of its close economic relations with the steppe peoples, Iranian Xwârazm, which produced a brilliant local Irano-Muslim culture, had been perhaps somewhat more subjected to Turkic influences than other regions. Linguistic Turkicization took place in the 11th-13th centuries, i.e. during the period of Seljuk and Xwârazmšâh rule.[194] It became an important center of Turkic culture in the Mongol era.

## THE TURKIC PEOPLES AND CULTURES ON THE EVE OF THE MONGOL CONQUEST

The Qaraxanid and Seljuk states were the first truly Turko-Islamic polities. Both represented a blending of Islamic and Turkic cultures with a strong Iranian underlay (except for Seljuk-controlled Anatolia and some Arab territories). Seljuk literary culture (including the Seljuks of Rûm whither sizable numbers of Iranian speakers migrated), accordingly, was largely Iranian.[195] The profound Iranian impact on the Oğuz began in Central Asia. Kâšğarî, as we noted, comments that "when the Oğuz mixed with the Persians they forgot many Turkic words and used Persian instead."[196] The Qaraxanids, with their old Türk traditions (which included the Uyğur alphabet alongside of Arabic), gave earlier evidence of the vigor of Turkic literary traditions.[197] In addition to the extensive tour of Turkic

193 Bosworth, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 192-194; Kafesoğlu, **Harezmşahlar**, pp. 144-229; Bunijatov, **Gosudarstvo xorezmšaxov**, pp. 70-87,128ff.

194 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, p. 116.

195 Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 50,248-253,257.

196 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 115.

197 Bombaci, **Letteratura**, pp. 87-115,208; Xajitmetov, Kedrina, **Istorija**, I, pp. 62-81. The Qaraxanids, of course, were not immune to Iranian influences. As was noted, the dynasty was known as the house of Afrâsiyâb, one of the traditional figures of the **Šâhnâma**, who was identified with the Turkic national hero Alp Er Tonga, Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 92; Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, p. 79.

given us by Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî who wrote in Arabic, there are works in Turkic representing the new, Turko-Islamic culture. Examples are the **Qutadğu Bilig** of Yûsuf Xaṣṣ Ḥâjib, a contemporary of Kašğarî, a Turkic version of the Islamic "mirror for princes" genre and the **Atabet ül-Ḥaqâyıq**, an Islamic moral-didactic treatise, of Aḥmad Yüknekî. There is also the Ṣufî literature associated with figures like Aḥmad Yasawî (cf. his **Dîwân-i Ḥikmat**).

The picture presented by Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî, and other Muslim authors, is that of a sedentary Central Asian Iranian population that was in the process, indeed, perhaps in the final stages of Turkicization. Thus, the Arğu, whose territory extended from Isbîjâb to Balasağun, from whom Doerfer derives the Xalaj, were most probably a Turkicized Soğdian people.[198] At the same time, these Irano-Turks (Soğdians, Xwârazmians), who had long played an important role in Turkic culture, in particular as bearers of the high cultures of sedentary societies to the steppe, continued to have an impact. The political elites of the Islamic lands, both those of the Islamic heartlands as well as those of the periphery, had become Turkic. The appeals of the Sâmânids, as their political fortunes declined, to Iranian national feeling went unheeded. The Qaraxanids were Muslims and hence acceptable. Islam, as Barthold noted, aided the process of Turkicization by neutralizing ethnic considerations.[199] Where there were Turks in large numbers (on and then within the borders of Transoxiana, in Azarbayjan and Anatolia) and Turks comprised the ruling elite, Turkicization followed.

**The Turkic Tribes noted in Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî :**

Alqa Bölük (Oğuz), Aramut, Afšar (Oğuz), Basmıl, Bašğirt, Bayat (Oğuz), Bayundur (Oğuz), Bečenek/Pečenek, Begtili (Oğuz), Bulğar, Bulaq, Čaruq, Čarugluğ (Oğuz), Čepni (Oğuz), Čömül, Čuvuldar (Oğuz), Edgiš/Egdiš, Elke Bulaq, Iwä/Yiwä/Yıwa (Oğuz), Eymür (Oğuz), İgdir (Oğuz), Kenček (Turkicized), Köčet/Küčet, Oğraq, Oğuz, Qara Bölük (Oğuz), Qarluq, Qay, Qayığ (Oğuz), Qıfčaq (Qıpčaq), Qınıq (Oğuz), Qırğız, Salğur (Oğuz), Tangut (!), Tatar, Tawğač (!), Töger, Tutırqa, Tuxsi, Türkmen (= Oğuz), Ula Yondluğ, Uyğur, Üregir/Yüregir (Oğuz), Xalač, Yabaqu, Yağma, Yazğır (Oğuz), Yemek.[200]

Of these Kâšğarî noted that the Čömül, Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar and Basmıl among the nomads spoke a language of their own "but also know Turkic." The process of Turkicization had long been going on in the steppe, in particular among neighboring Mongolic tribes. The Basmıl, whose ethnic

198 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 83,84; Krippes, 1991, pp. 69,76; Doerfer, 1987, pp. 107-113.
199 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, p. 77.
200 See Kâšğarî/Dankoff, III, pp. 238-243 and Dankoff, 1972, pp. 29-35.

origins are unknown, were part of the Türk Orxon Qağanate as were also the Tatars. Čömül affiliations are unknown. The Qay spoke a Proto-Mongolic tongue. Yabaqu, whose name can be etymologized in Turkic, may also have had Mongolic affiliations.[201] Kâšğarî remarks that those Turkic groups that know only Turkic and do not mix with Persians have the "most elegant" dialect. Those who are bilingual and mix with the urban populace (almost by definition not Turkic), develop "a certain slurring."[202] However faulty urban diction may have been, the trend, as this source indicates, was strongly in the direction of Turkicization.

**The Turkic Tribes noted by Faxr ad-Dîn Mubârakšâh :**

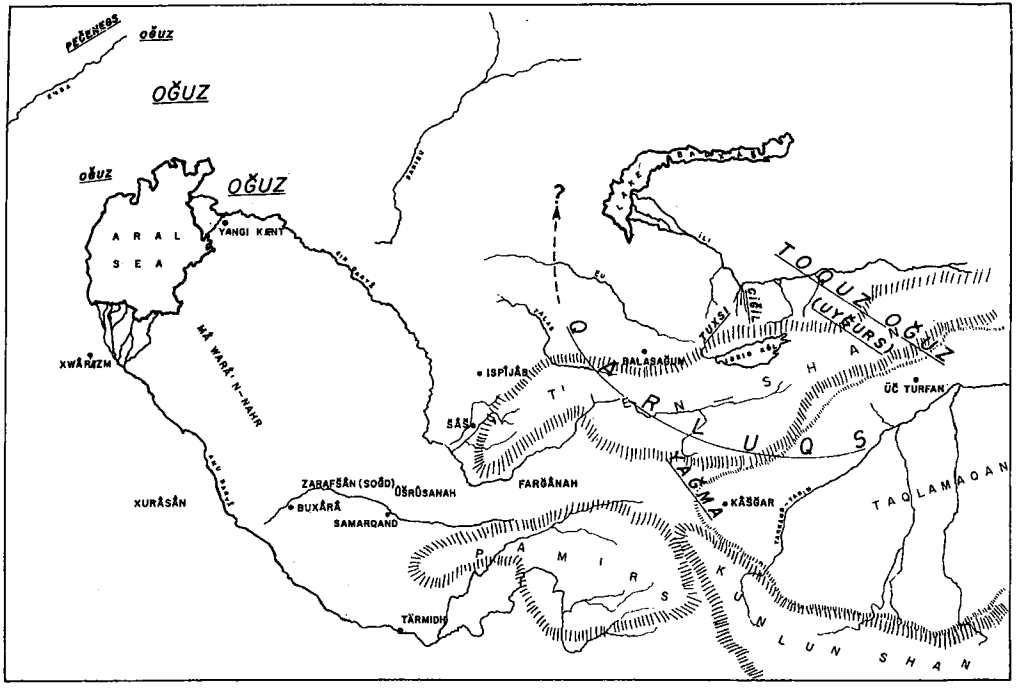
On the eve of the Mongol invasions, Faxr ad-Dîn Mubârakšâh, in his **History** compiled a listing of the Turkic tribes of Central Asia. The list is a conflation from a number of sources. Nonetheless, it provides a useful overview and parallel with the data of Kâšğarî : "T$^{u}$rk, Y$^{i}$m$^{e}$k, Qırğız (qîrqîz), Q$^{a}$r$^{l}$u$^{x}$, Čik$^{i}$l, *Eymür (ânmw), X$^{a}$r$^{l}$u$^{x}$ (=Qarlux), Q$^{ı}$n$^{l}$q, Yâğî, Selük (ms. sâlûk), X$^{a}$l$^{a}$j, Oğ$^{u}$z, X$^{ı}$ṭâ, Ğâyı, Ûrûs, Q$^{a}$y, Ûrân, T$^{u}$xsi, T$^{i}$b$^{a}$t, Q$^{a}$ra T$^{i}$b$^{a}$t, *Ş$^{a}$qlâbî (! ms.ṣq$^{u}$lây), K$^{i}$mjî, Kîmäk, X$^{a}$z$^{a}$r, Qara X$^{a}$z$^{a}$r, X$^{i}$fjâq, Altı Kü$^{j}$ät, Pečenek, ʾ.ğûl, S$^{a}$t$^{l}$q, Sût$^{u}$q, Tatar, Qara Tatar, Qanglı (ms. qnqlî), Bârğu, Ğ$^{u}$z, Qarâğûr, Toğuz Oğuz, Yağma, Erekün (ʾrâk$^{u}$n),Q$^{a}$y$^{ı}$q, S$^{a}$lğır, Y$^{a}$zğır, Rûk$^{u}$r, Bayındur, Ala Yundlıq, Oğur, T$^{u}$ğr$^{a}$q, B$^{a}$yât, Tût$^{u}$rğâ, *Dur-Čertan, S$^{u}$wîq, Yabâqû, Afšar, B.kr$^{i}$z,, *Itaba, Atqûq, L$^{ucu}$zt$^{a}$râ, Or$^{u}$l, *Ölberlig, Bâsmıl, Îl B$^{a}$rsxân."[203] Some of these tribal names are already familiar to us from Türk, Uyğur, Qaraxanid and Oğuz history. Others belong to the Qıpčaq union whose history we will take up in Chap. 8. The remainder are garbled and/or unidentifiable.

Before turning to the extensive changes brought about by the Mongol invasions, we must first examine the history of the Turkic populations of Western Eurasia.

201 Clauson, ED.,pp. 874-5 : **yapâqu** "matted hair or wool, an animal whose hair has grown long and matted, a colt," cf. Mong. **daʾaġa(n)** "two-year old colt."

202 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, 83, e.g. the Kenček, Soġdaq and Arğu urban groupings who, as their names indicate, must have been largely Iranian.

203 Mubârakšâh, ed. Ross, p. 47.




MAP VI CENTRAL ASIA CA. 800 A.D.

MAP VII THE TURKIC WORLD IN THE MID-TENTH CENTURY

# THE SUCCESSORS OF THE TÜRKS IN WESTERN EURASIA

The Western Türk Qağans forged a powerful union of tribes, some long resident in the Ponto-Caspian steppes and others brought there by the Türks or migrations touched off by their activities. As we have seen, the Qağans had developed an **entente** with Byzantium against their common foe, the Arabian Caliphate. By the middle of the 7th century, however, Türk power in Western Eurasia was in decline. It receded eastward and int time succumbed to the advancing T'ang. In its wake it left two immediate successor states : the Khazar and Bulğar Qağanates. These two nomadic polities were soon locked in combat for dominion in the Pontic steppe zone. By the late 670's, the Khazars emerged victorious.

## THE KHAZAR QAĞANATE : The Question of Origins

The ethnononym "Khazar" (this form based on the Arabo-Persian and Byzantine traditions has become standard in English usage) appears in a variety of sources and forms : Arab., Pers. **xzr** (= **xazar**), Heb. כזר, כוזר (**xazar, xozar**),קזר(**qazar**), Syr. **Kazârâye**, Byz. Χάζαροι, Slav. **Козаръ, Козарь, Козарин, Козары** etc., Georg. **xazar-i**, Arm. **xazir-k'**, Lat. **Chazari, Chaziri, Gazari, Caziri**, Hung. **Kazar, Kazár, Kozár**, Chin. **Ho-sa** (ġât-sât, probably via an Iranian intermediary[1]), **K'o-sa** (k'ât-sât) < Turk. ***Qazar**.[2] Németh derived it from **qaz-** "errer, vagabonder," presumably a velar form of **kez-** "to travel, walk about, traverse." But, this formulation, although semantically helpful, presents a number of problems, in particular the uncertain form **qaz-**.[3]

More recently, it has been suggested that **Qazar** is an Oğuric variant of **Qasar**, a tribal or personal name already known to us from the Uyğurs and found in some Uyğur runic inscriptional fragments (Šine Usu, Tes and Terxin texts), hinting strongly at a T'ieh-lê or Uyğur connection. Bazin, for example, connected the Qasars of these inscriptions with a toponym, the Toquz Oğuz/Uyğur tribe Qasar, the anthroponym Qasar (found in Uyğur and Mongol) and the loanword in Mongol designating a species of ferocious dog. He derived it from Turk. **qas-** "to tyrannize, oppress, terrorize," **Qasar** "Les Ravageurs." The Khazars, in his view, were from an Uyğur grouping, portions of which went westward before 555. According to Bazin, they spoke a language of the "Hunno-Bulgaric" type.[4]

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1 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 355.
2 See Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 123-125.
3 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 37,238; discussed in Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 124-133. Clauson, **ED.**, p. 757 only notes **kez-**.
4 Bazin, 1981-82, pp. 51-71.

Róna-Tas, who also views **Qasar** as the original form (**Qazar** a later Oğuric development), has suggested that **Qazar/Qasar** is to be derived from the title **Caesar** > Mid. Pers. **Kesar** and thence into Inner Asia (cf. Tibet. **dru-gu Ge-sar** "Turk Gesar").[5]

There are, however, more than a few problems associated with the Qasar-derived hypotheses. Thus, Senga has analyzed the data on Ko-sa/Qasar and concluded that this was not an ethnonym, but rather, the surname of the chief of the Ssŭ-chieh/Sikari tribe of the Toquz Oğuz. On these and chronological grounds, he finds that the search for Khazar origins among the Uyğurs "is not plausible."[6]

In any event, the anthroponym **Qasar** is attested among the Uyğurs, Mongols and in the Khazar milieu (cf. Č'at' Kasar, the "chamberlain" of "Awč'i T'arxan" a senior prince of the North Caucasian Huns, one of the groups under Khazar rule). The meaning of these names is unclear. In Mongol (Kalmyk **xasr noxā** "jagdhund") and Mamlûk-Qıpčaq (**qasarlar** "jam$^{c}$ al-kilâb," i.e. "pack of dogs"), they appear to be cynonyms.[7] Thus, there are few reliable clues regarding Khazar ethnogenesis to be found in the politico-ethnonym by which they became known.

A variety of hypotheses explaining Khazar origins has been proffered : Khazars = 1) Akatzirs/Akatirs[8] 2) a tribal union formed of Oğuric tribes, the Sabirs and other elements with a ruling stratum consisting of Western Türks[9] i.e something roughly analogous to the position of the Mongol ruling group in the Golden Horde 3) Sabirs who are Turkicized Ugrians[10] 4) Uyğurs, cf. the Qasars[11] 5) Hephthalites who migrated to the Caucasus (late 5th-early 6th century) where they then formed a union with the Sabirs and other nomads.[12]

The sparse linguistic data we possess is also inconclusive. Of the more than 50 Khazar titles, anthroponyms, toponyms etc. that are scattered in a variety of sources, each with their own philological traditions, most are Turkic (e.g. Ałp iłut'uêr [alp il-tewer < alp il-teber], Alp T'arxan, Beg, כולשצי [bwlšşy = *Boluščı], τζιτζάκιον [< čiček], Ir-Tigin, Jabğu, xâqân [qağan], Xat'irlit'bêr [<qadır il-teber], Σάρκελ, סרבל, שרקל, שרכיל (Sarkel or Sarkil etc.).[13] It should be borne in mind that the majority of these titles

5 See Róna-Tas, 1982b, pp. 349-380; 1983, pp. 126-133; 1983a, pp. 42-44.
6 Senga, 1990, pp. 61-63.
7 Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 174; Ramstedt, **Kalmück.Wtrb.**, pp. 35,36,171; At-**Tuḥfat**/Fazylov, f.85a/p. 248.
8 Henning, 1952, pp. 502-506; Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.**, p. 59-66; Pritsak, 1978, pp. 261-3 (but with a Türk component).
9 Németh, **HMK**, p. 204; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 104-106; Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, p. 53.
10 Artamonov, **Ist. Xazar**, pp. 43,68,76,78,115,127.
11 Dunlop, **History**,pp. 34-40.
12 Ludwig, **Struktur**, pp. 24ff.
13 See Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, chap. 4; Ludwig, **Struktur**, pp. 355-361 and the data from the Khazar Hebrew Kievan letter, Golb, Pritsak, **Khazarian**, pp. 35-43.

(qağan etc.) are of non-Turkic origin and were part of the common politico-administrative vocabulary of the Inner Asian peoples. A number of Khazar names may be Iranian. Others have so far defied explanation.

Even the "Turkic" material, given the difficulties of the different source traditions, does not lend itself to easy analysis. Did the Khazars speak Common Turkic or Oğuric ? Al-Iṣṭaxrî remarks (and contradicts himself elsewhere) that "the language of the Bulğars resembles the language of the Khazars."[14] Al-Bîrûnî was of the opinion that the language of the Bulğars and Sawârs (i.e. Sabir spoken in Volga Bulgaria) was a "mixture of Turkic and Khazar."[15] This would appear to juxtapose Turkic and Khazar. The ethnogenetic myth regarding the Khazars and Bulğars preserved in Syriac accounts, which have their origins in Middle Persian renderings of Byzantine traditions, presents the eponymous ancestor of the Khazars, Xazarîg, as one of a trio of brothers, one of whom is called Bulgariôs/Bulgaris[16]. If some of the Oğuric elements in Hungarian can be ascribed to Khazar or Khazaro-Qabar with certainty, this would constitute important proof. But, this question is far from resolved.[17] Nonetheless, as a consequence of this circumstantial evidence, some scholars view the Khazars as speaking some form of Oğuric.[18] In point of fact, the bulk of our data is neutral on this question. Those few terms that might be used to substantiate an Oğuric base (e.g. Šarkil, if it is, indeed, the proper reading) are themselves open to a variety of interpretations. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that a number of Turkic languages, Common and Oğuric, were probably spoken in Khazaria and our sources may, as a consequence, reflect one or another regional vernacular associated with only one grouping. At present, the question cannot be answered. The anthropological data indicate a population with Mongoloid and Europoid elements, with one predominating in some areas and the other elsewhere. The impression is that of an Inner Asian ruling stratum with its core tribes (often occupying key, strategic areas) ruling over a population that was significantly less Mongoloid in somatic type.[19] In Western Eurasia, this was hardly unique.

Our sources do not give a clear picture of the emergence of the Khazar polity. There are a variety of anachronistic references to the Khazars that place them in the Western Eurasian steppes prior to the 6th century. But, these accounts (including those based largely on Sâsânid traditions)

14 al-Iṣṭaxri, ed. de Goeje, pp. 222,225.
15 Al-Bîrûnî, **Aṯâr al-Baqiyya**, ed. Sachau, pp. 41-42.
16 Marquart, **Streifzüge**,pp. 484-485; Michael Syrus/Chabot, II, p. 364; Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, p. 84; Dunlop, **History**, p. 5; Czeglédy, 1961, p. 244.
17 Cf. Halasi-Kun, 1975, pp. 155-210; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 531-534 et passim.
18 Cf. Benzing, **PhTF**, I, p. 691; Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 237-238. See most recently Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 475-489.
19 Ševčenko, 1980, pp. 158-159,164.

pertaining to the period prior to the coming of the Türks in which their name figures, must be viewed with caution, for in later reworkings the ethnonym **Xazar** tended to subsume many of the earlier nomadic groupings.[20] The Khazars became, in the literary tradition, the nomadic invaders par **excellence** of sedentary society. We have no solid information on the migration or formation of a tribe/tribal grouping bearing this name.[21] It is only after the Türks are definitely on the scene that we can speak of the Khazars with some assurance. Even here, however, their name is completely intertwined with that of the Türks, their overlords. Indeed, their ruler, who was the ally of Herakleios (610-641) in the Byzantino-Sâsânid war of 602-628, is specifically noted as the **Yabğu Qağan** = Pahlavi (**Sin**)**jêpîk** = Arab. **Sinjibû** = Arm. **Jebu Xak'an** = Georg. **Jibğu**, who is the same as the Byz. Ζιέβηλ, Σιλζίβουλος, (**Sir Jabğu**), Σπαρζευγοῦν (**Išbara Jabğu**).[22]

In attempting to reconstruct Khazar origins, it seems most likely that with the Türk conquest of the region, the previously dominant Sabir union was reorganized and the Khazars emerged at their head. A hint of this is given in the remark of al-Masᶜûdî that the Khazars are called ***Sabîr** in Turkic and **Xazarân** in Persian.[23] Who these Khazars were and what was their point of origin remain unknown. They may have been a clan or sub-grouping of the Sabirs or a grouping brought in by the Türks. Whatever the circumstances, it is within the context of the Türk Qağanate that the Khazars emerge as a major regional force.[24]

## The Khazar State

As the Western Türk Empire declined and finally collapsed in the middle of the 8th century, the Khazars and their rivals for dominance in the Ponto-Caspian steppes, the Bulğar union, fully emerged. It may well be that the ensuing Khazar-Bulğar wars were an extension of the struggle within the On Oq between the Nu-shih-pi and Tu-lu (associated by Artamonov with the

20 Dunlop, **History**, pp. 20-21, was inclined to give some credence to accounts placing them in this region ca. 531. But, this could just as easily have been an anachronistic attribution of a Sabir raid to the Khazars.

21 The Syriac tradition brings them to "Barsâliâ" (cf. the *Barsul/Barčul tribe of the North Caucasus, later associated with the Volga Bulgars), "the land of the Alans" from "Inner Scythia," in the time of the Emperor Maurikios (582-602), cf. Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, p. 84; Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 143-147. If this legend is at all historical, it might point to their movement here during the time of the T'ieh-lê revolt. But, this is only conjecture. Ludwig, **Struktur**, pp. 24-68 puts forward the theory that they originally lived near Xurâsân, as part of the Hephthalite union which migrated to the North Caucasian-Lower Volga steppelands ca.500.

22 Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 187-190.

23 al-Masᶜûdî, **Kitâb at-Tanbîh**,ed. de Goeje, p. 83.

24 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 332,356 tends to play down the Türk role in this process, viewing the Khazars as an already formed entity, allies rather than vassals.

Доулo clan of the Bulğars). Artamonov has put forward the hypothesis that I-p'i-shê-kuei, a defeated Qağan of the Nu-shih-pi, moved to the Khazar lands, ca. 651, founding the ruling house of that union.[25] Artamonov buttressed this conjecture with the notice in the **Ḥudûd** that the Khazar "king...is one of the descendants of Ansâ," interpreting this as a garbling of A-shih-na. There are many problems here. First of all, we are not sure how A-shih-na is to be read. It may well stand for *Aršila (see Chap. 5). Minorsky was uneasy about the reading, preferring to see in ʾnsâ a corruption of ʾyšâ, i.e. **išâ(d)**.[26] This, however, would be accurate only if by "king" the sub-ruler (šad, beg or yilig) was meant. Regrettably, we cannot resolve this question on the basis of the available data. Nonetheless, it should be remarked here that the Qağanal rank and indeed the close connection of the Khazars with a ruler bearing this title in the Türk era, strongly suggest that their ruling house was of Türk royal origin. This could be the only source of legitimation in the steppe. It is probable that the presence of elements of this ruling clan was a factor in Khazar statehood. Equally important was the nature of Khazar interaction with the outside world. Lying on the borders of Byzantium and Sâsânid Iran, and more importantly the latter's dynamic successor, the Arabian Caliphate, Khazaria was in close contact with the two greatest sedentary powers of the Mediterranean world. The Khazars also sat astride the most important East-West trade routes. This pattern of intimate political and economic interaction with the sedentary world was the driving force behind the efflorescence of Khazar statehood.

Our early notices on the Khazars of the mid-7th century associate them with Balanjar and Samandar, two urban centers in the North Caucasus, perhaps of tribal origin, whose locations remain unclear.[27] In the period 642-737, this region became the theater of almost constant Arabo-Khazar warfare, punctuated by occasional truces.[28] The goal of this struggle was nothing less than control of the Caucasus, in particular the all important passes through which nomads had previously reached Transcaucasia and thence launched devastating raids into Northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Transcaucasia bore the brunt of the Khazar attacks.[29] The latter were typical of nomads testing the defenses of their sedentary neighbors and attempting to gain control of strategic regions. They were not wars of territorial

25 Pritsak, 1952, p. 55 also has Tu-lu = Dulo; Artamonov, **Ist. xazar**, pp. 170-171. On what is known of the career of I-p'i-shê-kuei, see Chavannes, **Documents**, pp. 4,32,33,58,59, 265,266.

26 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 161-162, and his comments in the 1970 edition, p. LXIX, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 193.

27 Cf. Magometov, **Obrazovanie**, pp. 26-60; Fëdorov, Fëdorov, **Rannie tjurki**, pp. 111,112,118-125.

28 The details are thoroughly discussed by Dunlop, **History**, pp. 41-87; Artamonov, **Ist. xazar**, pp. 202-233; Gadlo, **Ètničeskaja ist.**, pp. 156-170; Noonan, 1984, pp. 177-201.

29 Bunijatov, **Azerbajdžan**, pp. 107-113; Ter-Gevondjan, **Armenija**, pp. 85-88.

conquest. To some extent such raids were necessary to maintain the tribal union. The booty collected was an important element in solidifying the control of the ruling house over subordinate peoples, such as the "North Caucasian Huns." Moreover, the Khazars should not be viewed exclusively as the aggressors. The Arabs, who under the Umayyads, were expanding across North Africa to Spain in the west, into Central Asia in the east and annually raiding Byzantine Anatolia, having already conquered Constantinople's possessions on the Mediterranean littoral, were every bit as rapacious. The Khazar-held regions of the North Caucasus suffered considerable losses as well. Al-Masᶜûdî comments that the Khazars were forced to move their capital from Samandar to Atıl/Etil on the lower Volga because of the pressure of Arab attacks.[30]

The Khazars were also, occasionally, the uneasy allies of Byzantium. There were areas of contention between the two in the Crimea and Western Georgia/Abxazia. But, Constantinople and Atıl/Etil were united by traditions of cooperation stemming from the Türk era and more importantly geo-political considerations. They faced a common foe, the Caliphate which was actively pressing both. The strength of this entente was underscored by the marriage, in 732, of Konstantinos, the son and heir of the Byzantine Emperor, Leo III (717-741) to Čiček (Turk. "flower"[31]), daughter of the Khazar Qağan.[32] Such marital ties, rarely conceded to "barbarians" (east and west), were a particular mark of favor (or necessity) on the part of the Byzantines.

This first, bellicose stage in Arabo-Khazar relations came to a close with the dramatic victory of the Umayyad general Marwân (later Caliph) in 737 over the Qağan. The latter was forced to convert to Islam.[33] The conversion was short-lived, lasting little longer than the presence of Arab soldiers on Khazar land. The Arabs had been able to maintain their hold over much of Transcaucasia. This, in any event, had never really been seriously threatened. Khazar raiding had been destructive and disruptive, but no territory had been occupied. The Muslims had failed, however, to move the area under their sway beyond Bâb al-Abwâb/Darband (Darband-i Xazarân). The Arabs were reaching the outer limits of their imperial drive, having been stopped in France by the Franks in 732 and although victorious over the Türgiš (737) and Chinese (751) in Central Asia, their effective power did not extend much beyond the southern border of Transoxiana (see Chap. 5).

Arabo-Khazar relations, so important to the history of Western Eurasia, now underwent a number of shifts. In 760, the Arab governor of "Arminiyya" married, "Xâtûn," a Khazar princess whose death several years later served as

30 Al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, I, pp. 211-212; Noonan, 1984, pp. 197-201.
31 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 400-401.
32 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 409-410; Moravcsik, 1931, pp. 71-76.
33 Ibn Aᶜṯam al-Kûfî, ed. Khân, VIII, pp. 71-74; Dunlop, **History**, pp. 81-84.

the pretext for Khazar raids in 762-764.[34] The Khazars proved reluctant to aid the K'art'lian prince Nerse, in 780, when the latter sought their assistance against the Arabs. Six years later, however, they actively sided with Leon of Abxazia, the grandson of the Qağan in his successful throwing off of Byzantine suzerainty.[35] In 798/9, the last major Khazar raid into Muslim-held Transcaucasia took place.[36] On the whole, however, especially when compared to the preceding era, this was a period of peace and growing commercial relations. Khazaria, via the Volga-Caspian trading network, was an important channel through which ᶜAbbâsid trade, which rapidly expanded after 762, was linked to Europe.[37] Military threats now came from a different direction. In 838, the Byzantines helped the Khazars to construct the fortress Sarkel on the left bank of the Don. Its purpose was to monitor and control the movements of the Proto-Hungarians, who were entering the Pontic steppe zone and would be brought into the Khazar union as allies, and the Pečenegs, dangerous steppe foes.[38] Although increasingly hard-pressed from the steppe, Khazaria's downfall had other sources as well. Before turning to an examination of the decline and fall of the Qağanate, we must briefly examine its institutions.

## Peoples and Institutions of the Khazar Qağanate

The Khazar Qağanate embraced, in the north, the Middle Volga region, including the Volga Bulğarian state. In the west it encompassed some of the Eastern Slavic lands, including the urban center at Kiev. In the south it bordered, on the Byzantine holdings in the Crimea and the Caliphal territories in the North Caucasus at Bâb al-Abwâb. In the east, Khazar rule extended to the Xwârazmian steppes, in which elements of the Western Oğuz appear to have recognized their overlordship. According to Ibn Faḍlân, the Qağanate contained 25 subject peoples, each of which sent a bride to the Khazar ruler.[39] We cannot identify all the subject peoples, but they included speakers of various Turkic languages, Iranian, Finno-Ugric, Slavic and Caucasian, e.g. the Oğuric Volga and Pontic Bulğars (the preponderant Turkic element in the view of some scholars[40]), the Turkic North Caucasian Huns, the Iranian Alano-As, Trans-Caspian Turkic and Iranian nomads, the

34 Czeglédy, 1960, pp. 75-88; Łewond/Arzoumanian, pp. 125-126; al-Yaᶜqûbî, **Taᵓrîx**,ed. Houtsma, II, p. 446.
35 **K'art'lis C'xovreba**, ed. Qauxč'išvili, I, p. 251; Javaxišvili, **K'art'veli eris ist.**, II, pp. 82,92-93.
36 Aṭ-Ṭabarî, ed. Ibrâhîm, VIII, p. 270.
37 Wink, **Al-Hind**, I, p. 35; Ashtor, **Social and Economic Hist.**, pp. 106-107,148.
38 Constantine Porphyrogenitus, **DAI**, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 182-184; Sorlin, 1968, p. 436n.51.
39 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahhân, p. 171.
40 Cf. Pletnëva, **Ot kočevij**, pp. 188-189, who stresses the importance of the Bulğars and Alans in the shaping of Khazar culture.

Finno-Ugric Hungarians, the Burtas/Purtas (perhaps Finno-Ugric with an Iranian ruling element[41]), the Caucasian Xayḍân (Xayḍâq ?) and others.

Executive authority was centered in a dual Qağanate. The "supreme king," as he was often designated in the Arabic sources (**al-malik al-aʿẓam** or **al-malik al-kabîr**), bore the title **Qağan** (Arab./Pers.**xâqân**, Heb. **קזר כגן qazar xagan**, Arm. **xak'an**, Georg. **xakan**, Byz. Χαγάνος, Rus. **каганъ**[42]). He was a sacral ruler, chosen from a royal clan, who reigned but did not govern, a living talisman whose presence assured **qut**, "heavenly good fortune" for the realm. His person was holy and blood could not be shed before him. Should he appear to have lost the heavenly mandate, he could be killed. He, in turn, had the authority to order the death of any of his servitors. His investiture, which included the ritual strangulation and shamanic ceremonies described in the Chinese sources on the A-shih-na, point to the ties of these Qağans to the Inner Asian Türks.[43] The actual ruler, usually termed the "king" (**malik**) in the Arabic sources, the man who ran the affairs of state, was called variously **qağan-beg** (**xâqân bh**), beg (**bak**, Πέχ), **šad** or **yilig**. According to Ibn Faḍlân, beneath the **qağan-beg** there were the **kündü qağan** (cf. Hung. **kende** ?[44] ms. kndr) and **jâwšîġr** (?).[45] The **qağan-beg** also had at his disposal a salaried, Muslim Xwârazmian guard called the **Ors/Urs** (< Ἄορσοι[46] which later became a general term for Muslims in Khazaria) as well as tribal or clan levies. The expenses for the army were borne by the well-to-do.[47]

These and other observations made by our sources indicate that the Khazar state possessed a tax-collecting system which levied assessments on its subjects (in particular the Muslim merchants,[48] who were largely of non-Khazar origin) and collected duties on various articles of consumption. In addition, there was a tithe on all goods that passed through Khazar lands (a practice also followed by their vassals, the Volga Bulğars[49]). For the nomads, this situation was virtually perfect. They had access to the goods of sedentary society. Indeed, the goods were brought to them. It is not clear to what extent sedentarization began to take place among the Khazars. Our sources refer to "cities" such as Atıl/Etil/İtil, Xamlîx (*Xanmalıq < Xan Balıq ?)/Qutluğ, all of which may refer to one capital city, parts of the capital city or several cities, Balanjar, Samandar, Sarığšin, Sarkel, Varač'an (a North Caucasian

41 Pritsak, 1978, p. 264, Golb, Pritsak, **Khazarian Hebrew Documents**,p. 134, renders it as **Furtas** "River -As," which he contends is an Iranian grouping descended from the Ἄορσοι.
42 Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 192-196.
43 Al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, I, pp. 214-215; al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 224.
44 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 254,368,482,484.
45 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, pp. 169-170, preserved in Yâqût, Muʿjam, ed. von Wüstenfeld, II, p. 438, Beirut ed., II, p.368.
46 Lewicki, 1976, pp. 31-33.
47 Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 139-140.
48 Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, pp. 36/57.
49 Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, pp. 270-271; Ibn Xurdâḍbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 154.

Hunnic city), nomadic pasturages and cultivated fields.[50] Although arguments have been advanced for the extensive sedentarization of elements of the Qağanate, it is by no means clear who sedentarized and the extent of their actual sedentarization. The **Ḥudûd**, which calls Khazaria "a very pleasant and prosperous country with great riches," lists as the exports of Khazaria : "cows, sheep and innumerable slaves."[51] This would indicate a predominantly nomadic economy. The qağanal entourage maintained a semi-nomadic life-style, typical of nomadic conquerors who possess cities. The Khazar nomadic rank and file, undoubtedly, continued to nomadize, the poorer elements, in time, being forced to sedentarize. Some of the Bulğaric and Alanic elements may also have begun to sedentarize. But, one suspects that the majority of the non-nomadic population derived from the pre-Khazar non-nomadic peoples. The diversity of economic pursuits in Khazaria matched the diversity of ethnic elements within the state.

The Islamic sources report that in the Khazar capital, only the royal dynasty possessed buildings of brick or stone. The rest lived in the felt tents of the nomads. Moreover, the city was itself divided into a Khazar half (or third) in which the ruler and **al-xazar al-xullaṣ** ("the pure-bred Khazars" or perhaps **al-xazar al-*xuwaliṣ**, "the Xwârazmian Khazars," a reference to the **Ors** guard) resided and the other areas in which the polyglot mercantile population lived.

## Religions in Khazaria

Ethnic diversity in Khazaria was mirrored in religion as well. The original Khazar religious beliefs sprang from the Inner Asian systems of the Türks. This much is clear from Ibn Rusta's comment (among others) that the Qağan, Iša(d) and notables profess Judaism, but the rest of the Khazars "are of a faith similar to that of the Turks."[52] This undoubtedly focused on the Tengri cult attested among the North Caucasian Huns.[53] Judaism, probably in its Rabbinical rather than Qaraite form[54] appears to have been adopted by the Qağan, ruling elite and inner core of tribes sometime during the era of Hârûn ar-Rašîd (786-809).[55] The Muslim sources present their correligionists

50 Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 102-106; see also Zaxoder, **Kaspijskij svod**, I, pp. 167-202; Pletnëva, **Ot kočevij**, pp. 44-50,182-3 (which has as its theme the sedentarization of the nomads).

51 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 161, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 193.

52 Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 140; Gardîzî/Martinez, p. 153 : "the rest of the nation follows a religion which resembles the religion of the Oğuz Turks."

53 Dasxuranc'i/Dowsett, pp. 155-156,161.

54 Ankori, **Karaites**, pp. 64-79.

55 Al-Mas'ûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 212. All the evidence is thoroughly sifted by Dunlop, **History**, chaps.V-VI. See also the discussions in Pritsak, 1978, pp. 261-281 and Golden, 1983, pp. 127-256.

as constituting the largest single grouping in Khazaria (although they probably had in mind the Khazar urban centers), with the Christians second and the Jews and Judaized Khazars comprising the smallest confessional grouping. Byzantine sources are curiously silent on the religious question in Khazaria. The Khazaro-Hebrew sources give no indication as to the relative sizes of the communities. Bearing in mind the partisanship of our sources in this sort of question, we must take a cautious approach. Given the importance of the Muslim merchants, the role of the **Ors** guard and the wazîr drawn from their midst, it is quite likely that the Muslims constituted a very substantial, if not the leading community, numerically, in the sedentary regions of the Khazar state. Clearly, local Jewish communities, in particular in Crimea, were substantial and influential. Beyond this, we cannot go.[56] The Khazars, like their contemporaries, the Uyğurs, chose a universalistic, world religion with minority status and hence unencumbered by political baggage. Clearly, after the short-lived, forced conversion of the Qağan to Islam, in 737, the religious question came to the fore among the Khazar political elite. There were, undoubtedly, competing factions (al-Iṣṭaxrî mentions individuals from the royal house barred from the throne because of their adherence to Islam[57]). Since Judaism did not entail questions of (at least nominal) subordination to either the Caliph or Byzantine Emperor, there may have been some element of political expediency in its choice. On the other hand, we should not automatically exclude the impact of charismatic personalities and local communities in the conversion process. More often than not, it is all these factors combined.

The Judaic impact on Khazar culture is difficult to gauge. The Hebrew alphabet was known and used in Khazaria alongside of variants of the Turkic runic script.[58] A monotheistic religion may have been used, within the Khazar union, to bolster centralized royal authority. Elsewhere, given Khazar religious diversity, this could not have been a primary concern.

The Khazar legal system reflected this religious diversity as well. According to our Muslim sources, there were seven judges in Khazaria, two each for the Jews, Muslims and Christians and one for the pagans.[59]

56 Golden, 1983, pp. 140ff.

57 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 224. The Khazar ruler of Samandar, apparently of the royal house, was also expected to be a follower of Judaism.

58 Graphically illustrated by the Khazar-Hebrew letter, with a runic post script, from Kiev published by Golb and Pritsak, **Khazar Hebrew Documents**, pp. 3-59. See also the remarks of Ligeti, 1981a, pp. 5-18.

59 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 221; al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 214.

## The Fall of the Khazar Qağanate

The **Ḥudûd** comments that "the wealth and the well-being of the king of the Khazars are mostly from the maritime customs."[60] Having become increasingly reliant on this source of income, the Khazars also became more vulnerable when it declined. Evidence of a weakening is apparent in the Qabar revolt (perhaps latter half of 9th century), the movement of vassal Volga Bulgaria into the Islamic orbit in the early 10th century, the annual wars against the Pečenegs and the series of raids down the Volga, in the late 9th and early 10th centuries, into the Caspian Islamic lands, long important trading partners, that the Rus' were able to undertake apparently with Khazar consent. Byzantium, hitherto an ally, now turned to the Pečenegs as their principal partner in the steppe. A pro-Pečeneg orientation signalled, perforce, an anti-Khazar stance. Indeed, by the first half of the 10th century, the Byzantines, according to a (problematic) Khazar source, may have been actively working to stir up subject and neighboring peoples against them. Such seems to be the import of the Khazar Cambridge ("Schechter") Document.[61] This demarche is probably to be connected with the anti-Jewish policies[62] of Romanos Lekapenos. Of greater concern to the Khazars, by mid-century, were the Rus'. In his letter, ca. 960, to Ḥasdai b. Šaprut, a Jewish courtier of the Spanish Umayyads, Joseph, the Khazar ruler (whether Qağan or king is unclear) writes that he is constantly at war with the Rus'.[63] In 965, the latter, allied with elements of the Oğuz, overran Atıl/Etil and perhaps the important fortress of Sarkel. Muslim sources claim that the Khazar ruler now converted to Islam and came under the sway of the Xwârazmians.[64]

At the zenith of its power, the Khazar Qağanate had been one of the largest polities of Eastern Europe-Western Eurasia. Its demise marked the end of Türk statehood in Western Eurasia. None of the tribal unions that succeeded them in the Western Eurasian steppes developed a full-fledged state until the Činggisid conquest. In time, it is presumed, Khazar elements or tribal groupings that had been under Khazar control, were incorporated into the Pečeneg and perhaps Qıpčaq confederations (see below). The role of the Khazars in the shaping of Russian Jewry has been much debated. It is very likely that Judaized Khazar elements, especially those that had acculturated to the cities, contributed to the subsequently Slavic-speaking Jewish communities of Kievan Rus'. These were ultimately absorbed by

60 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 162, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 193.
61 Golb, Pritsak, **Khazarian Hebrew Documents**, pp. 110-119.
62 See al-Masʿûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 212. See also Scharf, **Byzantine Jewry**, pp. 94-102.
63 Kokovcov, **Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska**, pp. 24,32/83-84,102.
64 **PSRL**, I, p. 65; Ibn Miskawaih, II, p. 209; Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut, ed.), VIII, p. 565; Golden, 1972, pp. 77-80.

Yiddish-speaking Jews entering the Ukraine and Belorussia from Poland and Central Europe. In the same way, one may conjecture that Khazar Muslims contributed to the Turkic-speaking and Turko-Muslim communities of the Volga basin and North Caucasus.

## THE BULĞAR STATES

To the west of the Khazars, in the Kuban' and Eastern Pontic steppe zone, the Bulğar tribal union had already taken shape before the advent of the Türks (see Chap. 4). Elements of them appear to have become semi-sedentary, with somewhat greater emphasis on agriculture (although still secondary to stock-raising) and crafts.[65] They were also involved in the fur trade. Some of the Oğuric tribes fell under the sway of the Avars and elements of them migrated with them to Pannonia. Türk or Türk-Khazar overlordship, the full extent of which, in these, their westernmost lands, is difficult to assess, was very likely weakened by the T'ieh-lê revolt of 603.[66] Oğuric tribes, as we know, were part of the T'ieh-lê confederation. Avar power may have then reasserted itself in the Western steppes. In any event, by the early 7th century, we have evidence that some of these Oğuro-Bulğar tribes, referred to in some sources as **Onoğundur-Bulğar**,[67] were chaffing under Avar rule. The Bulğar leader, Qubrat/Qobrat (Κούβρατος, Κοβρᾶτος/Коуртъ, Xubraat[68]), nephew of 'Οργανᾶς/Гостоунъ,[69] probably through the efforts of the Byzantine Emperor, Herakleios, who was faced with a Sâsânid-Avar alliance, had an entente with Constantinople. We do not know who initiated the diplomatic overtures that led to this coalition; it may well have been Byzantium or 'Οργανᾶς. It could not have been Qubrat, for these moves had been carefully orchestrated while he was still a child. This is clear from John of Nikiu, whose Chronicle has survived in an Ethiopian translation. He tell us of "Kubratos, chief of the Huns, the nephew of Organa, who was baptized in the city of Constantinople and received into

65 Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 178-179.

66 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 108; Czeglédy, 1977, pp. 61-63; Czeglédy, 1983, pp. 109,112-113.

67 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 356. How this union came about is unclear. Angelov, **Obrazuvane**, pp. 190-195, Gening and Xalikov, **Rannie bolgary**, pp. 130-131, view it as a long process in which a number of distinct and different groupings were merged.

68 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 357; Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, p. 24 who calls him "lord of the Onoğundur;" Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i, ed. Soukry, p. 17; Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 161-162; Zlatarski, **Istorija**, I, p. 131. The name is, perhaps, an honorific from Turk. **qobrat-/quvrat-** "to gather" (Clauson, **ED.**, p. 586).

69 Gumilêv, **Drevnie tjurki**, pp. 202,204 and Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte**, I, p. 159 identify him with the Türk Mo-ho-tou/Qara Bağatur. Artamonov, **Ist. xazar**, pp. 161-162, while accepting the identification of Mo-ho-tou and 'Οργανᾶς considers Гостоунъ to have been a deputy of Mo-ho-tou. Burmov, 1947, pp. 27-29 and Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, p. 184, do not accept the identification of Gostun and Organas.

the Christian community in his childhood and had grown up in the imperial palace." Qubrat's conversion, placed ca. 619, was an essential precondition for his close relationship with the Emperor Herakleios.[70] The maneuvering described here fits into a pattern of alliances undertaken by Herakleios with steppe peoples (cf. alliance with the Türk-Khazars against the Sâsânids) that ultimately saved Byzantium from disaster.

An adult Qubrat, the "ruler of the Οὐννογουνδούροι" (Onoğundur-Bulğars), ca. 635, revolted, casting off Avar overlordship and brought his now independent polity (termed παλαιὰ/μεγάλη Βουλγαρία "Ancient/Great Bulgaria" in Greek sources), located in the eastern Pontic steppes, into alliance with Byzantium.[71] We know little else about Qubrat's activities. He died sometime in the 660's (some scholars place his death in 642), having first instructed his 5 sons (Βατ)βαιᾶν(ος), Κότραγος, 'Ασπαροὺχ and two others whose names are not recorded, "never to separate their place of dwelling from one another, so that by being in concordance with one another, their power might thrive."[72] As subsequent events show, this was only a loosely held tribal union. The brothers soon broke apart. It is unclear whether this was the result of Khazar pressure or internal tensions. Βατβαιανὸς and Κότραγος remained in the Pontic steppe zone where they were incorporated into the expanding Khazar state. The fourth brother, "having crossed the river Ister, resides in Pannonia, which is now under the sway of the Avars, having made an alliance with the local peoples. The fifth, settling in the five Ravennate cities became a subject of the Romans."[73] A number of scholars have connected the fourth and fifth, unnamed brothers with events in Pannonia and elsewhere. Thus, one such brother is identified with Alzeco (Alzec[h]us, Alciocus), who, after a sojourn in Avar territory, left and ultimately settled in Italy. Here, he entered Byzantine service in the Ravenna area. These Bulgars preserved their speech and ethnicity until the late 8th century.[74] Another brother, tentatively identified with Kuber (Κοῦβερ), also settled in Pannonia under Avar overlordship. Kuber later led a revolt against the Avars and ultimately brought his following to the region near Thessalonika.[75] Although the events are blurred and elements of the

70 John of Nikiu/Charles, p. 197; Zlatarski, **Istorija**,I, pp. 140-143. Burmov, 1947, pp. 29-30, however, is of the opinion that the Qubrat of 619 is some other "Hunnic" ruler. Obolensky, **Byz. Commonwealth**, p. 62 views the conversion as part of Herakleios' policy to neutralize the Avars.

71 Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, p. 24.

72 Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, p. 33; Thoephanes, ed. de Boor, I, p. 357.

73 Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, pp. 33-34; Theophanes, ed. de Boor, I, pp. 356-358.

74 Fredegarius and Paulus Diaconus, Aalto, Pekkanen, **Latin Sources**, I, pp. 40-41. Zlatarski, **Istorija**, I, pp.169-173, separates Alciocus and Alzeco. See also discussion in Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp.156-158; Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp.245-246.

75 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 165. See discussions in Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 246-248; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 159-172; Fine, **Early Medieval Balkans**, pp. 44-49; Litavrin, 1985, pp. 150-151.

chronology questionable, it is clear that there were Oğuro-Bulğaric elements in Pannonia that were troublesome to their Avar overlords.

It is Asparux (Ἀσπαροὺχ, Исперих in the Bulgarian Prince List, **Asparhruk** in Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i[76]) who is of most enduring importance. The Byzantine tradition reports that he "crossing the rivers Danapros and Danastros, lived in the locale around the Ister, having occupied a place suitable for settlement, called in their language ὄγγλον...[77] The people having been divided and scattered, the tribe of the Khazars, from within Berulia (= Berzilia, found in other Byzantine sources, Arab. Barsâliyya, PBG), which neighbors with Sarmatia, attacked them with impunity. They overran all the lands lying behind the Pontos Euxeinos and penetrated to the sea. After this, having made Bayan a subject, they forced him to pay tribute."[78] "Asparhruk, son of Xubraat," according to Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i, now "fled from the Khazars out of the Bulgarian mountains."[79] The Khazar ruler Joseph's letter simply comments that : "in the country in which I live, there formerly lived the ונונחר (**Vununtur** < **Vunundur**, < **Onoğundur**). Our ancestors, the Khazars warred with them. The Vununtur were more numerous, as numerous as the sand by the sea, but they could not withstand the Khazars. They left their country and fled...until they reached the river called Duna (Danube)."[80] This migration, in essence the foundation of Balkan Bulgaria, is traditionally dated ca. 679 although it is entirely possible that Asparux's forces were on the Danubian frontier well before this.[81] Those Bulğars who remained in the Pontic steppes, the "Black Bulğars," (Чьрнии болгаре, cf. Byz. μαύρη Βουλγαρία[82]) came under Khazar rule.

## THE PANNONIAN BALKAN BULĞARS

We do not know the composition of the horde that Asparux brought to the safety of the Danube. There are only scattered references in the Byzantine historians and Bulgarian sources (Bulğaro-Greek inscriptions, the Prince

76 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 75-76 : **ešberūx** ? Sinor, 1985, p. 157n.10 sugggested **ašbaruq** < **išbara**. An Iranian etymology has also been proferred (Gamkrelidze, Ivanov, **Indoevropejcy**, II, p. 550 : **aspa** "horse" + **rauk** "light(-colored)." But, cf. Osm. (Redhouse, p. 81) **isperi** "the hobby (hawk)."

77 < Slav. o$^{n}$gl' "corner" = the subsequent Turkish **Bujaq**, the name for a region of Bessarabia, see Vernadsky, **Anc. Russia**, pp. 88,312-313; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 174-175.

78 Nikephoros, ed. de Boor, p. 34.

79 Pseudo-Movsês Xorenac'i, ed. Soukry, p. 17; Marquart, **Chronologie**, pp. 88-89 and his **Streifzüge**, p. 529.

80 Kokovcov, **Evrejsko-xazarskaja perepiska**, pp. 28/92.

81 See Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 173-182.

82 **PSRL**, I, c.51; Konst. Porph., **DAI**, ed. Moravcsik, pp. 64,186; Marquart, **Streifzüge**, p. 503.

List) that mention tribal names : Čakarar (Τζακαράρης), Kubiar (Κουβιάρης), Küriger/Küriyer (Κυριγήρ)[83], clan names : Ermi/Ermiyar (Ερμι, Ερμηάρης), Dulo (Δουλο), Ukil/Ükil-Vokil/Vökil (Ουκιλ, Βοκιλ), Ugain (Ουγαιν), Duar (...Δουαρης) ?[84]

Asparux's forces now crossed over into Imperial lands in the northeastern Balkans, aided, in all likelihood by Constantinople's concern over the Arabs, defeated a Byzantine army and were recognized, by treaty (681), as the masters of what would become Bulgaria. These were not uninhabited lands, for a number of Slavic tribes had at the beginning of the century overrun sizable parts of Moesia and adjoining regions. Our sources do not inform us as to how the Bulğars, who may well have been numerically inferior to the populations living in the regions they now conquered, established their authority. The Slavic union of 7 tribes, hitherto dominant in the region, submitted to them or worked out some kind of political relationship. In any event, there can be little doubt that of all the groupings there, the Bulğars represented the most powerful, cohesive, military force. Like their kinsmen in the Middle Volga region, they imposed themselves on a militarily weaker sedentary population. Like the Seljuks of a later era (Chap. 7), they were a steppe people driven from the steppe into the sedentary world who had little choice but to conquer or perish. Byzantium, for the first time, formally relinquished imperial lands in the Balkans to a conqueror. This point was driven home, in 689, when a Bulğar force (perhaps that of Kuber) destroyed a Byzantine army that the ill-fated Justinian II (685-695, 705-711) had brought into Thrace in the hope of reestablishing imperial control there. Meanwhile, the Bulğar capital was established at Pliska (near present-day Aboba).[85]

Asparux died ca. 701 and was succeeded by Tervel (Тервель, Τέρβελις, d.719?[86]) under whom the Bulğars became an important factor in Byzantine politics. In 705, Tervel helped the deposed Justinian II (who had fled to the Khazars and then fearing their collusion with his successor in Constantinople, had ultimately gained the support of the Bulğars) to regain his throne and was rewarded with Byzantine titles ("Caesar") and land. The relationship, given Constantinople's throne disputes, soon soured, but was patched up with

83 Moravcsik, **BT**,II, pp. 165,175,307-308. See etymological discussions in Menges, 1951, pp. 101-107; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 57-59.

84 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 353; Pritsak, **Bulg. Fürstenliste**, p. 38; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, p. 329; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 59-60.

85 See recent discussions in Fine, **Early Medieval Balkans**, pp. 66-68,71-72; Litavrin, 1985, pp. 140-149; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 173ff.

86 See forms in Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 306. The literature on the pre-Slavic/pre-Christian era of Bulğar (or Protobulgarian) history is too extensive to be cited in detail in the brief account that follows. In addition to the classic study of Zlatarski, **Istorija** and the works of Fine and Beševliev that have already been noted, useful accounts can be found in Runciman, **First Bulgarian** and Browning, **Byzantium and Bulgaria**.

a new agreeement in 716.[87] This was fortuitous, for the Bulğars played an important role in defeating the Arabs who besieged Constantinople in 717-718.

We do not know the name of his successor who seems to have held power until 721 (725 ?, Tŏvirem'/Товиремь according to Pritsak[88]). He was followed by Sevăr (Севаръ, d.739/740), the last of the Dulo line to hold the throne. According to Beševliev, the Bulğars were also ruled by a dual qağnate. The junior line, in his view, was represented by Kormisoš (Кормисошь, Κορμέσιος,[89] d.756) of the Vokil clan who now succeeded to the throne in still unexplained circumstances. The largely Byzantinophile attitude of the Bulğar rulers up to this time was seriously challenged by elements within the ruling elite and the bellicose activities of Konstantinos V "Kopronymos" (741-775). The Byzantino-Bulğar conflict that his border provocations precipitated initiated a series of internal crises for the Bulğars themselves. While inflicting numerous military defeats on them, Konstantinos and Byzantine agents operating in Bulgaria, caused the Bulğars to murder 6 of their qağans in an orgy of internecine strife : Kormisoš in 756, his son Vinex (Винех[90]), in 761, Telec'(Телець (d. 765 ?) Savin (765 ?), Umar (Оумар, who lasted only 40 days), Tokto (Τόκτος, d.772) and Pagan (Παγάνος, d.772).

With the advent of Leo IV (775-780, whose mother was a Khazar princess), Byzantium pursued a more pacific policy and Telerig (Τελέριγος), Pagan's successor, was able to begin the restoration of the polity. Internal divisions continued, however and Telerig had to flee to Constantinople in 777. Here, he converted to Christianity. Under Kardam (Κάρδαμος, d. ca. 803), the Bulğars, twice defeated the inept Konstantinos VI (780-797, later deposed and blinded by his mother Irene who ruled until 802). Nikephoros I (802-811), the new Byzantine emperor, was determined to resolve the Bulğar question. But, he now faced a far more formidable adversary in the Qağan Qorum/Krum[91] (Κροῦμος, d. 814)who was of Pannonian Bulğar origin. A new power had emerged in Central Europe : the Franks. In the last decade of the 8th century, they destroyed the Avar state and extended their sway up to the Tisza river. The Pannonian Bulğars, under Qorum/Krum had finished off the remnants of Avar power in eastern Pannonia, but, blocked by the Franks, turned south and between 803-807 were brought into union with their Balkan kinsmen. A confrontation with Byzantium was inevitable. While Krum gained

87 Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 497 mentions it in passing in discussing events of 812-813.
88 Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, p. 51.
89 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 164.
90 Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, p. 212-213, among others, identifies him with Savin (Σαβῖνος), *Savinex (Савинех), the supreme Qağan, while Telec' was the lesser Qağan.
91 Clauson, **ED**, p. 660 : **korum** "a massive rock, or pile of rock."

victories in 808 and 809, Nikephoros, in that same year, raided Pliska. In the major campaign of 811, Nikephoros again took Pliska to the accompaniment of massacres and pillaging. Krum's peace overtures were spurned. The Bulğar ruler took refuge in the mountains and there he trapped and killed the now overly confident Nikephoros. The latter's skull, in a steppe tradition that dates back to the Scythians, was fashioned into a drinking goblet.[92]

Qorum/Krum now cautiously pressed his advantage. When the new Byzantine Emperor, Michael I Rangabe (811-813) rejected his offer of peace, the war continued. The incompetent Michael was defeated and deposed by Leo V the Armenian (813-820), an experienced soldier and politician, whose reign marked the return of Iconoclasm. Qorum/Krum's siege of Constantinople failed; he died in 814 while preparing for yet another assault. Although his role in Bulgarian history has, understandably, been somewhat glamorized, it is clear that he left the Bulğar realm a more powerful polity than he found it. There is some evidence that he promulgated a law code which may have been one of the bases for a growing state apparatus. Regrettably, very little of the evidence has survived.[93]

The state structure of the Bulğar realm is only imperfectly known due to the fragmentary nature of our sources (largely scattered inscriptions in Greek and mixed Graeco-Bulğar). The supreme ruler appears to have born the title κανασυβιγι which has been read as **qanas ūbigi** or **qana sūbigi/sūbegi** etc. The first element is probably the Turkic **qan** "khan." The second is open to a variety of interpretations, none of which has gained universal acceptance.[94] The co-ruler or deputy ruler bore a title containing the term καυχάνος[95] (**qavqan**, cf. Türk. **qapqan /qapağan**). The term **qana(s)** appears in association with a number of other titles : κανὰ βοιλά (**boyla**, cf. **была** > Slav. **боляринъ**, EastSlav. **боярин**[96]), κανάρτι κείνος (**qan er tigin** ?), **canna taban**,[97] κανα κολοβρον (**Qan Qolovur** ?), Βαγατουρ κανα (**bağatur qan**).[98] Some of these may be personal names. There was a council of **boylas**, perhaps divided into an "inner" and "outer" grouping. The title **boyla** appears together with many other titles/names : βογοτὸρ Βοηλὰ κουλούβρος (**Bağatur boyla *quluvur** ?), ὁ (ἡζ)ουργοὺ βουλήα, ἠτζιργοὺ βοιλάν (**İčergü boyla**), ὁ βοηλὰ καυχάνος,(**Boyla qavqan**), κάνα βοιλὰ κολόβρον (**Qan boyla *qolovur**) and ὁ βοιλα τζιγατος, υκ βοηλα the meanings and functions of

92 Theophanes, ed, de Boor, I, p. 491.
93 See discussion in Fine, **Early Medieval Balkans**, pp. 99-101.
94 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 148-149; Menges, 1951, pp. 91-92; Menges, 1958, p. 448; Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, p. 40; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 333-334; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 42-44.
95 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 157; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 338-341.
96 Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, pp. 18,72; Fasmer, **Etim. slov.**, I, pp. 203-204; Clauson, **ED**, p. 385.
97 One of the names of Bulğar envoys to the Church Council of 869/70, Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 355.
98 Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, p. 336.

which are uncertain.[99] Other titles that appear in a number of contexts are **Bagain** βαγαΐνος : βαγατουρ βαγαιν(ος), βηρη βαγαηνου, ητζηργου βαγαηνον, σετητ βαγαηνου, υκ βαγαηνον, **bağatur** : βαγατούρ, 'Αλογοβότουρ (which may contain **batur**), and **tarqan** ( ζερα ταρκάνος, ζουπαν ταρκανος, ὁλγου ταρκανος, ὁ βουλίας ταρκάνος, βορι τα(ρ)κάνος (**Böri tarqan**), καλουτερκάνος (*κουλου τερκάνος) etc. Less frequent and more problematic are : μηνικὸς/μινικὸν/ἡμνήκος (perhaps connected with horses as Pritsak suggests, ἡτζβόκλιας, κνηνου, κρόνος, μαγοτῖνος, οὔσαμψος/σαμψὴς, **campsi, sampsi.**[100]

We are insufficiently informed about Danubian Bulğar culture. Their language was Oğuric as is apparent from the fragments of texts and isolated words and phrases preserved in inscriptions and our written sources.[101] In addition to language, their culture, apparently, retained many Inner Asian features. Variants of the runic script appear to have been employed.[102] It is clear from the "Prince List" that the Inner Asian 12-year animal cycle calendar continued to be used (cf. the years of the соморъ [mouse], шегоръ/σιγορ [cow], верени [wolf/tiger], дванъ [hare], диломъ [snake], имя (имя шегоръ) [horse], текоу [sheep], тох [hen], етхъ [dog], дохсъ [pig]).[103]

Little is known about the religious practices of these Bulğars. They worshipped the Altaic sky deity, **Tengri** (Ταγγρα : **tangra/tengre**[104] in Bulğar) and appear to have engaged in various shamanic practices. They also maintained a variety of tabus as we learn from the papal responses to their questions after their conversion. Their war horses, except during wartime, as well as other animals, were tabu.[105] Christianity had begun to penetrate, perhaps via their Slavic subjects. There was also some interest in Islam. An-Nadîm remarks that the Caliph al-Ma'mûn (813-833) wrote a book "Answers to the Questions of the King of the Burğar addresed to him about Islam and the Unity."[106] This is hardly surprising, given the religio-ideological aspects of the Byzantine-Muslim struggle for domination of the Eastern Mediterranean.

99 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 93-94; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 44-45; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 349-351.

100 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 83,299-300; Menges, 1951, pp. 93-95; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 47,49-50; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 352-354; Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, p. 68.

101 Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, esp. pp. 71-75; Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 345-353. Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 314-327 gives a full list of the words and Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 11ff. provides an analysis of some of these fragments.

102 Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 341-345; Tryjarski, 1985, pp. 53-80; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 430-437.

103 Pritsak, **Fürstenliste**, p. 79.

104 Menges, 1951, pp. 111-112.

105 Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 322-329; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 355-392.

106 An-Nadîm/Dodge, I, pp. 254,400. Pritsak, **Origins**, I, pp. 60-62 identifies the Bulğars in question here with the Pontic/Bosporan Bulğars.

Byzantium, as we have seen, made ample use of Christian proselytization in its dealing with the "Barbarian" Northern World. The Muslims were no less eager. The struggle for the minds and hearts of the Bulğars, however, ultimately involved another rival of Constantinople.

Qorum/Krum's immediate successors were the still virtually unknown and short-lived Dukum (Δούκουμος) and Ditzeug (Δίτζευγος, Диценгъ[107] ? Dijevğu/jabğu ?), perhaps his sons or nephews. We have somewhat more information about Qorum/Krum's son Omurtağ /Omurtaq ('Ομουρτάγ, καναι συβιγι ομουρταγ etc.,[108] reg.814-831) under whose reign there was a long period of peace with Byzantium (30 years) and building activities at home. This irenic disposition, however, did not extend to Christianity which was further penetrating the Bulğar realm. Omurtağ, probably not incorrectly, viewed Christian proselytization as the precursor of a Byzantine takeover. The religious struggle within Bulgaria was just beginning.

Omurtağ's three sons all had Slavic names (or at least were also known by Slavic names : Enravota "also called Voin" ('Ενραβωτᾶς, ὅς καὶ Βοΐνος ἐπωνομάζετο), Zvinica (Ζβηνίτζης) and Malamir (Μαλαμίρ). Enravota converted to Christianity and was then martyred for his faith.[109] Malamir (831-836 ?) ascended the throne and was followed by Presjam/Persjan (Πρεσιάμ, Περσιάνος, if they are not one and the same, 836-853). With the expiration of the Bulğaro-Byzantine peace in 846, military confrontation resumed, within the context of Slavic revolts against Constantinople and Bulğaro-Slavic hostilities encouraged to some degree by Byzantium.

When Boris (Βορίσης, Βορῆς, Βώγωρις, Борисъ[110] 853-888) became ruler, he faced a very complex international situation. He quickly concluded a brief war with Byzantium and began to eye the lands to his north uneasily. The Franks, as we noted, with their conquest of the Avars, had brought themselves to the borders of the Slavic lands adjoining the Bulğar realm. The Slavic ruler of Moravia (the location of which is in dispute[111]), Rastislav, had managed to free himself, for the most part, of overbearing Frankish rule and had begun to advance on his Slavic neighbors. This brought him to the borders of the Bulğar-controlled lands. Boris, defeated earlier by the Franks and worried about the possible restlessness of his Slavic subjects, concluded, ca. 860, an alliance with his erstwhile adversaries aimed at Moravia, his

107 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 118-119,120.

108 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 217-218; Tekin, **Tuna Bulgarları**, pp. 53-54 : **omurt**, cf. Čuv. **ămărt** "eagle."

109 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 124-125,129,180; Beševliev, **Die protobulgarische Periode**, pp. 289-290.

110 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 96-97.

111 See the reevaluation of the data by Boba, **Moravia's History Reconsidered**. There is an enormous literature on the Cyrillo-Methodian mission to the Slavs and related matters; see Dvornik, **Byz. Missions** and Bernštejn, **Konstantin-filosof i Mefodij**. See also the succinct summary of Fine, **Early Medieval Balkans**, pp. 113-131.

onetime ally. Rastislav, rightly fearing that he would now be caught between the Franks and the Bulğars and unable to gain papal support (the Christianization of his lands was already under way), in 862 despatched a mission to Constantinople. Its ostensible aim was to secure Byzantine assistance in organizing a national church in the Moravian lands. But, it also sought to bring the Byzantines into the picture and thereby counterbalance the Frankish and Bulğar threats.

A resurgent Byzantium under Michael III (842-867) and his brilliant Patriarch, Photius (858-867), which was about to embark on its "reconquista" of lands taken centuries earlier by the Arabs, was also looking carefully at Slavic Europe. It had long-standing feuds with the papacy, the upstart Franks who claimed imperial status and in 860 had been unexpectedly raided by the Rus'. The brothers Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius, veterans of other diplomatic forays (including a recent one to Khazaria) and armed with an alphabet (the so-called "glagolitic") for the Slavs invented by Constantine and translated texts, were now sent to Central Europe. An army and fleet were also sent to counter the growing Franko-Bulğar cooperation and invasion of Moravia.

Boris, who had been contemplating conversion and had asked for Frankish guidance on this question (an unacceptable prospect for Byzantium), was defeated, forced to renounce his Frankish alliance and to convert to Orthodox Christianity. This he did in 864, taking the name of the Byzantine emperor, Michael. Although Boris-Michael, ever mindful of Byzantine control over his lands through the church and anxious to establish his own church hierarchy, soon flirted with Rome (after crushing a pagan revolt in 866), by 870 he was ready to recognize Byzantine ecclesiastical direction. Ironically, Bulgaria turned out to be the principal beneficiary of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission. Constantine-Cyril died in 869. Methodius, hounded by the Franks, died in ca. 884-885. Their disciples were imprisoned, exiled or sold off into slavery. A number of them eventually made their way to Bulgaria where, Boris-Michael and his son and successor (following another pagan reaction), Symeon I (893-927) made excellent use of them to establish an Orthodox Christian Bulgaro-Slavic culture. Curiously, the Cyrillic alphabet which became the vehicle for this culture derived from the Bulğar use of Greek rather than the glagolitic writing system invented by Constantine-Cyril. Christianization and the Cyrillo-Methodian legacy were, undoubtedly, factors that tilted the scales in favor of slavicization. It appears to have been bitterly resisted by the Bulğar aristocracy. Although these issues have been the subject of much speculation, we simply lack the sources to reconstruct the ethno-religio-political struggle that took place in Bulgaria and the situation that led to it. The result was the slavicization of the Bulğars in what appears to be a fairly brief period, indicating perhaps that this had been preceded by a long period of bilingualism. In any event, although

Bulgarian history would remain tied, at times very closely, to that of the Turkic peoples, the Bulğars had become, along with the Slavic population of their territory, the Bulgarians.

## THE VOLGA BULĞARS

The date of the arrival of Bulğar tribes to the Middle Volga has not been firmly established. Some scholars place it in the mid-7th century, immediately after the Khazar victory over the Bulğar union in the Pontic steppes. Others point to the mid-8th or early 9th century. If the latter date is correct, their entrance into the area may have played a role in the migration of the Magyar union in the early 9th century.[112] This is a complicated question to which we shall return. In any event, this was probably not **terra incognita** for Turkic nomads. Indeed, it is not unlikely, as has been claimed, that Turkic-speakers began to enter this region in the Post-Hunnic era, incorporating, perhaps, Iranian nomads and sedentarizing elements. In time, they were joined by other speakers of both Oğuric (apparently several dialects[113]) and Common Turkic. Curiously, Maḥmûd al-Kâšğarî, usually so knowledgeable, seems uninformed about the important differences between the Oğuric languages in use in Volga Bulgaria and Common Turkic[114]. Eventually, the union that formed here encompassed Finno-Ugric peoples as well. The Pontic Bulğars, whatever the date of their arrival, were, undoubtedly, the most advanced grouping in the region, militarily and politically. With their Avar and Türk political heritage, they assumed political leadership over an array of Turkic groups, Iranians and Finno-Ugric peoples, under the overlordship of the Khazars, whose vassals they remained.[115] Our sources do not give precise details about the borders of the state that took shape on the Middle Volga under their leadership. Over time, these tended to shift. We may say, **grosso modo**, that in the north, they extended their authority into the Finno-Ugric Yugra (Ugrian) and Vepsi lands (Yûra and Wîsû of the Islamic sources[116]), i.e. to the Kama and perhaps to the lower Viatka and Vetluga rivers as well as to the Volga and Permian Finnic peoples (Mordvins, Udmurts, Komi). In the east, they bordered on the Belaja river and in the south they approached the Ural/Yayıq river. Their neighbors were the Baškirs, perhaps some Pečeneg elements, the Oğuz and then Qıpčaq unions.[117]

112 Smirnov, **Železnyj vek**, pp. 135-136; Gening, Xalikov, **Rannie bolgary**, p. 74; Fodor, 1982, p. 47; Xalikov, 1987, p. 98.

113 Róna-Tas, 1976, p. 169.

114 See Pritsak, 1959, esp. pp. 99ff.

115 Gening, Xalikov, **Rannie bolgary**, p. 174.

116 According to al-Ġarnâṭî/Bol'šakov, p. 31 the subject population paid the Islamic **jizya** and **xarâj** (this is specifically noted for the Wîsû).

117 Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, pp. 8-14. Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie tatar**, pp. 55-56,78 reconstructs several boundaries over time.

We know something of the tribal composition of this state from the Islamic geographers. Ibn Rusta, reporting on the situation in the early 10th century, writes : "The Bulgâr (blkâr) adjoin the land of the Burdâs. They are settled on the shore of a river which flows into the Sea of the Khazars which is called ʾtl (Atil/Etil/İtil). They are between the Khazars and the Ṣaqâliba (pl. of Ṣaqlab < Gr. Σκλάβος "Slav" used in Arabic to refer to the Slavs as well as to the ruddy-complexioned northern peoples, PBG). Their king is called ʾlmᵘš (this is the ʾlmš b. šlkî *Almuš b. Šilki, **ylṭwâr = yil-tawâr**, the Oğuric form of **il-teber** noted in Ibn Faḍlân[118] who calls him "king of the Ṣaqâliba") and professes Islam. Their land (consists of) thickets and dense wooded areas and they reside in them. They are of 3 kinds (**aṣnâf**), one kind called **brṣûlâ** (i.e. Barsul/Barčul, Βερζιλία, Βερσιλία, Baršaliyya, Ba(r)s(i)l of the Byzantine, Islamic and Armenian sources, the land and people, in the North Caucasian steppe zone associated with early Khazar history[119]) and another kind called ʾsġl (elsewhere in Ibn Rusta, Gardîzî ʾskl, **Ḥudûd** : ʾškl who were still not Muslim [120]) and the third, the **blkâr (Bulgâr)**. Their mode of subsistence (**maᶜâšuhum**), of all of them, is in one place. The Khazars trade with them and sell to them as do also the Rûs who carry their trade to them. And all who live about them on the banks of this river come and go in trade with them : sables, ermine, squirrels and others. They are a people who possess fields and agriculture and cultivate all (types of) grain : wheat, barley, millet and the like. The majority of them profess Islam and in their settlements are mosques and Qurʾânic schools. They have muezzins and imâms. The Infidels among them prostrate themselves before every friend that they meet. Between these Bulgârs and the Burdâs is a distance of three days. They raid and plunder them and carry them off into captivity. They have horses, armor and are armed to the teeth. They pay taxes to their king (in the form of) horses and similar things. If one of them marries, the king takes a horse from him. When the Muslim ships come to trade, they take one tenth from them...Their principal wealth consists of marten furs. They do not have minted money, instead they use marten skins..."[121]

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118 Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, p. 344 (Mašhad Ms. f. 197r), Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 67; Czeglédy, 1944, pp. 182-186.

119 See Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 143-147. Attempts to connect them with the **Bersil** of the Terkhin inscription and the **Par-sil** and others, including the Hung. **Bercel**, (see summary in Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 360-361,371) are highly speculative.

120 Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 142; Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân., pp. 141,145; Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenia**, VIII, p. 37; **Ḥudûd/Minorsky**, p. 162, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 194; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 371-372. Attempts to connect them with the Hung. **Székely**, Turkic **İzgil** etc. (see, e.g. Ibn Faḍlân/Togan, pp. 223-226) although much discussed, have yet to be substantiated.

121 Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, pp. 141-142. Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, p. 37, Gârdîzî/Martinez, pp. 157-158 has a virtually identical account.

In addition to the *Barčul and Askil/İskil tribal groupings, there were other ethnic elements identified with Khazar-controlled lands. Ibn Faḍlân mentions the **swâz** (a probable corruption of **Suwâr** < **Sawar** < **Savar/Sävär**), i.e. Sabir, noted also by Kâšgarî. [122] They had their own urban center, Suwâr, were led by a **wyrğ** (**vuyrığ** < Türk. **buyruq**[123]) and were frequently at odds with their overlords, whose supremacy they may have been challenging.[124] Ibn Faḍlân also reports that there were some 5000 **brnjâr** (**Baranjar** or **Berenjer**)[125] who are to be connected with the Balanjar of Khazaria. The Rus' sources mention groupings, often associated with cities bearing the same name, that may be of tribal or clanal origin : the so-called "Silver Bulğars" ("Серебрянные Болгары/Нухратские Булгары" < Arab. **nuqrat**[126]), Собекуляне, Темтюзи/Тетюзи,Челмат.[127] How and when these different tribal groupings, some of which may well have had branches remaining in the Ponto-Caspian steppes, came to the Middle Volga region is unknown. Presumably, the Khazaro-Bulğar wars and the almost century-long Arabo-Khazar conflict led to the displacement of some tribes or elements of tribal unions (e.g. the Baranjar /Balanjar). It is also quite possible that the migration to the Middle Volga zone of some groups, such as the Suwar/Säwär/Sabir, antedated the arrival of the Bulğars here. The tensions within this state, dating, one may conjecture, to earlier conflicts unknown to us, were barely contained. The **Ḥudûd** comments that the Barčul, Askil/İskil and Bulğar groupings "are all at war with each other but if an enemy appears they become reconciled;"[128] a classic example of a segmentary polity.

By the early 10th century, when they come more clearly into the purview of the Islamic historians and geographers, the Volga Bulğars were seeking to end what was, apparently, an onerous Khazar overlordship. Like other vassal rulers, the Bulğar king,[129] whose title, **yil-tawar/il-teber** ("ruler of a subject tribal confederation") accurately reflected his status, was obliged to send

122 Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, p. 321 (=f.208b); Kâšgarî/Dankoff, I, p. 84.

123 Clauson, ED, p. 387 "a title of office, apparently a generic term for all persons commanded by the **xağan** to perform specific duties, civil or military." Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 140.

124 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie tatar**, p. 65.

125 Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, pp. 138,323 (f.207b), Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 135 : "We saw among them a people of the house (enslaved? of special status? PBG) who numbered 5000 women and men (who) have all embraced Islam. They are known as Baranjâr."

126 So Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, p. 15 who does not accept Xalikov's (**Proisxoždenie tatar**, p. 57) identification of them with the **brşulâ**. Dozy, **Supplement**, II, p. 718 : **nuqra(t)** "lingot, l'argent dans la mine, argent."

127 **PSRL**, I, c. 390, II, c. 626; Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, p. 17.

128 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 162, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 194.

129 Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, p. 131, Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahhân, p. 113 mentions "four kings who are under his (i.e. Almuš b. Šilki's) authority" that he sent out to meet them. It is unclear whether this reflected some bipartite administrative structure, members of the royal house or simply tribal or subconfederation chieftains.

hostages and brides to the Qağanal court. The king was also required to pay the Khazar Qağan one sable skin per domicile in his domain.[130] Almuš b. Šilki had converted to Islam (taking the name Jaᶜfar b. ᶜAbdallâh) which both distanced himself from the Khazars and allowed him to seek Calpihal aid. This was the purpose of the mission of 921-922, of which Ibn Faḍlân has left us an account. Almuš also had a marital alliance with the Oğuz chieftain, Etrek.[131] This too, we may presume, was part of his maneuvering to break the Khazar hold.

The Muslim world had a not insignificant interest in Volga Bulğaria which had become and would remain an important link in the East-West and North-South trade.[132] Volga Bulğaria was one of the principal sources for the Islamic world, via Xwârazm and through the Khazar-controlled Volga-Caspian route, of furs and other northern, forest products. Al-Muqaddasî writes that "from Xwârazm there are imported sable-skins, squirrel-skins, hermine-skins, marten, foxes, beavers, rabbits of all colors, goat-hides, wax, arrows, poplar wood, hats, fish-glue, fish-teeth, castoreum, yellow amber, **kimuxt** (a type of leather hide), Ṣaqlab slaves, sheep and cattle. All this comes from Bulğâr via Xwârazm."[133] Al-Masᶜûdî also notes their continuing caravans to that city, commenting that this route was protected by the Turks through whose lands it ran.[134]

The Bulğars, whose Oğuric ancestors had a long history of interest in the fur trade, dominated access to the Finno-Ugric peoples who were the main source of this commodity. It was this extensive, international trade, as well as the physical conditions of the Middle Volga region, that strengthened those elements that were sedentarizing. Our sources depict them as semi-nomadic, spending part of the year (winter) in wooden houses in their cities and towns and spring and summer in tents. The king and his entourage may well have continued to live in tents. The king's tent is described by Ibn Faḍlân as capable of holding 1000 people and covered with Armenian carpets.[135] The Islamic sources mention Bulğâr (the capital, at present-day Bolgary, Kujbyšev region, Tatar ASSR, which in the latter half of the 12th century shifted to Büler/Bilär/Bilyar on the Malyj Čeremšan[136]) and Suwâr (near present-day Tatarskij Gorodok, Kujbyšev region, Tatar ASSR), the two major cities of

130 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 145, Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, pp. 140-141.
131 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 103, Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, p. 129.
132 Martin, 1980, pp. 86-96; Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, pp. 36-38.
133 al-Muqaddasî, ed. de Goeje, p. 324.
134 Al-Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, I, p. 216. Al-Masᶜûdî, however, often confuses the Volga and Balkan Bulğars.
135 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 225; Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, p. 137, Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, p. 131.
136 Smirnov, **Očerki**, p. 91; Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, p. 62. On Bulğâr see Fëdorov-Davydov (ed.), **Gorod Bolgar**.

which they were aware. A third important city was Kašan on the Kama. The Rus', who had more intimate knowledge of the region, mention : Ошель (perhaps associated with the Askil/Iskil), Бряхимов (Ibrahimov ?), Чалмат/Торецкий Чалмат, Исбил/Исбол; Кременчук (Kremenčük), Жукотин (Jüke-tau) and others.[137] Al-Ġarnâṭî indicates that in the 12th century they had an "amîr" in Saxsin/Saqsin, on the lower Volga, in which there were also Oğuz tribes and a polyglot Muslim population.[138] Despite the impressive urban growth, stock-breeding remained an important occupation. They continued to pay their taxes to their ruler in horses. Older nomadic social traditions (e.g. inheritance from brother to brother) persisted as well.[139]

Although Volga Bulgaria served as an economic intermediary between the Rus' and the Islamic world, relations with the former were not always peaceful. According to Ibn Ḥawqal, the Bulğar lands were also attacked in the Rus'-Oğuz campaign that destroyed the Khazar capital.[140] This occurred again in 985, when the Rus', once more in alliance with the Oğuz, attacked them. Why the Oğuz-Bulğar alliance had broken down is unknown. In 986, according to the **Povest' vremjannyx let**, the Bulğars sent an embassy to persuade the Rus' ruler Vladimir I (980-1015) to embrace Islam. Vladimir, according to this account, although attracted by the houris of paradise, refused, being put off by circumcision, the prohibition on pork and most of all on alcohol.[141] The details of the account may be legendary and contain many folkloric touches, but it is very possible that the Bulğars sought, by bringing Rus' into the Islamic fold, to prevent further raids. Relations were smoothed over for in 1006, an agreement was worked out granting Bulğar (with some restrictions) and Rus' merchants trading rights in each other's lands.[142]

We possess only sparse information on Bulğar history up to the Mongol conquest. There were occasional conflicts with the Rus', over trading questions (often the abuse of merchants) which usually ended with brief campaigns. These were not wars of conquest, but of revenge or local advantage. With the integration of elements of the Cumano-Qıpčaq union into the Rus' system (see below), a new steppe factor entered these relations. In 1117, the Bulğars poisoned Ay-oba (Аепа), the Yimek Qıpčaq chieftain allied with the Rus and some other "Polovcian" princes, who had attacked them.[143] Ay-oba's grandson, the Rus' grand prince Andrej Bogoljubskij (d.

137 **Ist. Tatarii**, p. 35; Egorov, **Ist. geografija**, pp. 95-97; Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, p. 188.
138 Al-Ġarnâṭî/Bol'šakov, p. 27.
139 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, pp. 131-132.
140 Ibn Ḥawqal, ed. Kramers, I, p. 15,II, pp. 392-393.
141 **PSRL**, I, cc. 840-85.
142 Tatiščev, **Istorija**, II, p. 69.
143 **PSRL**, II, c. 285.

1174 whose wife, a Bulğar, played an important role in his assassination in revenge for the "evil he had committed against the Bulğars") ushered in a period of more purposive hostilities in the early 1160's. His brother, Vsevolod of Suzdal', in 1183-84, apparently taking advantage of Bulğar domestic discord, attacked, joined by the Yimek Qıpčaqs who were invited in by one Bulğar faction. In 1186, the Rus' were again attacking.[144]

The conflict heightened in the early 13th century. Both Rus' and the Bulğars were competing for control over the fur trade and the suppliers of the precious hides. In 1218, the Bulğars had advanced into the Yugra lands. By 1220, however, the Rus' captured Ošel' and were bought off with gifts from undertaking further campaigns. The Rus' also secured some of the Bulğar trans-Kama lands. In 1221, they built Nižnij Novgorod on the Oka, advantageously positioning themselves for further maneuvering over who would have the upper hand in the Mordvin lands. This contest was never brought to a conclusion for the Mongols were soon on the scene.[145]

We still have much to learn about the rich cultural life of Volga Bulgaria. An-Nadîm has a garbled report that the "Turks, the Bulġâr, the Blaġâ³, the Burġaz, the Khazar, the Alân...have no script, except that the Bulgarians and the Tibetans write with Chinese and Manichaean, whereas the Khazars write Hebrew." Faxrutdinov has taken this to indicate that the Volga Bulğars used some form of the runic script. This was, of course, replaced by Arabic with the coming of Islam.[146] The use of the Arabic script is attested by the gravestone inscriptions in Arabic and Bulğar that date to the 13th and 14th centuries.[147] The names of several Bulğar Islamic scholars are known, e.g. Yaᶜqûb b. Nuᶜmân al-Bulġarî (d. 1063/64) an historian who wrote a history of his people in which he attributed their conversion to a Muslim merchant named Bular/Bilar who cured the king and his wife of an illness.[148]

## THE HUNGARIANS

The ethnicity of the Hungarians has engendered an extensive literature. In modern scholarship it has been known for some time that the Hungarian language belongs to the Ugrian branch of Finno-Ugric which is, in turn, one of the branches of Uralic. But, as Róna-Tas has recently phrased it, the Hungarian ethnos of the 10th century "finnisch-ugrish sprach, aber türkisch lebte." Indeed, the much debated Turkic character of the early Hungarians is

144 See discussion in Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, pp. 87-88.
145 Smirnov, **Očerki**, pp. 88-91; Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, pp. 88-92.
146 An-Nadîm/Dodge, pp. 36-37; Faxrutdinov, **Očerki**, p. 84.
147 See collections of Róna-Tas, Fodor, **Epigraphica**, Tekin, **Volga Bulgar Kitabeleri** and the recent study of Xakimzjanov, **Èpigrafičeskie pamjatniki**.
148 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie tatar**, pp. 75-76.

an important problem for Turkology.[149] It is not our task here to enter into the still much-disputed details of Hungarian ethnogenesis. Rather, our purpose is to present the outlines of the problem and indicate its importance for Turkic studies.[150]

Uralic unity ended sometime between the 6th-4th millennia B.C. with the division into Samodian/Samoyed and Finno-Ugric. The latter, concentrated in the Volga-Kama-Belaja region, began to break apart in the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C. Those elements that came to form Ugric were in the Kama-Ural-Western Siberia region and maintained a linguistic unity until ca. 500 B.C. These hunter-gatherers of the forests, elements of whom were also acquainted with agriculture and stock raising (Indo-European influences can be seen here dating back to the period of Finno-Ugric unity), were being drawn, gradually, to different modes of economic life. Those that had moved to the forest-steppe zone came into contact with the equestrian culture of the steppe nomads. The nature of this interaction may only be guessed at through the often ambiguous testimony of archaeology. The role of the nomads in this process, once considered paramount, has more recently been placed in a different, less heavily accented perspective.[151] It is interesting to note, in this connection, that although Hungarian has an important body of Turkic loanwords, the terms for some of the basic elements of equestrian culture do not necessarily all derive from Turkic. A number of these terms date back to the period of Ugric unity, well before the ancestors of the Hungarians made the transition to a pastoral nomadic culture. Hajdú cites Hung. ló, Vog. **lû**, Ost. **law** "horse," Hung. **nyereg**, Vog. **nɐwrā**, Ost. **noǧər** "saddle," Hung. **fék**, Vog. **pex**, Ost. **pêk** "bridle" and perhaps Hung. **ostor**, Vog. **ōšter** "whip" as examples of the equestrian vocabulary of the Ugric period. He dates **kengyel** "stirrup" (< **keng**, Vog. **kēńś** Ost. **kenč** "shoe (of reindeer skin") + **al** "bottom" = "shoe-bottom") as stemming from the post-Ugrian or Proto-Hungarian period. While Hajdú is cautious about the derivation of these and other terms (e.g. **hód** "beaver," **hattyú** "swan," **szó** "word") from Turkic, Ligeti is more inclined to view them as such. He suggests : Hung. ló, Vog. **lû** [dial. **aò, lu, aû, auβ, aû, luβ**, Ost. **tau, lox**, lau etc] < *luw3, <*luǵ3 < Turk. ***ulağ**, Hung. **nyereg**, Vog. **naǧər** [na$^{3}$ir, **naǧer, neβra** etc.] Ost. **nōǧər** < * **ńenger** < *nenger < PreTurk. ***ńenger** > **yenger**, cf. Čuv. **yĕner**, Turkî **enger** "saddle," etc. The argument has been made that, initially, the ancestors of the Hungarians became mounted hunters and trappers, rather than pastoral nomads.[152] It is very likely that their position

149 Róna-Tas, 1988, pp. 128,134. See also the comments of Halasi-Kun, 1986, pp. 31-38.

150 See Golden, "Russian forest belt" **CHEIA**, pp. 242-248 for an overview of the problem.

151 See Fodor, **In Search**, pp. 115-119,127-133,146-48.

152 Hajdú, **Finno-Ugrian**, pp. 63-66; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 136-143, 237ff. See also **MNyTESZ**, I, p. 866 (**fék**), II, pp. 443 (**kengyel**), 777 (**ló**), 1042 (**nyereg**), 1098-1099 (**ostor**).

as a source or intermediary for the fur trade is what drew them into closer contact with the steppe nomads. Initially, these nomads were probably Indo-Iranians or Iranians (cf. Hung. **tehén** "cow" < IE ***dheinâ**, Old Ind. **dhénâ**, Avest. **daênav**, Hung. **tej** "milk" < IE ***dhêi**, Old Ind. **dhayati** "saugen, säugen", Soġd. **δ³yh** "têter") although there appear to be some Ancient Turkic loanwords from the Archaic Hungarian/Post-Ugrian unity period as well (e.g. Hung. **homok** "sand" < Turk. **qum**, Hung. **nyár** "summer" < Turk. **yaz**, cf. Čuv. **śur**).[153]

The Hsiung-nu/Hunnic migrations brought Oğur Turkic nomads westwards into contact with the ancestors of the Hungarians. This contact, the details and precise chronology of which are unknown to us, must have been culturally decisive for the ancestors of the Hungarians were transformed into an equestrian, pastoral-nomadic, steppe people and came fully into the steppe in what is today Baškiria, the "Magna Hungaria" of the medieval sources. According to Németh, Ligeti and others,[154] the Magyar-led tribal union was brought, ca. 460 A.D. with Oğuric groups to the Kuban river steppe zone in the North Caucasus. Here, they were in contact with and indeed under the political tutelage of the Onoğurs, Sabirs, Türks, Türko-Khazars, whose names they at various times appropriated, including **Onoğur** from which **Ungar, Hungarian** etc. are to be derived.[155] These issues are still highly problematic.[156] Boba, for example, has advanced the hypothesis that the Magyars and Onoğurs, constituting two separate and distinct tribal unions, combined at the end of the 9th century. It was the resultant union that conquered Danubian Europe and became the "Hungarians."[157] László has suggested a "double conquest," one that occurred ca. 670, when Hungarian elements are alleged to have entered Avar-controlled Pannonia and a second one at the end of the 9th century.[158]

From the Pontic steppes they were evicted in a series of attacks by the Pečenegs which brought them to Danubian Europe. This hypothesis was revised by Sinor in 1958 and then Németh in 1966. In the latter's new sketch of Hungarian protohistory, "Magna Hungaria," with its cultural (and perhaps political) ties to Volga Bulgaria, was now placed as the scene of Hungarian-Oğur interaction. This interaction continued when the Magyar-led tribal union migrated to the Pontic steppes ca. 750-800 (or perhaps 700-750). A reflection of this Baškirian period can be seen in the parallels between the tribal names traditionally associated with the Magyar union and some

153 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 146-157; Fodor, 1982, p. 46.
154 Németh, **HMK**, esp. pp. 121ff; Ligeti (ed.), **MŐT**, esp. pp. 9-177.
155 See summary of recent research in Róna-Tas, 1988, pp. 123-126.
156 See the various theories that have been put forward and the critical comments of Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 347-353.
157 Boba, **Nomads**.
158 See László, **A honfoglalókról** and his **A "kettős" honfoglalás**.

present-day Baškir tribal and clan names. Thus, Konstantinos Porphyrogennêtos, in addition to the Kabars of Khazar origin, lists 7 Hungarian clans, most of which have Baškir equivalents or for which there are reflections in the ethno-toponymy of the region : Νέκη [**Nyék**] = Bašk. **Negmen**, Μεγέρη [**Megyer/Magyar**], cf. Volgo-Bašk. ethnonyms, toponyms **Mišer, Možary, Možarovka** etc.[159], Κουρτουγερμάτου [**Kürt-Gyarmat**] = Bašk. **Yurmatı**, Ταριάνου [**Tarján, Tárkány**], cf. Bašk. **Gayna-Tarxan**, Γενάχ [**Jenő**] = Bašk. **Yeney**, Καρῆ [**Kér**], Κασῆ [**Készi**] = Bašk. **Kese**. Cf. also Hung. **gyula** (title) - Bašk. **Yulaman** etc. Kuzeev has pointed to parallels with the Čuvaš, Balkan and Volga Bulğars as well. This would indicate a region of shared ethnic elements.[160] Most of these clan/tribal names have Turkic etymologies which have been analyzed by Németh[161] and others.

Although the ethnonym **Magyar** (var. **Mogyeri, Megyer**) has also been explained as containing the Turkic er "man" in it, the most recent etymology puts it entirely within a Finno-Ugric context : **Magyar** < **magy** = Vog. **Mańśi** (self-designation of the Voguls), Ost. **Moś (Mâńıt', Mâś**, self-designation of an Ostyak phratry) < FU **Mańć** (perhaps from Iran. designating "man," cf. Avest. **manuš** "name of a legendary hero, Mid.Pers. **Manuščihr**, Skrt. **mánus** "Mensch, Mann) or FU ***mańća** "person" or Hung. **mese** "tale" i.e. a root designating "speech") + FU **ar, er** "being, person."[162] The relationship of the ethnonym **Magyar** to **Bašqort** "Baškir" is itself highly problematic. It is not impossible that **Magyar** < ***majğir(i)** became in Turkic **Bajğır** and later (in Qıpčaq) **Bašğır/Bašğirt** > **Bašqort**.[163] This question is far from resolved.

Before turning to the Baškirs, however, we must say a few more words about the Proto-Hungarians. The archaeological and linguistic evidence indicates that we are dealing with a tribal union with a Finno-Ugric base which was profoundly influenced by Bulğar Turkic (cf. the Saltovo culture which had an Iranian [Alanic] base) and nomadic Turkic cultures in Magna Hungaria, within the sphere of the Volga Bulğars and in the Pontic steppes.[164] Moreover, we may properly presume that in light of the presence of Turkic tribal/clan names among them, Turkic elements, at least in some cases, were part of this union. Such elements are definitely attested by the migration of the Kabars. The ruling strata may have had Turkic names and

159 Vásáry, 1975, pp. 237-275.

160 Sinor, 1958; Németh, 1966; Fodor, **In Search**, pp. 195-210,230 and his 1982 article, pp. 48-50,58; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 378; Konst. Porph. **DAI**, p. 174; Kuzeev, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 415-417.

161 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 221ff.

162 **MNyTESZ**, II, pp. 816-817; Róna-Tas, 1988, pp. 130-131; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 136,145.

163 See discussion in Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 375-378,399-400.

164 Fodor, **In Search**, pp. 223-226,228-229 who explains the use of the ethnonym **Onoğur** for the Hungarians by pointing to the great similarities in their appearance and culture so that to "outsiders" they appeared to be one people.

had thoroughly absorbed Turkic steppe military and political culture, yet they remained Finno-Ugric in speech.[165]

Konstantinos Porphyrogennêtos confirms this by commenting that when the Kabars joined the Hungarians (whom he calls Τούρκοι) they taught the latter "the language of the Khazars" and maintained this language up to his day, having also acquired the "other language" of the Hungarians, i.e. Finno-Ugric.[166] Magyars remained in the East and in the early 13th century, on the eve of the Mongol conquest, Hungarian monks travelling to "Magna Hungaria" claimed to have encountered them and to have conversed with them in Hungarian. The details are sketchy, but not improbable. They appear to be confirmed by Rubruck.[167]

The Hungarians in the Pontic steppe zone were within the political orbit of Khazaria. It was here that they probably acquired the Khazar variant of sacral kingship with the **gyula** (< Turk. **yula/jula**), the sacral king and the **kende** (< Khazar ***kündü**) the executive king. They were driven westward by the Pečenegs in several stages, being evicted first from Levedia (probably around the Don and Donec rivers) in the middle of the 9th century and then from Etelköz (the area "between the rivers" in this instance probably the Danube and Dnepr) in the last decade of that century. By this time they had already been drawn into Central European affairs and Byzantium's conflicts with Balkan Bulgaria. Indeed, it was their involvement that prompted the Bulgarians to bring in the Pečenegs against them.[168] Having left the great steppe for Pannonia, the familiar refuge for nomads (e.g. Huns, Avars), they retained ties with the nomadic world and were the periodic recipients of Pečeneg, Oğuz and Cuman-Qıpčaq groupings fleeing foes in the steppe.

## THE BAŠKIRS

The Baškir (in Modern Baškir **Bašqort**) ethnonym appears in the Arabo-Persian geographico-historical literature in various forms : **Basjirt** (al-Iṣṭaxrî), **Bâšjird, Bâšġird, Bašqird** (Ibn Faḍlân, Yâqût, al-Ġarnâṭî, Ibn Saᶜîd, ad-Dimišqî), **Bâšġirt** (Juvaynî, al-Qazwînî), **Bajġird** (al-Masᶜûdî). In most instances these are references to the Hungarians,[169] reflecting the still

165 Róna-Tas, 1988, p. 130.

166 Konst, Porph., **DAI**, p. 174.

167 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 306-307; Czeglédy, 1943, pp. 154ff.; Anninskij, 1940, p. 95; Györffy, Györffy, (ed. trans.) **Julianus**, pp. 27-30,61ff; Sinor, 1952, pp. 591-602; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 396. Rubruck, in **Sinica Franciscana**, ed. van der Wyngaert, pp.218-219. On the complexities of the "Magna Hungaria" question in the Medieval Hungarian sources see Vásáry, 1988, pp. 213-244.

168 Fodor, **In Search**, pp. 212-213,240-241,248-250,262-263,277-283; Moravcsik, **Byzantium and the Magyars**, pp. 49-52 and the detailed study of Kristó, **Levedi**.

169 Lewicki, 1978, pp. 42-46; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 376-378.

unraveled complexities of the Baškiro-Hungarian question. Al-Iṣṭaxrî is aware of this. He writes "the Basjirt are of two kinds. One kind lives at the edge of the Ġuzz, at the rear of the Bulġârs. They say that they number approximately 2000 men who are inaccessible in forest areas so that no one can overcome them. They are subjects of the Bulġârs. The other Basjirt border with the Bajanâk (Pečeneg)."[170] The latter clearly are to be identified with the Hungarians either in their Pontic habitat or Hungary proper. The former, however, still associated with the forest, not the steppe, may refer to the Hungarian remnants in Magna Hungaria or some element of what became the Baškirs.

Our other sources are meager and not very illuminating. Ibn Faḍlân reports that "we came upon the country of a Turkic people called al-bâšġird. We were very much on guard against them for they are the worst of the Turks, the dirtiest of them and the ones most inclined to murder....They shave their beards and eat lice." He describes them as pagans with 12 lords for winter, summer, rain, wind, trees, people, horses, water, night, day, death, earth and heaven (their greatest deity). Some venerate snakes, others fish or cranes.[171] Gardîzî, in his section on the Qırġız, mentions a "Basjirt who was one of the Khazar grandees and lived between the dominions of the Khazars and the Kimeks with 2000 horsemen."[172] Kâšġarî also places them in the northern Turkic lands. In his listing of Turkic peoples closest to Byzantium he has the Pečenegs, Qıpčaqs, Oğuz, Yimeks (< Kimek), Bašġirt, Basmıl, Qay, Yabaqu, Tatar, Qırġız. He further comments that the languages of the Yimek and Bašġirt are "approaching" pure Turkic.[173] How did the Magyars and Turkic Baškirs come to share the same name ?

Some of their Turkic neighbors (the Qazaqs and Qırġız) refer to the Baškirs as **İstek/İštek** which appears to derive from the same source as the Russ. **Ostyak**.[174] This clearly points to the Ugrian world. Anthropogically, the modern Baškirs indicate a complex ethnogenesis with Uralic, South Siberian Mongoloid, Europoid and Pontic types present. The Europoids tend to predominate in the northwestern zones of Baškiria and the Mongoloids in the northeast, Trans-Urals and south.[175] Modern Baškir scholars place the movement of substantial Turkic groups into the region largely in the 8th-9th centuries. These were the ancestors of the Turkic-speaking Baškirs who either drove out or assimilated the local Finno-Ugric (Proto-Hungarian) population. The movement of the Magyar-led union to Levedia may well

170 Al-Iṣṭaxrî, ed. de Goeje, p. 225.
171 Ibn Faḍlân, ed. Dahân, pp. 107-109; Ibn Faḍlân/Kovalevskij, pp. 130,131.
172 Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, pp. 29/46, Gardîzî/Martinez, p.125.
173 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, pp. 82,83.
174 Hajdu, **Ural'skie jazyki**, pp. 43-44; Fasmer, **Ètim. slov.**, III, p. 167, Xanty **âs-yax** "men of the Ob'," Manśi **asmakum**, **MNyTESZ**, 2, pp. 1102.
175 See Rudenko, **Baškiry**, pp. 328ff.

have been the product of these pressures. Nonetheless, it is rather curious to note that attempts, thus far, to find Ugric substratal elements or early borrowings in Baškir have not been successful.[176] We do not know what kind of Turkic was brought in by these elements, although Bulğaric seems the most likely candidate. Later, when the Qıpčaqs came to dominate here, their form of Turkic ultimately prevailed.[177] In any event, it would appear, as was noted above, that the old Finno-Ugric ethnonym, **magyar**, transmitted to the Islamic world undoubtedly through Turkic intermediaries (only Ibn Rusta has **majğariyya**), with **m-b** alternation and Turkicized pronunciation, became the name by which the Turkic population became known as well.[178] How and why this population adopted this name is unclear. It may indicate that the initial Turkic influx was not politically organized, drifting in rather than conquering. If the 13th century Hungarian accounts are indeed accurate, the Turkicization of the Ugric-speaking elements in Baškiria did not take place until the Mongol era. We shall return to the question of Baškir ethnogenesis (Chap. 12).

## THE PEČENEGS

This ethnonym appears in our sources as : Tibet. **Be-ča-nag**, Arabo-Persian **bjnâk, bjânâk, bjnh**, Georg. **pačanik-i**, Arm. **pacinnak**, Greek **Πατζινακῖται, Πατζινάκοι**, Rus'. **ПеченѣгЪ**, Lat. **Pizenaci, Bisseni, Bysseni, Bessi, Beseneu**, Hung. **Besenyő** (< **Bešenäğ**) = **Bečenāk/Pečenāk**.[179] It has been etymologized as a Pečenego-Qıpčaq variant of **bajanaq/bajınaq** "Schwager" (> Old Church Slav. **пашеногъ**), i.e "the "in-law clan/tribe"[180] Such a derivation is by no means certain.

Pečeneg origins remain obscure. The **Sui-shu** (7th century) mentions a tribe called **Pei-ju** (in which Pelliot would see *Pək-ńźi̯ʷok = Pečeneg[181]) among the T'ieh-lê, neighbors of the En-ch'ü (Onoğur ?) and A-lan (Alans).[182] The geography here is sketchy indeed, for we may place them anywhere between the North Caucasian steppes and Kazakhstan. We are on somewhat firmer ground with the notice of a Tibetan translation of an 8th century Uyğur account of the Northern peoples. Here, the **Be-ča-nag** are

176 Vásáry, 1985, pp. 201-232.
177 Aristov, 1896, p. 406; Kuzeev et al., **Narody Povolž'ja**, pp. 237-242 and his earlier, **Proiskoždenie**, pp. 393ff.
178 See discussion in Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 375-379,390-400.
179 See Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 247-249; Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, p. 599; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 268.
180 Pritsak, 1952, p. 79 and Pritsak, 1975, p. 211; Sevortjan, **Ètim. slov.**, II, pp. 26-27; Bazin, 1986, pp. 70,73,77; Menges, 1987, pp. 167-168.
181 Pelliot, **Quelques noms**, p. 226,n.1.
182 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 128, II, p. 569. He identifies them with the Baškirs.

noted as warring with the Oğuz (**Hor**), probably in the Syr Darya region.[183] Their connection with this region is confirmed by Oğuz legend, as we have seen, and by Konstantinos Porphyrogennêtos who reports that the Pečeneg subconfederation of the tribes *Yaβdı-ertim, Küerči-Čur and Qabuqšın-Yula (see below) were "also called Qangar/Kenger (Κάγγαρ) and were considered "more valiant and noble than the rest and that is what the title "Kangar" signifies."[184] This, in turn, should be connected with the Chinese toponym **K'ang-chü** (nomad lands of the Middle Syr Darya and adjoining lands), the Kengü Tarban and the Kengeres people of the Türk inscriptions (Kül Tegin). The latter sided with the Eastern Türk Qağans in their conflicts with the Western Türks in the early 8th century.[185] Pritsak identifies them with the **Kangarâyê** (< ***Xangarâyê**) nomads who settled in Transcaucasia and etymologizes their name from Tokharian ***kâñk** "stone" (cf. Turk. Taškent "Stone City"). They were, in his view, city-oasis dwelling, commercially-oriented Tokharian speakers and the masters of the Taškent region. The ethnonym **Kengeres** he derives from **kâñk** and Ἄορσοι > ***âvrs** > **ârs** > **âs** = ***Kenger As**.[186] The difficulty here is that Iran. **Aoruša** (> Grk. Ἄορσ) produces **Ûrs/Ors**.[187] According to Pritsak, the Kangars were driven out by the Oğuz (allied with the Qarluqs and Kimeks) into the steppe where they became nomads. Their confederation contained elements that spoke Tokharian, Eastern Iranian and Bulğaric.[188] All of this is highly hypothetical. Németh and Ligeti regarded them as speakers of Common Turkic (most probably of the Qıpčaq variety) whose point of origin was in the East. Our data does not go beyond that.[189]

Conflict with the Oğuz drove them into the Volga-Ural/Yayıq mesopotamia and thence, now with added Khazar pressure, in the late 9th century, into the Pontic steppes. Konstantinos Porphyrogennêtos, writing ca. 948-52, dates these events some 50 or 55 years prior to his day.[190] By the 10th century, they had become, from the Byzantine perspective, the most important of their steppe neighbors. Konstantinos largely devotes the opening chapters of his **De Administrando Imperio** to Pečeneg policy, indicating how they can be used to control the Rus', Hungarians, the Balkan Bulgarians and how crucial they are to the Danubian and Crimean frontiers.

183 Bacot, 1956, p. 147; Ligeti, 1971, pp. 170,172,175,176.
184 Konst. Porph., **DAI**, pp. 170/171.
185 Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie pamjatniki**, pp. 156-178.
186 Pritsak, 1975, pp. 212-214.
187 **Osnovy iranskogo jazykoznanija**, p. 240.
188 Pritsak, 1975, pp. 215-218,228-230.
189 Németh, **Die Inschriften**, pp. 16,50-51; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 362,506. See also Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, pp. 596-606.
190 Konst. Porph. **DAI**, pp. 166/167.

The royal historian reports that in his day the Pečenegs consisted of 8 tribal groupings (he terms them θέματα "provinces"), headed by "great princes," 4 on each side of the Dnepr (reflecting Turkic bipartite, left-right organizational principles), which in turn subdivided into 40 "districts" (μέρη), probably clanal groupings. The names of the 8 tribal groupings, consist of two parts, the name proper, usually a horse-color, and with some possible exceptions, the titles of their rulers : Ἰαβδι-ερτί(μ) **Yavdı [Yawdı] ertim/erdem** "the tribe of Erdem ("bravery, virtue") with brilliant, shining horses," Κουαρτζι-τζούρ **Küerči** (< **Küverči** < **Küğerči**)-**Čur** "the tribe of the **čur** with bluish horses," Χαβουξιν-γυλά **Qabuqšın-Yula** "the tribe of the Yula with bark colored horses," Συρου-κουλπέη **Suru Kül Bey** "the tribe of the Kül Bey with grayish horses," Χαρα-βοη **Qara-Bay** "the tribe of the Bay (or of Bay, "the wealthy, honored") with black horses," Βορο-ταλμάτ **Boru Tolmač** "the tribe of the **tolmač** (lit. translator, also a title) with grayish horses," Γιαζιχοπὸν **Yazı-Qapan** (**yazığ** < **yağız**) "the tribe of the Qapan (perhaps **qapğan** ?) with dark-brown horses," Βουλα-τζοπόν **Bula-Čopan/Čaban** "the tribe of the Čopan/Čaban with piebald horses."[191] This same source also provides the names of the "great princes" at the time they were expelled from their Volga-Ural/Yayıq habitat, some 55 years earlier: Βαϊτζαν < **bay** "wealthy" + **-ča**, Κούελ < **kūğel** "bright-green," Κουρκοῦται < **qorqut-tay** < **qorqut-** "to frighten," Ἰπαόν < **Ipa/Iba** ? cf. Hung. **Ipoch**, Καϊδούμ < **qaydum** (cf. Hung. Kajdan) < **qayt-** (< **qayıt-** < **qaḍıt-** "to turn back"[192]), Κώσταν (cf. Sağay. **qosta** "arrow of a hero which by itself seeks out the enemy"[193]??), Γιαζή < **yazı** ?, Βατᾶν < **bata/bota** "small camel."[194]

Konstantinos further comments, in this connection, that succession to the position of "grand prince" was hereditary, not from father to son, but cousin to cousin. Clearly, this (if not a garbling by our source) is a reference to a variant of the system of succession that was in use among the Türks (older brother to younger brother) and well-known among the nomads.

Neither Konstantinos nor the Rus' chroniclers, the sources closest to the Pečenegs, make any mention of an overarching executive authority in this

191 Konst. Porphy. **DAI**, pp. 166-169; Németh, **Die Inschriften**, p. 50; Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 507-511.

192 Clauson, **ED**, pp. 596-597.

193 Németh, **Inschriften**, p. 51 < Radloff, **Opyt slovarja, II/1**, c.625. This word, however, may derive from ***qoš**, see Räsänen, **Versuch**, p. 283 : Uyğ. "doppelt," MTürk. "ein Paar," Čağ. "zusammen sich befinden, mit einander zusammen in einer Reihe" etc.. Cf. also Qazaq. **qostas** "cohabitant" (Shnitnikov, **KED**, p. 268; Radloff, **Opyt slovarja, II/1**, c.627), if this, too, does not stem from an original ***qoš**. Forms based on **qoš** should not be excluded, cf. Čağ. **qošti** (Šeyx Süleymân Efendi Buxârî, p. 237) "companion, of the same color, fellow-traveller" (hem-râh, hem-reng, refîq, qoldaš etc.). Pritsak, (Golb, Pritsak, **Khazarian Hebrew Documents**, pp. 38-39) compares this name with the Гостоунъ of the Bulgarian Prince List and Gwstṭ' [ꤏ꤃꤃꤉ꤊ] of the Khazar Hebrew Kievan letter.

194 See Németh, **Inschriften**, p. 51; Györffy, "Besenyők és magyarok" in his **MKE**, pp. 185-186.

tribal confederation. The Ḥudûd says that they were ruled by a **mihtar** (Pers. "greater, elder, prince, lord, chief, governor"), were at war with all their neighbors and had no towns.[195] A much later source, the westerner Abu Sa'îd (d.1286, the notice is preserved in Abu'l-Fidâ, d.1331) credits them with a town, "Bajanâkiyya" and a "Xâqân."[196] But, it seems most likely that this was a **topos**, by that time customary for references to Turkic nomads. In any event, the Pečenegs, in that era, had long since been removed as active shapers of events. The Pečenegs, then, as was typical of the majority of the nomadic groupings in the Western Eurasian steppes, were stateless. This did not mean that they were weak or impoverished. Gardîzî reports that they are the "possessors of (great) wealth for they are possessors of abundant horses and sheep. They have many gold and silver vessels. They have many weapons. They have silver belts." Gardîzî also comments that they were much put upon by their neighbors who attacked them in slave-raiding expeditions.[197] They, doubtless, reciprocated.

The earliest recorded Pečeneg-Rus' encounter took place in 915. At that time a "peace" was concluded permitting the Pečenegs, as Byzantine allies, to attack Bulgaria. But, 5 years later, the Rus', under Igor', attacked them. This same Igor', in 944, hired a grouping of them for a campaign against Byzantium.[198] This was typical of nomadic relations with the Rus' and other sedentary powers in the Byzantine sphere. The nomads raided and were raided in return. Occasionally, they served as mercenaries. More often, they were brought in as "allies" in throne struggles or for raids of one state against another. They never attempted to conquer or seize Rus' territory permanently.

In 968, the Pečenegs staged a major attack on Rus', probably at the request of Byzantium which was seeking to force their "ally," the Rus' prince Svjatoslav, out of Bulgaria. He had invaded that land at Constantinople's behest, but then decided he would stay. The Pečenegs were again used, this time fatally, in 972, to ambush and kill Svjatoslav, (from whose skull a drinking goblet was made), after the Byzantines had finally dislodged him from Bulgaria.[199] Under Vladimir I (978-1015), Rus'-Pečeneg relations worsened. Son of a concubine, Vladimir sought to prop up his political legitimacy. He Christianized Rus', which also strengthened central authority, and initiated a program of military and urban construction on the steppe approaches to Rus'. His alliance with the Oğuz (in 985 they attacked Volga

195 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 101, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 87.
196 **Géographie d'Aboulféda**, ed. Reinaud and de Slane, p. 205.
197 Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, pp. 35/56; Gardîzî/Martinez, pp. 151,152. Ibn Rusta, ed. de Goeje, p. 140 says that the Khazars campaigned against them annually and the Burdâs raided them.
198 **PSRL**, I, cc.42,43,45.
199 **PSRL**, I, cc.72,73.

Bulğaria), the traditional enemies of the Pečenegs, could only have caused some alarm among the latter. Warfare, perhaps begun by the Pečenegs, broke out in 988 and continued into the next century, more or less grinding to an inconclusive halt ca. 1006-1007. Not long thereafter, Pečenegs were employed in the throne-struggle that followed Vladimir's death which ended with the defeat of Svjatopolk and his Pečeneg cohorts (1015-1019) by Jaroslav (d.1054).[200]

However complicated relations with Rus' may have been, the Pečenegs faced even greater perils from their steppe foes. Under Oğuz pressure, as well as Rus', the Pečenegs were being pushed towards the Byzantine Danubian frontier. In 1027, they crossed the Danube and were repulsed by the Byzantines. Further raids followed in 1032,1034,1035 and 1036. Their attempt to reestablish themselves in the central Pontic steppes was crushed at Kiev by Jaroslav in 1036.[201] Thereafter, their activities again centered around the Danube and Byzantine Balkan holdings.

Intensive Pečeneg-Rus' relations had now, in effect, come to an end. These relations had not always been marked by enmity. There were extensive commercial ties. It is true that the Pečenegs could and probably did on occasion threaten the famous "route from the Varangians to the Greeks" described by Konstantinos Porphyrogennêtos.[202] But, this does not seem to be a consistent theme of Pečeneg-Rus' relations. Indeed, the Imperial Historian informs us that the Rus' bought horses, cattle and sheep from them.[203] These were the typical products of the nomadic economy that were traded with sedentary societies. Although, according to Gardîzî's sources, the trade routes through the Pečeneg lands were" desolate and disagreeable," al-Masᶜûdî says that merchants from Khazaria, the North Caucasus (Bâb al-Abwâb, Alania) and elsewhere travelled thither.[204]

Of Pečeneg culture in the Pontic steppes we know little. Not unreasonably, some of the artifacts with runic inscriptions found in the region have been ascribed to them.[205] Sources on the question of Pečeneg religious affiliations are equally skimpy and ambiguous. The Nikon Chronicle reports that the Pečeneg princes Metigay (Метигай) and Küčük (Кучюгъ), in 988 and 991 respectively, came to Vladimir I and converted to Orthodoxy.[206] Bruno of Querfort, who was active in Pečeneg-Rus' peace negotiations in the early years of the 11th century, was also engaged in Christian proselytization

200 **PSRL**, I, cc.121-124,127-129,141-142; Šekera, **Kyïvs'ka Rus'**, pp. 79-80,99-108.
201 Skylitzes-Kedrenos, II, pp. 483,499,512,514-515; Zonaras, IV, pp. 126-127,132,139; **PSRL**, I, cc.150-151; Diaconu, **Les Petchénègues**, pp. 39-49.
202 Konst. Porph., **DAI**, pp. 56-63.
203 Konst. Porph., **DAI**, pp. 48-51.
204 Gardîzî/Bartol'd, **Sočinenija**, VIII, pp. 35/56,; Masᶜûdî, **Murûj**, I, p.237.
205 Cf. Ščerbak's studies, 1954, 1959 and the remarks of Németh, 1971.
206 **PSRL**, IX, pp. 57,64.

in their lands,[207] the results of which are uncertain. Al-Bakrî, however, reports that up to that time, the Pečenegs were **majûsî** (a term which could designate Zoroastrians), but in 400/1009-1010, under the influence of a Muslim relgio-legal scholar (**faqîh**) converted to Islam.[208] In the Balkans, however, there are indications that they were influenced by Orthodox Christianity as well as various Manichaean sects there.[209] In all likelihood, all these elements, not to mention Inner Asian shamanism and the Tengri cult, were present in Pečeneg society at various times.

The Pečenegs, having been pushed to the Danubian borders of the steppe, in the aftermath of their defeat at Kiev, now faced internal disputes. These may well have been the consequence of military failures. During the reign of Konstantinos IX Monomaxos (1042-1055), ca. 1045-1046, one of the Pečeneg chieftains, Kegen (Κεγένης), defeated in a bid for power against the leading chief *Tıraq (? Τυράχ[210]), fled with his tribe/clan/band (?) to Byzantium where he was converted and sent back to the Danubian frontier to guard it against his fellow tribesmen. Raids and harsh climactic conditions brought still more Pečenegs to Byzantine service (including Tıraq). They mutinied, in 1048, and were subsequently joined by Kegen, who had now grown suspicious of Constantinople. A Byzantine attempt to dislodge them from their Balkan stronghold (near Preslav in Bulgaria) ended in defeat in 1052. This compelled the imperial government to accept their presence, by treaty (1053) as a self-governing polity within the Empire and a potential thorn in Constantinople's side. Meanwhile, an inept Byzantine government paved the way for the Oğuz conquest of Asia Minor (see Chap. 7).[211]

The nomadic encampments of the Pečenegs in the eastern and central Pontic steppes had been replaced by those of the Western Oğuz, driven hither, ca. 1036-1050, by the Qıpčaqs. In 1054, the Rus' chronicles mention hostilities with their erstwhile allies. In 1060, the Rus' completely routed them, causing them to flee to the Byzantine frontier with great loss of life due to the elements, disease and hunger.[212] Following defeats at the hands of Byzantium (1064) and Hungary (1068), some Oğuz entered Byzantine or Rus' service. Under the rulers of Kiev, these Oğuz, joined by other ex-nomadic fragments, including Pečenegs, came to be known as the "Black Hats" (Rus.Черныи клобоуци, Pers. **qaum-i kulâh-i siyâhân**).[213]

207 Tryjarski, **HEPCP**, p. 591.
208 Al-Bakrî, ed. Rosen, Kunik, pp. 43/59-60.
209 Vasil'evskij, **Vizantija i Pečenegi**, pp. 38-43.
210 Moravcsik, **BT**, II, pp. 157-158,330 (<Skylitzes).
211 See the classic account of Vasil'evskij, **Vizantija i Pečenegi**, pp. 9ff. Useful also are Diaconu, **Les Petchénègues**, pp. 50-78 and Angold, **Byzantine Empire**, pp. 14-26.
212 **PSRL**, I, cc.162,163, II, cc.151,152.
213 Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Alizade, II/1, pp. 162-163. On the **Čërnye Klobuki**, see Rasovskij, 1927, pp. 93-109 and Rasovskij, 1933, pp. 1-66 and the monographs of Pletnëva, **Drevnosti** and Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, **Czarni Kłobuci**.

The virtual destruction of the Western Oğuz now brought the Quman-Qıpčaqs into the Pontic steppes. The Pečenegs, as well as other Turkic elements (including the Qıpčaqs) were involved in Byzantine internal strife in the years following Manzikert. Pečeneg raids and involvement in disturbances, as has been suggested,[214] weakened Byzantium or at least diverted the government's attention from Anatolia, allowing its conquest by the Oğuz. The Byzantine Emperor Aleksios I (1081-1118) was determined to settle the situation in the Balkans. In 1091, at Levunion, assisted by the Qumans, he crushed Pečeneg military might. The Qumans, however, refused to participate in the orgy of slaughter that followed.[215] Although there are reports of later Pečeneg raids, these were politically insignificant annoyances. The fragmented Pečenegs had ceased to be an important military force.

## THE QUMAN-QIPČAQS

### Origins

The question of Quman-Qıpčaq origins and ethnicity has long attracted the attention of scholars, but a definitive answer remains elusive.[216] Even the matter of what we are to call them requires laborious explanation. In the West, they appear as the **Qumans** (**Comani** etc. or various loan-translations based on that ethnonym, see below). To the Islamic world (i.e. the Arabic and Persian-speaking/reading populations), the Christian peoples of Transcaucasia, the Mongols and Chinese of the Yüan era, they were known as the **Qıpčaqs** (Arab. Pers., **Xifjâq, Qifjâq, Qibjâq** etc., Arm. **Xbšax**, Georg. **Qivč'aq-i**, Mong. **Kibčag**, pl. **Kibča'ut, Kimčag, Kimča'ud**, Chinese **Ch'in-ch'a** < **Kimča(q)** < Mong., **K'o-fu-ch'a, K'o-pi-chao**[217] < **Qıpčaq**. Some Soviet scholars, following a suggestion by Karlgren, have identified this ethnonym with the **Ch'ü-she**, one of the tribes conquered by the Hsiung-nu Mao-tun. But, this has not found universal acceptance.[218]

The earliest attestation of this ethnonym is in the partially preserved inscription of the Uyğur Qağan El-etmiš Bilge Qağan (747-759), the so-called Šine-Usu/Selenga Stone monument, N4). Here, they are termed **Türk-**

214 Kurat, **Peçenek Tarihi**, p.165.

215 Vasil'evskij, **Vizantija i Pečenegi**, pp. 96ff.

216 See Marquart, **Komanen**, the reviews of it by Pelliot, 1920, pp. 125-185 and Bartol'd, 1921, **Sočinenija**, V, pp. 392-408; the syntheses of Czeglédy, 1949a, pp. 43-50, Šanijazov, **K ètničeskoj**, pp. 9-54; Pritsak, 1982, pp. 321-340 and the recent study of Axinžanov, **Kypčaki**, pp. 39ff.

217 Pelliot, 1920, p. 149n.1; Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**, p. 97; Bretschneider, **Researches**, I, p. 23; Yeh-lu Ch'u-ts'ai/de Rachewiltz, p. 23; Györffy, "A kun és komán" **MKE**, pp. 200-201.

218 **Shih-chi**/Watson, II, p. 165; Savinov, **Narody**, pp. 17-18.

**Qıbčaq**[219] implying that they were part of the Türk Qağanate. This reading and hence its historical implications have been questioned.[220] Curiously, we have no other Turkic source that associates them, under this name, with the Orxon Qağanate. Kljaštornyj has recently argued that they are to be identified with the **Sir** of the Türk Orxon monuments, the **Hsieh** (<*siet)/**Hsieh-yen-to** of the Chinese sources. He etymologizes the name from **qıvčaq** "unfortunate," a term that came to be associated with them, he suggests, after a number of defeats.[221] Németh saw in this name the Turkic **qıpčaq** "serdityj, vspyl'čivyj," attested only in the Siberian Sağay dialect, which falls into the category of ethnonyms denoting character (submissive, angry etc).[222] Rašîd ad-Dîn, in his section on the Turkic tribes and the deeds of Oğuz Xan, says that the name of the eponymous ancestor of the Qıpčaqs, **qıbčaq**, derived from Turkic **qobuq** and designated a "tree (the center of which) is rotted out, hollowed."[223] On the basis of this legend, laden with forest-steppe symbolism, Axinžanov places their ethnogenesis in the Sayan-Altay forest-steppe zone and believes that their core was part of the Oğuz union which they dominated for some time.[224] Recently, however, Pritsak, following this **Volksetymologie** and its association with **qobı**[225] would see in this the concept of "a hollow--treeless (steppe/desert)," a notion already explored by Marquart and Pelliot. **Qıpčaq**, in turn, he associates with the Rus' name for this people, Половци, a loan-translation.[226] The latter, however, has other explanations. **Polovci** (sing. **Polovčin**, Modern Russ. **Polovcy**) has usually been derived from Slav. **plav**, ESlav. **polov** "svetlo-želtyj, blëklyj"[227] and there are forms in Turkic and other languages which would appear to substantiate this calque. In particular, we must note the Turkic **Quman** (Lat. **Comani**, **Cumani**, Greek. Κόμανοι, Κούμανοι > Arab. [al-Idrîsî] **Qumân**, cf. also Rus' Коумани) which has been derived from Turkic **quba** "pale, pale yellow, pale grey, dun"[228] or the contracted form **quw**,

219 Ajdarov, **Jazyk**, p. 344; Malov, **PDrPMK**, p. 34.

220 Axinžanov, **Kypčaki**, pp. 40-42.

221 Kljaštornyj, 1986, pp. 153-164. Nadeljaev et al., **DTSl.**, p. 449 **qıvčaq** "neudačlivyj, zlopolučnyj" etc. Clauson, **ED**, pp. 579,581, would connect this word with **qıv** "divine favour, good fortune," but was troubled by the semantic incompatibility.

222 Németh, **HMK**, p. 36 < Radloff, **Opyt slovarja**, II, p. 843. The anthroponym **Qıpčaq** is found in Uyğur juridical documents, Radloff/Malov, **Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler**, pp. 16-17,23-24, 101.

223 Bağdat Köşkü Ms. 282, f.592r, facsimile in Rašîd ad-Dîn, **Oğuzen**/Jahn and trans. pp. 25-26; Rašîd ad-Dîn, **Jâmiᶜ**, ed. Romaskevič et al., **I**, p. 105. The tale is repeated by Abu'l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Tarâkima**, ed. Kononov, Turk. p. 19/Russ.p. 43. Clauson, **ED**, p. 382 **qovuq** "hollow, empty."

224 Axinžanov, 1976, pp. 82-83, **Kypčaki**, pp. 56-60.

225 Clauson, **ED**, p. 581 "rotten (i.e. hollow?), unlucky" in **Qutadğu Bilig**.

226 Marquart, **Komanen**, pp. 158-161; Pelliot, 1930, pp. 279-281 and Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**,p. 96; Pritsak, 1982, pp. 325-326.

227 Fasmer, **Ètim. Slov.**, III, p. 313.

228 Clauson, **ED**, p. 581.

attested in Quman.[229] Another form of this name was preserved in Hungarian, **Kun** (< **Qun**). **Polovci** in Polish-Latin became **plauci**, Czech-Latin **Plawci** and was borrowed into Hung. as **Palócz**. **Quman** was loan-translated directly into Latin as **Pallidi** (Adam of Bremen, 11th cent.) and into German or Germano-Latin as **Falones, Phalagi, Valvi, Valwen**. In Armenian (Matt'eos Uṛhayec'i) this became **Xartêšk'n** (Mod. Arm. **xarteaš** or **xartyaš** "blonde, fair, light,flaxen; fallow, pale").[230] The Rus' term, then, would appear to belong to that grouping of calques by which this people (the "Pale-ones" or perhaps a reference to "dun-colored" horses favored by them, cf. the Pečeneg tribal names) became known in the western, i.e. European regions of their settlement. Pritsak, however, took a somewhat different approach (building, as we have noted, on some of the hypotheses advanced by Marquart and Pelliot). Having equated **Qıpčaq** with **Polovci**, he suggested that **qumân** ("Pallidi" etc. denoted "people of the pale/pallid (steppe/desert)" and that the Turkic Qıpčaqs employed this term **Qumân/Qûn** to denote the originally Proto-Mongolian Kimek (see Chap. 7).[231]

Györffy was skeptical about several aspects of these formulations on philologcial and textual grounds, disassociating **Quman** and **Qun** and noting that the Qun are completely absent from Rus' and Byzantine sources. The latter, he argues, would certainly have known of a Nestorian Christian, Inner Asian people whose activities had set off a chain of migrations that so profoundly affected events in Central Asia and Western Eurasia.[232]

The linguisitic aspects of the question, sketchy and suggestive at best, barring the appearance of new data, appear to have reached a dead-end. They simply point us in the direction of the Turkic and Mongolic world. It is interesting to note that while the ethnonym **Qıpčaq** occurs as a tribal and or clan name among the Baškirs, Özbeks, Qara Qalpaqs, Qazaqs, Qırğız, Altay Turks, Noğays and Crimean Tatars,[233] the name **Quman** is unknown among the present-day Turkic peoples[234].

The Central Asian or eastern grouping of this tribal union was known as **Qanglı** (Arab. Pers. **qnklî/qnglî**, Lat. **Cangle**). The etymology/origin of this ethnonym has not been established. A number of scholars associate it with

229 Grønbech, **Kom. Wtrb.**, p. 205.

230 Marquart, **Komanen**, pp. 27-29,55; Rasovskij, 1935, pp. 252-253; Németh, 1940a, pp. 99-107; Ponmarev, 1940, pp. 366-370; Menges, **Vostočnye elementy**, pp. 70-73; Pritsak, 1982, pp. 328-331. Györffy, "A kun és komán," **MKE**, pp. 201-219.

231 Pritsak, 1982, pp. 324-331.

232 Györffy, "A kun és komán," **MKE**, pp. 206-210,215,218. He derives **qun** from **xun/hun**. The Hung. **Kun**, he suggests, originally designated "an Eastern nomad" and later came to be applied to the Hungarianized Qumans.

233 See Kuzeev, **Proiskoždenie**, pp. 466-467.

234 According to Togan, UTTG, p. 162 **Qun** is found in Tatar anthroponymy. In Quman, qun means "Kraft, Macht" (Grønbech, **Kom.Wtrb.**, p. 203).

the Kengeres/Kangar (see above), the land of K'ang-chü in Chinese sources.[235] Kâšgarî knows it only as an anthroponym ("the name of an important man of Qifčâq"). He also says that it is the term for "a wagon for carrying loads."[236] Turkic tradition (i.e. the Oğuz epic and Abu'l-Ġâzî) associated the ethnonym with the (onomotopoeic) term for "wagon."[237] The relationship of these peoples, Quman, Qıpčaq and Qanglı is noted by contemporary sources. A 12th century redaction of an 8th century Georgian hagiographical work anachronistically mentions the "country of the Komans, who are the Qivč'aqs."[238] The 13th century traveller to the Mongols, William of Rubruck, mentions the "Comani" who are called Capchat (i.e. Qıpčaq) and "Valani" by the Germans and records the "Cangle" as related to the Comani.[239]

The Islamic authors initially placed the Qıpčaqs and Qun/Qumans in the Northern Turkic world. Ibn Xurdâḏbih (mid-late 9th century) reports on the lands of the Turks : "the Toquz Oğuz (al-tġzġr) (possess) the widest country of the Turks. They border on China, Tibet, the Qarluqs (al-xrlx), the Kimek, the Oğuz, the ?jfr, the Pečeneg (al-bjânâk), the Türgiš, the Aḏkiš, the Qıpčaq (al-xfšâx), the Qırğız..."[240] This notice, which probably goes back to the early-mid 8th century, when the Türgeš were still an important element in Western Türk/On Oq affairs, indicates that the Qıpčaqs were located between the Western Türk Qağanate and the Qırğız, i.e. within the orbit of the Kimek union. The **Ḥudûd**, in fact, describes them as "a clan (**qaum**) which, having separated from the Kimek" now bordered with the Pečenegs (in their Volga-Ural habitat) and the "Northern Uninhabited Lands."[241] This would point to a westward drift of the Qıpčaqs.

The Qun were further to their East. Al-Bîrûnî (largely repeated in Yâqût) says of the Sixth Clime : "it begins in the places of the nomadic encampments of the Eastern Turks, the Qay and Qun, the Qırğız, Kümek (sic!), Toquz Oğuz..."[242] They may well have been part of that same conglomeration of

235 Togan, **UTTG**, pp. 159-160; Tolstov, 1947, p. 101; Kljaštornyj, **Drevnetjurkskie pamjatniki**, pp. 177-179. Axinžanov, 1976, p. 85, the Qıpčaqs assumed this name when they took over the Qang region.

236 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, II, p. 343.

237 Rašîd ad-Dîn, **Oğuzen**/Jahn, p. 20; Bang, Rachmati, 1932, p. 698; Abu'l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Tarâkima**, ed. Kononov, text, p. 19/trans. p. 17.

238 Biró, 1973, pp. 161-164 "k'ueqanasa komant'asa, romel arian qivč'aqni."

239 van der Wyngaert (ed.), **Sinica Franciscana**, I, pp. 194,218.

240 Ibn Xurdâḏbih, ed. de Goeje, p. 31. Largely repeated by Ibn al-Faqîh, ed. de Goeje, p. 329.

241 **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, p. 101, ed. Sotoodeh, p. 87. Elsewhere (Minorsky, p. 83, Sotoodeh, p. 59) they appear in the listing of peoples: "...Rûm, the Sarîr, the Alân, the Khazars, the Ṣaqlâb, the Khazarian Pečenegs, the Mrvât, the Inner Bulġâr, the Rûs, the Majġarî, the (V)nndr, the Turkic Pečenegs, the Brâdas, the Burṭâs, the Khifjâq, the Oğuz, the Kimek, the Čigil, the Tuxs, the Xallux (Qarluqs), the Yaġma, the Toquz Oğuz and the Qırğız."

242 Al-Bîrûnî, **Kitâb at-Tafhîm**, ed. Wright, p. 145; Yâqût, **Mu'jam** (Beirut ed.), I, p. 31.

Mongolic peoples from which the Qitañ sprang. Al-Marwazî, writing ca. 1120, provides a very important notice on their history. In speaking of the Turkic peoples he comments "to them also belong the Qûn; these came from the land of Qitây, fearing the Qitâ-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures. Of their number (was) Äkinji b. Qočqar the Xwârazmšâh. The Qûn were followed (or pursued) by a people called the Qây, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these (new?) pasture lands. They then moved on to the territory of the Šârî and the Šârî migrated to the land of the Türkmens, who, in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the Ġuzz country. The Ġuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the Bajânak near the shores of the Armenian (sea?)."[243]

Confirmation of this account appears to come from the Armenian chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (Matt'eos Urhayec'i) who reports s.a. 499/1050-51 various disturbances in the Byzantine realm: "And there took place days that breathed enormous carnage and bitterness because of the carrion-eating, godless, unclean people of the Pacenikk', the mad, blood-drinking beasts. Then the people of the Snakes drew near and attacked the "Pale ones" (**zxartêšk'n**) and the "Pale ones" were driven out and attacked the Uz and Pacinnak (**zpacinnakn**) and in concert they were fired up against the Romans..."[244] The migrations, then, involved the Qitañ (the ultimate catalysts), the Qay > > the Qun > > the Šârî > > the Türkmen > > the Oğuz > > the Pečenegs. How are we to identify them ?

In the second decade of the 11th century, Bar Hebraeus, Ibn al-Aṯîr and al-ᶜUtbî report large scale attacks on the Qaraxanid state by nomads coming from "Xeṭâ"/"Xiṭây which were beaten back.[245] While it is by no means absolutely clear that these disturbances were the end result of what we may call the "Qun migration," we may reasonably presume that they were part of larger, unsettling events in the borderlands of the Qitañ state. Indeed, increased Pečeneg activity in the Byzantine Balkan and Danubian regions, in the 1020's and especially after their defeat at the hands of the Rus' in 1036, also points to the presence of stronger nomadic forces to their east.

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243 Marvazî/Minorsky, Arabic, p. 18/trans. pp. 29-30. The notice is repeated by Muḥammad-i ᶜAufî (d.ca. 1233), see Marquart, **Komanen**, p. 40; Pelliot, 1920, p. 135 where the ms. form **mrqh**, about which much has been written (see Marquart, **Komanen**, pp. 80-89; Pelliot, 1920, pp. 142-3,146-7) appears. It is probably a corruption of **firqa** ("body, clan, troop, band") as the Turkish translation of this work found in the Aya Sofya ms.3167, ff.488a-b (see Şeşen, **İslâm Coğrafyacılarına Göre**, p. 91) indicates.

244 Marquart, **Komanen**, pp. 54-55; Matthieu d'Edesse/DuLaurier, p. 89.

245 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), IX, pp. 298ff.; Dankoff, 1979-80, p. 157; Bar Hebraeus/Budge, I, p. 186, who mentions (I, p. 205), s.a. 1046, another massive nomadic incursion under a king Naṣâraṯ that advanced as far as Kâšġar. These nomads, because of their alleged eight-fold division, are usually identified with the Naimans (Mong. **naiman** "eight"), see Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 103-104; Rasovskij, 1936, p. 170.

Qun/Quman ethnicity, as we have noted, remains the subject of considerable debate. It is possible that they were Mongolic in speech (some trace elements are found in Quman, but these could have come from other sources) and may even have been known to the Inner and East Asian sources under another name. The circumstance that they were Nestorian Christians (if al-Marwazî is accurate), however, might indicate cultural influences emanating from or connections with the Uyğurs. We do, indeed, find a tribe among the T'ieh-lê/Toquz Oğuz called **Hun** [< *ğuən] = Qun ?[246] This identification, admittedly conjectural, would place them among the Turkic-speakers. Their pursuers were the Qay, a people, as we have seen, of Mongolic origins. Matthew of Edessa calls them the "People of the Snakes." There is no textual evidence to link the ethnonym **Qay** (found in Islamic and Slavic sources) with Mong. **moğai** "snake, serpent," but given Matthew's translation of the Qun/Quman name (**xartêš** ?), it is not unreasonable to search for an analogy here. The ethnonym **Abar/Avar**/Jou-jan has also been explained as deriving from a term for "snake."[247] Curiously, in Russian folklore the snake figures as a symbol of the Polovcy (cf. Tugarin Zmeevič, Tugarin [cf. Tugorkan], "son of Snake"[248]). But, our data is too scant to permit any resolution of the problem.

The Qûn turned on the Šârî, about whom al-Marwazî comments that a group of them were a half-month's travel from Sânjû (Sha-chou ?) and "are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is Bâsml (*Basmıl). They fled to this place from Islam being afraid of circumcision."[249] The Šârî, it would appear, were hostile to Islam and probably one of the groups of pagan nomads with which the Qaraxanids warred. Czeglédy identified them with the "Yellow Uyğurs."[250] Barthold suggested that **Sârî** (< Turk. **sarı(ğ)** "yellow"), in his reading, could denote the Polovcy, i.e Qıpčaqs. Pritsak, in a variant on this, believes that **Šâr$_1$** in what he terms the "Kitai grouping" of Mongolic, derives from Altaic ***s$^1$âr** "yellow, pale" Mong. **šir(a)**, Turk. **sârığ**) and hence is the Tatabı designation for the "yellow/pale (steppe people), i.e. the Qıpčaqs.[251] Philologically, this is possible. The Šârî, then, may be identified with the Qıpčaqs. But, what are we to make of their Basmıl connections and their fear of Islam ? This takes us, rather, to the eastern borderlands of the Islamo-Turkic world, the scene of the religious wars of the Qaraxanids and Uyğurs.

246 Hamilton, **Les Ouïgours**, p. 2; Haussig, 1953, pp. 347-348; Liu, **CN**, I, pp. 108,127,243, II, p. 720n.1776; Bazin, 1949-50, pp. 255-256 (who also ties it to the name **Hun** as does Györffy, see above); Bombaci, 1970, pp. 12,52,57.

247 Kollautz, Miyakawa, **Geschichte**, I, pp. 56,82.

248 Rybakov, **Kievskaja Rus'**, p. 156.

249 Marvazî/Minorsky, Arabic, p. 7/trans.p. 19.

250 Czeglédy, 1949a, p. 46.

251 Bartol'd, 1921, **Sočinenija**, V, p. 396; Györffy, "A kun és komán," **MKE**, p. 206; Pritsak, 1982, pp. 333-334.

The attempts, on philological grounds, to link the Quman-Qun-Šârî and Qıpčaqs, while possible, seem somewhat forced. Corroborating historical data are needed. If the Türkmen attacked by the Šârî are the Oğuz, the case for the identification of the Šârî with the Qıpčaqs is strengthened on geographical grounds. If the Türkmen in question are Qarluqs, however, then we are not compelled to view the Šârî as Qıpčaqs. Given their Nestorian Christianity, they may well have been refugee Uyğurs/Yellow Uyğurs. The presence of Uyğur/Yuğur elements among the Eastern Qıpčaqs is well-attested. Thus, the calqued form found in Matthew of Edessa does not help matters much. His **Xartêšk'n**, usually interpreted as designating the Qumans could stand for the Šârî (Uyğurs).

We cannot pinpoint the precise prime cause of these migrations. Clearly, it is connected with Qitañ expansion and/or troubles with border tribes. Czeglédy has suggested that the Qitañ having conquered Qun territories, in their earlier campaigns in the lands northwest of Peking, in 986, themselves advanced westward, ca. 1008, to the territory of the "Yellow Uyğurs." They defeated them, driving some of them out. The latter, then, went west with the Qun by 1012. Within several years, ca. 1020, they were already harrying Central Asia. In Western Siberia and adjoining regions, they absorbed the Kimek. A new tribal union coalesced, emerging fully by 1043, which became the dominant force in the Eurasian steppes by 1070.[252]

Pritsak associates the rise of the Qay and the ensuing chain of migrations with the Tangut conquest, in 1031, of the Kansu Uyğurs. This resulted, in his view, in the flight westward of their ruling strata and their replacement by the Qay.[253] The Tanguts may have, indeed, played an important role in disturbances among the Turkic nomads.

Thus, despite the precision of many elements of al-Marwazî's account, a number of unanswered questions remain. The cast of characters is unclear. Several Turkic and Mongolic peoples were involved in the series of migrations that brought the Qıpčaqs westward, but who and in what measure is still obscured from view. Further speculation, along linguistic lines, regarding the Qun-Quman-Qıpčaq relationship is fruitless. Etymologies have to be linked to real events and peoples. The only thing that is clear is that sometime between 1018 and 1050 the Qay and Qun touched off a migration. The Qun may have taken control over or were brought into the Kimek union. Here, they may have gained ascendancy over the westernmost tribes. This is the explanation usually offered as to why the European sources know them by the name **Quman/Qun**. Alongside all the other difficulties involved in the Qun-Quman relationship, no one has yet explained why **Qun** became **Quman**

252 Czeglédy, 1949a, pp. 47-48,50. He explains the name **Qoman** as the term used by some Turkic people for the "Sârî" who had joined the Qıpčaqs.

253 Pritsak, 1982, pp. 336-337.

( **qun** + **man** "the real Quns" ? > ***qumman** > **quman** ?). The new union, thus created, was in essence, the Kimek confederation, with the Qıpčaqs, presumably, replacing the Kimeks as the dominant element. The inner dynamics of this process went unrecorded by any source that has come down to us. We can only see its results, i.e. the pushing of the Pečenegs into the Byzantine Danubian frontier zone, soon to be followed by the Western Oğuz and the movement of masses of Oğuz towards the Irano-Islamic borders. Since we find the Pečenegs troubling the Byzantine borders by the 1020's and definitely shifted towards the Balkan-Danubian steppe frontiers after their defeat at the hands of the Rus' in 1036, we may well connect the beginning of this chain of migrations with the events of ca. 1018 described by Ibn al-Aṯîr. The process may not have fully worked itself out until the 1040's or 1050.

### The Quman-Qıpčaq-Qanglı union

By the early 1030's, the Qıpčaqs were already troubling the borders of the Xwârazmšâh state. They also, on occasion, formed contingents in Xwârazm's armed forces.[254] A Qıpčaq "amîr" is noted as having been converted to Islam by the Seljukid Čağrı Beg during a campaign in the region of Xwârazm in the 1040's.[255] This appears to have been a relatively isolated incident. Although Islam, in time, certainly made headway among them, we do not know of any mass conversions.

The Qıpčaqs are attested in the Eastern European steppes only by 1055 when they first appear in the Rus' chronicles. The latter laconically reports that "Boluš together with the Polovcy came and Vsevolod (prince of Perejaslavl' who had just defeated the Oğuz, PBG) made a peace agreement with them and they returned whence they came.."[256] The impression is that this was rather a reconnaissance. In 1061, the Qumans raided for the first time and having defeated Vsevolod returned to their camps.[257] This ushered in a period of intense interaction.

The formation of the Qıpčaqs, however, was still not completed at this stage. The decline and collapse of the Qitañ/Liao state and the rise of the Manchu-speaking Jürčen state (Chin dynasty in China), in the 1120's, brought other steppe elements westward. Many Qay took service in either Rus' (the Каепичи < Qay-oba/Qay-opa) or the Islamic lands, where they gained a reputation for martial valor.[258] It is not clear if they joined the Qıpčaq

254 Baihaqî, ed. Ġânî, Fayyaz, pp. 86,684.
255 Al-Ḥusainî, **Axbâr ad-Dawlat**, f.16b/p. 43.
256 **PSRL**, I, c. 162. Marquart, **Komanen** places the arrival of the Qun in Europe between 1030-1049.
257 **PSRL**, I, c.163.
258 Köprülü, 1943, 219-303 (where he clearly disassociates the Qay and Oğuz Qayı), Köprülü, 1944, pp. 421-452.

confederation. The Qay-opa appear to have been hostile towards them.[259] Among the late-comers to Western Eurasian were the Ölberli(g) /Ölperli(g), a Mongolic tribal grouping that left their habitat in the Jehol (southwestern Manchuria-southeastern Inner Mongolia), sometime between 1115-1150, they became one of the leading subconfederations of the Eastern Qıpčaqs.[260]

The resultant Qıpčaq confederation was a multi-layered ethno-linguistic structure, containing Turkic, Mongolic and Iranian elements. This appears to be confirmed by archaeology. Quman-Qıpčaq sites on the lower Volga indicate an ethnically mixed population, the eastern groupings displaying more Mongoloid elements and the western groupings having a stronger Europoid character.[261] The borders of this confederation extended from the Danubian frontier in the west to Western Siberia (to the Irtyš) and Islamic Central Asia, forming three large groups : the Quman confederation in the West, the Qıpčaq-Qanglı in Central Asia (their major urban center was Siġnâq, long a frontier trading town with the nomads) and the Qıpčaqs in Western Siberia. Their eastern border, according to Kâšġarî, was the town of Kenček Sengir which was "near Ṭarâz."[262] Modern scholars have suggested the subdivision of this union into a number of geographically distinct groupings: Central Asian-Kazakhstan, Ural-Volga mesopotamia, North Caucasian, the Don, Donec, Dnepr and Danubian riverine units.[263] Simon de Kéza mentions "Comanos Albos" and the "Nigrorum Comanorum terras." These "black" and "white" subdivisions appear to be geographical referents (according to the Turkic system : black = north, white = west, blue =east, red = south[264]). They are echoed in al-Idrîsî who takes note of Quman cities or districts called "Black Qumâniyya" and "White Qumâniyya."[265]

The Rus' and Mamlûk sources have preserved the names of a number of Quman-Qıpčaq tribes and tribal groupings : Ay-opa, Badač, Barat/Beret/Baraq (?), Baya(w)ut, Burčoğlı (Rus.' Бурчевичи, Hung. Borchol), Bzângî (?), Čağraq/Čoğraq/Čağrat etc., Čitey (oğlı, Rus'. ЧитЂевичи), Čırtan/Čortan/*Ozur Čortan (Hung. Chertan), Durut/Dört/Dörüt (?), Enčoğlı/*İlančuqlı (cf. Hung. Ilonchuk), İt-oba, Qitan-opa, Knn (?), Küčeba/Küčoba (cf. Rus'. Коучебич), Küčet, Kor/Qor (? cf.Hung. Koor), Qara Börklü, Qol-oba/Qul-oba (Rus'.

259 Pritsak, 1982, pp. 335,338-339, however, connects the Aeпa ( < Ay-opa) clan with the Qay (> Ay).
260 Golden, 1985, pp. 5-29.
261 Ševčenko, 1980, pp. 141.148-150,164-165.
262 Kâšġarî/Dankoff, I, p. 357,
263 On Qıpčaq geography, see Rasovskij, 1938, pp. 166-175; Kudrjašov, **Poloveckaja step'**.
264 Simon de Kéza, **Scriptores**. ed. Szentpétery et al., I, pp. 146,148; Pritsak, 1954, p. 277.
265 Al-Idrîsî, ed. Bombaci et al., pp. 915,916.

Колобичи/Кулобичи), Qmngû/*Qumanlu (?), Qonğuroğlı (Hung. Kongur), Mekrüti/Bekrüti/Bekürte, Mingüzoğlı, Orungqu(t), Ölberli(g)/Ölperli(g) (Rus'. Олперлюеве, ОлбЂры/Ольберы, Chin. Yü-li-pai-li/Yü-li-pei-li, Lat. "reges Uilperitorum"), Ören/Uran, Pečene (< Pečeneg), (Chin.) Shan-mie Ku-ma-li, Tarğıl (Rus'. Тарголове), Terter/Teriter-oba (Rus'. Терьтробичи), Toqsoba (Rus'. Токсобичи), Tğ Yšqût (*Tağ Bašqurt ?), Ulašoğlı (Rus.' Улашевичи, Hung. Olaas), Urusoba (Rus'. Оурусоба), Yimek/Yemek (Rus'. Половци Ємякове), Yuğur (< Uyğur).[266] Some of these names are clearly Turkic, others Mongolic (e.g. cf. the Baya'ut among the Mongols, although the name may have a Turkic etymology, Qitan-opa < Qitañ, Orungqut < Mong. **orongğu** "small, brown-colored gazel," Ölberli(g) < Mong.**ölöbür** "ill, infirm").

The Kievan princes termed an eastern, Ural-Volga-Don-centered grouping that had an ongoing tradition of hostility to the ruler of Kiev, the "Wild Qumans" (Половци Дикии). This grouping, which appears in our sources only in the mid-12th century, included the Ölberli(g), the Toqsoba and very likely the Yimek and others. Two clans or ruling houses were prominent among them. One descended from Šarukan (Rus'. Шаруканъ, Georg. Šaraġan < Šârî qan, i.e. ruler of the Šârî ?), included his sons, Etrek/Ötrök and Sırčan and grandsons, the famous Könček, his brother Eltut and Könček's son who bore the Christian name Yurgi (cf. Rus'. Юрги (Юрий) < Γεόργιος). They appear to have been the ruling clan of the Toqsoba. Another ruling house (perhaps that of the Ölberlig) was headed by Böñek/Böngek and his son Sevenč.[267] A grouping that had more friendly relations with Rus' has been termed by Pritsak the "Non-Wild Polovcians." These included the more westerly tribes of the Burčoğlı, Ulašoğlı, İtoğlı and Urusoba.[268]

There was no central authority in this confederation. The late 12th century Jewish traveller, Petaḥia of Ratisbon, comments that they "have no king, only princes and noble families."[269] In the early 13th century, the Šarukanid, Yurgi, appears to have acquired more than local power. The Rus' chronicles describe him as "greater than all the Polovci."[270] His death at the

266 See **PSRL**, I, cc.248,249,250,278-279,361,396, II, cc.253,255, 259, 285, 342, 435,455,632,641,644,668,672,675; Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karimî, I, pp. 483; Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Alizade et al., II/1, pp. 129,347,657-658; ad-Dimišqî, ed. Mehren, p. 264; an-Nasawî, ed. Houdas, p. 32; Ibn Xaldûn (Beirut, 1971 ed.), V, pp. 235,371-372; Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**, I, pp. 82-112; Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, II, pp. 35,36,109; an-Nuwayrî in Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I, p. 539; Baihaqî, ed. Gânî, Fayyaz, pp. 86,317,320,323,333,684; Mubârakšâh, ed. Ross, p. 47; Meyvaert, 1980, p. 254; Juzjânî, ed. Ḥabîbî, I, p. 440. See also Rásonyi, 1966-1969 and Golden, 1990.

267 Golden, 1979-80, pp. 298-309.

268 Pritsak, 1967, II, pp. 1615-1623.

269 Petaḥia of Ratisbon, ed. trans. Benisch, pp. 4/5.

270 **PSRL**, I, c.504.

hands of the Mongols at the Battle of Kalka closed off this path of potential Qıpčaq political development. By that time, however, the Qıpčaqs had been so thoroughly integrated (thourgh marital and political alliances) into the fragmenting Rus' polity and Xwârazm, the two sedentary states with which they had the most direct contact, that it cannot be presumed that a centralized authority would have come into being. There were no great pressures emanating from the surrounding sedentary states to promote the process of Qıpčaq political consolidation.

The Qıpčaqs, as we have already noted, occasionally troubled Xwârazm, but in time one or more of their ruling clans established close, if sometimes fickle, ties with the Xwârazmšâhs.[271] Xwârazmian trade, however, certainly one of the most important attractions to the nomads, does not seem to have been adversely affected. In Rus' a similar pattern developed. From 1061-1120, the Qıpčaqs not only secured their new habitat from its previous nomadic inhabitants, the Pečenegs and Oğuz, but began to feel out the strengths and weaknesses of their sedentary neighbors. The period was marked by raids into Rus' (especially the Perejaslav principality which was most exposed to the steppe), Byzantium and Hungary. In 1068, the combined Rus' forces defeated the Qıpčaqs. Under the dynamic Vladimir II Monomax (Grand Prince of Kiev, 1113-1125), the initiative was taken by the Rus' princes with a campaign into Qıpčaq lands in 1103. This was followed by a series of invasions deep into the "Polovcian steppe" in 1109,1111,1113 and 1116. Elements of the Šarukanid-led "Wild Qumans," under Ötrök, took refuge in Georgia whose ruler, David Aġmašenebeli (1089-1125) was related to them by marriage. Here, they became one of the mainstays of the dynasty, helping to secure Georgia's independence against the Seljuks and later serving as a counterpoise against the turbulent Transcaucasian nobility. Although, Ötrök returned to the steppes after Monomax's death, Qıpčaqs continued to serve the Georgian crown, playing an important role in establishing Georgia as a major regional power. Qıpčaqs settled in Georgia, converted to Orthodox Christianity and ultimately Georgianized.[272] This Georgian connection is an oft-neglected source of Christianity among the Qıpčaqs. The fact that the Šarukanid Yurgi may have been a Christian, as his name would indicate, should be set in the context of his family's long-standing ties with the Georgian throne.

Rus', however, by the middle of the 12th century, no longer enjoyed the unity that had brielfy flourished under Monomax. The various contestants for the Kievan Grand Principality used the Qıpčaqs and other nomadic forces in their struggles. The pace of this struggle ebbed and flowed. The Rus' chroniclers, often employing exaggerated rhetoric, accused several Qıpčaq

271 See now the detailed study of Axinžanov, **Kypčaki**, pp. 197ff.
272 Golden, 1984, pp. 45-87.

chiefs (e.g. Sevenč, son of Böñek) of seeking the destruction of Rus'. Könček, to whom a particular hatred of Kiev is ascribed, in one campaign (1185), undertaken in the midst of a series of wars in which the Qıpčaqs sustained very significant losses, did, indeed, bring in a "Muslim" (бесоурменин, probably from Xwârazm) specialist in "Greek fire,"[273] presumably to burn down the Rus' capital. But, in reality, the Qıpčaqs never attempted to conquer Rus'. It is doubtful that they ever even considered such an undertaking. They were themselves too divided. Moreover, the situation in the Western Eurasian steppes, from the nomadic perspective, was in many ways ideal. There was ample and good pasturage. They had easy access to the goods of sedentary society, either by trading or raiding. They were continually invited as kinsmen, allies or mercenaries to participate in the military ventures of their sedentary neighbors, an additional source of income. Their neighbors, when united, posed a serious military threat from which the nomads retreated. Happily for them, however, such unity was less and less frequent. From the standpoint of the nomadic elite, this was a balanced and workable system. It did not necessarily work to the benefit of all. The slave-markets of Qıpčaq-controlled Crimea were filled with Turkic captives who were sold into military slavery in the Middle East.

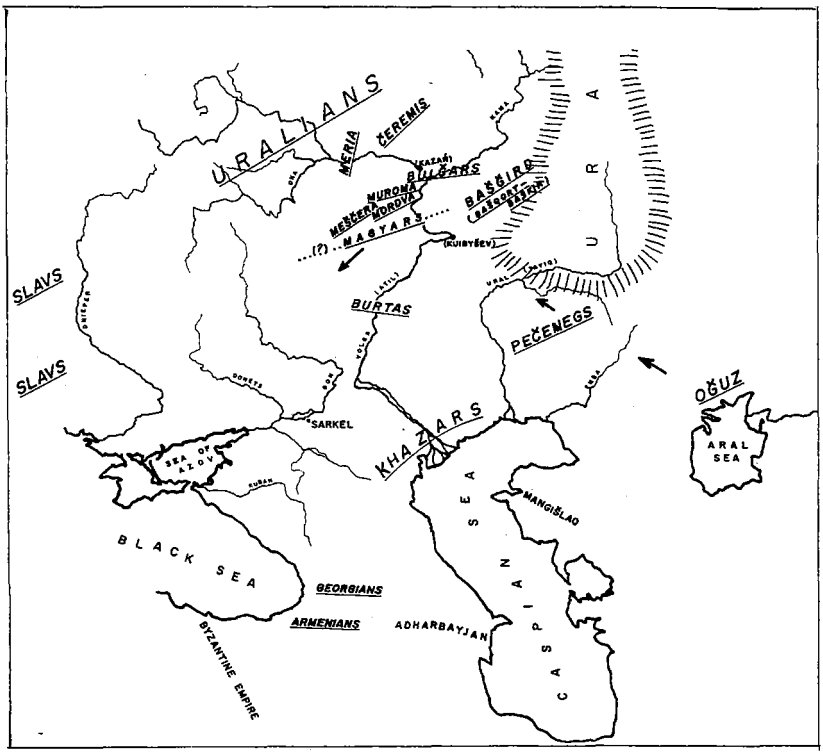
We know little of Qıpčaq culture in the Pre-Činggisid period. Shamanic practices appear to have continued. Thus, Böñek the Elder, the **Povest' vremjannyx let** reports, in 1097, on the eve of a campaign "arose when it was midnight and rode away from his army. He began to howl like a wolf and a wolf answered him and many wolves began to howl." He then returned to camp and predicted a victory.[274] Clearly, we are dealing here with a practice (divination ?) that harked back to the wolf-myth of A-shih-na-Türk origins. There is also evidence that they were touched by Islam (in Central Asia) and Christianity (in Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia). In the early 13th century, a more concerted effort was made to convert to Christianity groups of Qumans/Western Qıpčaqs by missionaries from Hungary. This was part of an effort to extend the authority of the Hungarian crown into this region. This connection may have figured in the flight of some Quman tribes to Hungary from the Mongol invasion. Here, as in Georgia, they were supporters of the Crown, ultimately sedentarized and adopted the dominant culture and language.[275] Some Qumans in the Crimea may have adopted the Qaraim faith, an off-shoot of Judaism. When, how (and perhaps if) this occurred have been the subject of much speculation.

We have no evidence that the Qıpčaqs used the Turkic runic script. No early Qıpčaq literary texts have yet been uncovered. The Qıpčaq dictionaries

273 **PSRL**, II, cc.634-635.
274 **PSRL**, I, cc.270-271.
275 See Rásonyi, **Hidak**, pp. 112ff. for an overview, see also Pálóczi-Horváth, 1973, 1975.

that have come down to us (the **Codex Cumanicus**[276] and the Arabo-Qıpčaq glossaries) date from the Mongol era and were largely the work of non-Qıpčaqs or acculturated Qıpčaqs (esp. the Mamlûk glossaries). Our statements regarding Qıpčaq writing in the steppe in the Pre-Činggisid era, however, may have to be revised in light of ongoing Soviet archaeological investigations.

Having sketched the contours of Turkic history up to the eve of the Mongol conquests, we must now turn to the sweeping changes that those events brought about.




MAP VIII WESTERN EURASIA CA. 800 A.D.

276 See Drüll, **Der Codex**; Ligeti, 1981, pp. 1-54.

## THE TURKIC WORLD IN THE ČINGGISID ERA

In the preceding chapters, we have seen that with the collapse of the Hsiung-nu/Hun and Türk empires, the Turkic nomads experienced a variety of dislocations leading, ultimately, to the genesis of new political units, often in new habitats. After 840, the Turkic tribes began to shift westward. The formation of the Qitañ state contributed to their further westward exodus. The causes of the Qıpčaq migrations, one of the most dramatic of these movements, should, ultimately, be sought in events in or associated with the Liao realm. The Mongol empire also moved different Turkic groups about, atomized some confederations and pushed others to prominence. Although one may argue that the principal Turkic groupings, Oğuz, Qıpčaq and Turkî were already well-established by the year 1200 in the lands in which we today find them, it is, nonetheless, the Činggisid era and its turbulent events that is largely responsible for giving them their modern appearance. The policies of the Tsarist, Soviet, Manchu and Chinese regimes contributed as well. But, these policies usually consisted of little more than giving a final stamp to ethno-political processes set in motion during the period of Činggisid overlordship. These processes, in some instances, have not yet reached fruition. The basic ethnic building blocks, however, have been in place since well before Ivan IV conquered the Volga xanates and began the conquest of Siberia.

### MONGOL ORIGINS AND STATE-FORMATION

The earliest history of the Mongol (**Mongğol**) tribal grouping has yet to be fully illuminated. Within the Altaic world, the speakers of Mongolic lived between the Proto-Tungusic peoples to their east and the Proto-Turkic peoples to their west. They descended from the Hsien-pi tribes, one of the principal groupings of the so-called **Tung-hu** ("Eastern Barbarians") of the Chinese sources. Many scholars believe that they are first noted in the **Chiu T'ang-shu** (a late 10th century source) in connection with events of the 8th century A.D. in which mention is made of the **Mêng-wu** [*Mung-nguət] of the Shih-wei. Presumably, this represented a form **Mongğu** [+ ul].[1] This identification has been challenged by Viktorova who suggests that it appears to be a rendering of **Mangut**.[2]

When and how the Mongols became equestrian pastoral nomads is unclear. It may be presumed that the Hsiung-nu polities exerted some influence, politically and culturally, over them. The same may be said for the

1 Hambis, 1970, p. 126; Munkuev, **Men-da Bej-lu**, pp. 89n.1, 90; Taskin, **Materialy**, pp. 56-57,139,141,364.

2 Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 161-162.

Jou-Jan and Türk states. Kyzlasov, however, places their nomadization well into the post-Türk imperial period. He argues that the Mongols, initially, were a hunting and fishing, i.e. forest, forest-steppe people of the Amur region who slowly spread out, assimilating, in the late 10th-early 11th century, the fading Turkic groups of Mongolia and in the process were transformed into pastoral steppe nomads.[3]

Although the Mongols do not appear to have been direct subjects of the kindred Qitañ state (Liao), which incorporated many related Hsi/Ġay/Qay/Tatabı and Shih-wei peoples, the Qitañ had a profound impact on the whole region. They furthered the process of the Mongolization of Mongolia and the spread of Mongolic tongues, their own now elevated to the status of an imperial literary language. Their cultural role continued even after the Manchu-speaking Jürčen/Chin conquered their state in Northern China, both within the Chin state and from their new state, that of the Qara Xitay in Central Asia.[4]

The nucleus of the Mongol people, according to Viktorova, took shape by the mid-12th century along the Onon, Upper Tola and Kerulen rivers and in the Transbaikal. They were by then steppe nomads, but some of the more northerly tribes, called the **Hoy-in irgen** ("People of the Forest"[5]) were more deeply involved in fur-trapping and hunting, although they, too, engaged in animal husbandry.[6] The activities of these "Forest Peoples" may well have represented the type of economic pursuits in which the Mongols were engaged before turning to pastoral nomadism. If the Meng-ku-li of the **Ch'i-tan kuo chi** are, indeed, the Mongols, it would appear that they were, during the Liao era, a people without a ruler, ignorant of agriculture (which was not true of nomads), whose principal occupation was hunting. This same source notes, however, that they drink kumys and that "they do not war with the Qitañ, but only trade with them products made from hides and wool from cattle, sheep, camels and horses."[7] While their lack of leadership and ignorance of agriculture would seem to indicate a forest people, the involvement with stock-breeding (especially horses and camels) would appear to point, at the very least, to a semi-nomadic or transitional econony. It may well be that this grouping embraced both types of economy. Their immediate neighbors in Mongolia were kindred peoples, some of whom may have included sizable Turkic elements or may have been Turkic in origin. Many had attained higher levels of political organization. Indeed, by the late 12th-early 13th century, the Kereyid, Naiman and Merkid had already formed powerful tribal unions headed by xans.

3 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 78-81.
4 Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 171,179-183.
5 **Secret History**/Cleaves, p. 142; Vladimircov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 33-34.
6 Viktorova, **Mongoly**, p. 171.
7 Yeh Lung-li, **Istorija**/Taskin, p. 305.

The Mongols, in the 12th century, occupied the basin of the Orxon and the Kerulen. The Kereyids were to their west on the Tola, Middle Orxon and Ongin basins. The latter may have contained some Uyğur or other Turkic elements. Some scholars consider them Turkic, but this has not been firmly established. They converted, ca. 1007, to Nestorian Christianity.[8] The Merkid confederations were to their North on the Selenga and south of Lake Baikal. Their economy was oriented towards fishing, sable-trapping and hunting. They were reindeer-herders as well as horse-breeders. This grouping, too, may have been touched by Nestorianism. North of them were the Dörben Oirad (Oyirad). The Oirad extended eastward of Lake Baikal. The powerful Naiman confederation (of 8 tribes ? cf. Mong. **naiman** "eight") controlled Western Mongolia. Like the Kereyid, their ruling stratum may have been of Turkic origin and they maintained close ties with and were influenced culturally by the Uyğurs. The Kereyid and Naiman elites, whatever their origins, were, in all likelihood, Mongol-speaking.[9] Nonetheless, it is not surprising that Turkic names and titles were fashionable among them, given the propinquity of Turkic elements, the long-standing Turkic imperial traditions of the region and the role of the post-840 Uyğurs as culture-bearers to the steppe peoples. Both Nestorianism and Buddhism had come to these tribes from the Uyğurs as well. Another Nestorian neighbor was the Önggüt tribal grouping (also termed the "White Tatars" in Chinese sources) who were in Inner Mongolia, north of the bend of the Yellow River. They are usually considered Turkic. The Tatars, who had been part of the Türk Empire, were around Lakes Büyir and Külün. They were the richest of the nomads of this region and had close ties with the Chin state.[10]

The unity of the Mongol clans or sub-tribes was achieved under Qabul (1130's ?), to whom the **Secret History** accords the title **Qağan.**[11] What connection his elevation to the royal dignity may have had to the fall of the Qitañ/Liao state and the rise of the Jürčen/Chin is unclear. The movement toward political unity may have resulted from Jürčen pressure. Qabul and his successor, Ambaqai/Ambağai (ca. 1160 ?), came into conflict with the Chin. The latter resorted to the traditional solution of turning tribe against tribe, making use of the Tatars for this purpose. Ambaqai was captured by them and delivered to a nasty death at the hands of the Jürčen. Ambaqai's successor, Qutula Xan was the last effective Mongol ruler of the Pre-Činggisid era, waging frequent war against the Tatars, but unable to exact the revenge that the dying Ambaqai had requested. A Tatar victory in 1161 may

8 Bartol'd, 1894, (**Sočinenija**, II/1) p. 290; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 168-170; Kaschewsky, 1986, p. 119; Ratchnevsky, **Činggis-Khan**, pp. 2-3.

9 de Rachewiltz, 1983, pp. 282-283.

10 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij** in **Sočinenija**, V, pp. 125-126; Ratchnevsky, **Činggis-Khan**, pp. 1-5; Sandag, 1977, p. 24; Viktorova, **Mongoly**, pp. 168,170,172.

11 **Secret History**/Cleaves, p. 11,

have given further impetus to Mongol internecine strife, always lurking beneath the surface, which cut short further political growth.[12]

Temüjin, the future **Činggis Qan** ("Oceanic [Turk. < **tengiz** "sea"] i.e "all-encompassing Emperor"), a great-grandson of Qabul Qaġan, was born into the Kiyan-Borjigin (pl. Kiyat-Borjigid[13]) clan, sometime ca. 1155-1167. He survived an adventure-filled and difficult youth, during which, after the murder of his father, he lived as little more than a brigand. Making full use of his extraordinary tactical and political abilities and the traditional alliances of his family, however low its standing had fallen, he became the arbiter of Mongol politics. By 1190, some Mongol factions had recognized him as qan ("xan"). In 1202 he crushed the Tatars. In 1203 his erstwhile ally, To'oril (Toġril), the **Ong** (<Chin. **Wang** "king") of the Kereyid was defeated. In 1204-1205, the Naiman and Merkid were routed. Thus, by 1206, he had overcome or decimated all his enemies, forced the tribes of Mongolia into his tribal union and was declared the **Činggis Qan**, the supreme ruler of the nomads.[14] With this, he was now ready to conquer the nomadic world.

Much has been written about the Mongol ideology of world-conquest and the causes of Činggisid state-formation.[15] Needless to say, there is no unanimity of opinion. Nonetheless, there are a number of factors that we should bear in mind. Činggis was hardly operating in a vacuum. The society he came to rule had already been in intimate contact with the Tunguso-Chinese state of the Chin. The latter's manipulation of Mongolian domestic politics undoubtedly served as a catalyst for further poltical development. The tribes of Mongolia were also being reached by other representatives of sedentary culture as is seen in the spread of Nestorianism among them. In short, this was a period of intense interaction with the sedentary world. Politically speaking, the tribes did not represent a **tabula rasa**. They were not unaware of the steppe traditions of statehood, most recently exemplified, from their perspective, by the kindred Qitañ. Having achieved political unification, however, the nomads could not stop with this. The risks were considerable that the newly formed polity would come apart with the death of its founder. Nomadic polities were basically held together by rulers who either provided regular and easy access to the goods of sedentary society or were capable of leading successful raids on that society to achieve the same

12 Grousset, **L'empire mongol**, pp. 40-48; Ratchnevsky, **Činggis-Khan**, pp. 7-13; Sandag, 1977, p. 26. For the Mongol legendary accounts, see **Secret History**/Cleaves, pp. 9-11,13-14.

13 Also found as Qiyat Borjigid, see discussion in Pelliot, Hambis, **Campagnes**, I, pp. 117-121.

14 It was his son and successor, Ögedei, who bore the title **qaġan/qa'an**. The most recent biography of Činggis khan is that of Ratchnevsky already cited.

15 On ideology, see the survey by Sagaster, 1973, pp. 223-242. For a modern version of the climatological theory, see Jenkins, 1974, pp. 217-226. On Činggis, his role and the forces contributing to his success, see Bartol'd, 1897, pp. 253-265; Hambly, **Central Asia**, pp. 86ff.; Sandag, 1977, pp. 34-42; Jagchid, Hyer, **Mongolia's Culture**, pp. 255-269; Morgan, **Mongols**, pp. 72-73; Gumilëv, **Searches**, pp. 221ff.; Khazanov, 1980,pp. 29-39.

ends. Once embarked on the course of conquest, the nomadic ruler had to continue or face dissension and defections.[16]

## THE MONGOL EMPIRE

Činggis began by mopping up resisting groups among his defeated foes and extending his authority into the larger steppe world. In 1207 the Qırğız and then other "forest peoples" were subjugated. In 1208 or 1209, he once again defeated a Naiman-Merkid coalition. There are problems with the dating of this campaign which in the sources may have been conflated with the later destruction of the Merkids. In any event, Küčlüg/Güčülüg, the Naiman prince took refuge with the Qara Xitay in whose destruction he later participated. In the same year, the Oirad were subdued. Meanwhile, in 1209, the Uyğurs under their **Iduq Qut** Barčuq had overthrown their Qara Xitay overlords, beaten off fugitive Merkids and submitted to the Mongols. The capital of the Tanguts/Hsi-Hsia was besieged by a Mongol army.[17] From 1211-1215 there were campaigns against the Chin. Peking fell in 1215 (the Chin state was fully subdued only in 1232). Mongol attention was then drawn to the Qara Xitay lands which under the Naiman Küčlüg could become a center of resistance in the steppe. The Mongols were ever-mindful of the steppe and the necessity to control it before all else. In 1211, the Qarluqs, hitherto uneasy vassals of the Qara Xitay, switched allegiance, placing themselves under the Mongols. Küčlüg, in an attempt to return the Qarluqs to Qara Xitay rule killed Buzar, ruler of Almalıq. This attack on his vassal provided Činggis with a justification for invasion.[18] In 1218, the Qara Xitay were overrun and Küčlüg killed. At about the same time, ca. 1217-1219, the Merkids were again, finally, crushed. The Merkid ruler, Toġto$^{3}$a Beki, perished. His sons Qudu, Qal and Čila$^{3}$un fled to the Qıpčaq lands, taking refuge with the Ölberli(g). The Mongols in pursuit now first clashed with the Qıpčaqs, defeating them and killing the Merkid Qudu.[19]

At the same time, even more momentous events were being prepared in Central Asia. Although Činggis' intentions towards the Xwârazmšâh state, with which his realm now bordered in the west, have been much debated,[20] there is little doubt that conflict between the two ambitious rulers was inevitable. The Mongols immediately began peaceful probes using a merchant caravan. The slaughter of the caravan and a subsequent refusal to

16 Khazanov, **Nomads**, pp. 235-236; Morgan, **Mongols**, p. 63.
17 **Secret History**/Cleaves, pp. 173-174; Ratchnevsky, **Cinggis-Khan**, pp. 92-93; Kämpfe, 1986, pp. 185-187; Allsen, 1983, pp. 246-247. The Tanguts held the Kansu corridor, see Kwanten, **Imperial Nomads**, pp. 71-72,113-114, 311-312n.10; Kyčanov, **Očerk**, pp. 11-23,298-301.
18 Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, I, pp. 56-58, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 74-76.
19 Allsen, 1983a, pp. 8-9.
20 Petruševskij, 1977, pp. 107-118.

make amends sealed the fate of the Xwârazmšâh Muḥammad. The Mongols invaded in 1219. Muḥammad perished, in 1220, a refugee, on an island in the Caspian sea and his realm was added to the Činggisid empire by 1221.[21] Parts of Afghanistan and Xurâsân soon followed. Muḥammad's son, Jalâl ad-Dîn, a skilled military man but a disastrous politician, scored several successes against the Mongols. For a decade he managed to evade their attempts to ensnare him and established himself in parts of Iran. But, his bellicose conduct towards his Muslim and Christian neighbors and potential allies precluded any possibility of stopping the Činggisid juggernaut. He was slain (1231) by Kurds while fleeing the Mongols.

Following the flight of Muḥammad to Iran, Činggis dispatched Jebe and Sübedei, two of his leading military commanders, in pursuit. This became an armed reconnaissance of the lands to the west. They raided Transcaucasia and Iraq and in the Northern Caucasus region successfully detached the Qıpčaqs from their Alano-As allies, by appealing to their common Inner Asian steppe heritage. According to Ibn al-Aṯîr, the Mongols declared to the Qıpčaqs : "We and you are one tribe (**jins**), the As are foreign to us..."[22] Having plundered the Alano-As, the Mongols then duplicitously turned on the Qıpčaqs, administering several defeats. Among these was their victory on the Kalka river (May, 1223) over a combined Rus' and Qıpčaq force. From here, they raided, with considerably less success, the Volga Bulğar lands and then, after joining up with another force operating in the Qıpčaq steppe under Činggis' oldest son, Joči, they returned to Mongolia laden with booty and prisoners. The latter included Qıpčaq tribesmen, impressed into service.[23] Činggis next turned to the final destruction of the Tangut which would allow him to then finish off the Chin unmolested by threats from his rear. He died in August, 1227 in the course of this campaign. The Tangut capital fell shortly thereafter amidst dreadful slaughter.

While Ögedei (1229-1241) was eventually proclaimed the Great Qaġan, the realm was effectively being divided into appanages (**ulus**) among his heirs. As was typical of Eurasian nomadic political formations, the state was viewed as the collective possession of the ruling clan. The different branches of the Mongol royal house held lands (or enjoyed the income therefrom) in territories governed by their kinsmen.[24] The conquests were undertaken with troops drawn from the Mongol tribes representing the various Činggisids. These tribes were, in effect, broken up and dispersed throughout the empire.

21 See the account in Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 393ff.

22 Ibn al-Aṯîr, ed. Tornberg (Beirut ed.), XII, pp. 385-386. This notice was repeated by Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karîmî, I, pp. 381-382.

23 See discussion in Allsen, 1983a, pp. 10-14.

24 Allsen, **Mongol Imperialism**, pp. 45-46,100-113. On the problems of Činggisid political succession, see Jackson, 1978, pp. 192ff.

In theory, then, this was to be a unitary empire and the authority of the central government, certainly up to the death of the Grand Qaġan Möngke (1259), was probably more effective than was earlier thought. But, centrifugal tendencies eventually proved to be too strong. Batu and Orda, the sons of Joči who had predeceased his father by several months, had established themselves in the western realms, the Qıpčaq steppe and Western Siberia, creating what would come to be called the "Golden Horde"[25] (see below) and the White Horde.[26] Tolui, the youngest son, as **otčigin** (< Turk. **ot tigin**) "prince of the hearth" received the ancestral lands in Eastern Mongolia. This was in keeping with nomadic tradition in which the oldest son receives (often before his father's death) lands on the periphery and the youngest son inherits his father's tent and central lands. Ögedei, the third son, held the capital, Qaraqorum in Central Mongolia, the traditional location of capitals of the nomadic imperium, the adjacent Altay and Yenisei lands, the Tarbaġatai and Balxaš regions and the cities of Transoxiana. The latter were under direct imperial administration. Čaġadai/Ča³adai (in Turkic Čağatay), initially held the İli valley. The generous Ögedei gave him the rest of Turkistan from which the future Čağatay Xanate would develop. [27] Further conquests, however, lay ahead.

The **quriltai** ("princely congress") that officially elevated Ögedei to the Grand Qaġanate in 1229 also charted the subjugation of the Volga-Ural region. Campaigning continued into the 1230's. Some Qıpčaqs fled, others submitted. Local resistance, however, continued under the leadership of the Ölberli(g) Bačman. Following another **quriltai** on the direction of further military action, in 1235, the Mongols moved on all fronts. They invaded the Sung realm in Southern China (the Chin had fallen by 1234, the Sung resisted until 1279), sent punitive expeditions against Korea (subjugated earlier in 1231-32), resumed their pressure on the Qıpčaq lands (the valiant Bačman was overwhelmed in 1236[28]) and gained control over Transcaucasia in 1236-39, Volga Bulgaria and Rus' in 1237-1240 (a continuation of the Qıpčaq campaign). Hungary and Poland were briefly overrun in a series of raids and German knighthood defeated at Liegnitz (9 April 1241). The incorporation of these regions into the Mongol empire appears to have been averted by the political complications that followed the death of Ögedei in 1241. In the

25 The literature is far too extensive to cite here. The standard works remain Nasonov, **Mongoly i Rus'**, Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja orda i eë padenie**, Vernadsky, **The Mongols and Russia** and Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**. Among the more useful recent studies is that of Halperin, **Russia and the Golden Horde**.

26 This has been little studied. See the pioneering effort of Allsen, 1985, pp. 5-38.

27 The sources are somewhat conflicting. The most reliable is Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, I, p. 31, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 42-43. See also Barthold, **Turkestan**, pp. 393-393; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, p. 212.

28 See Allsen, 1983a, pp. 14-22.

Near East, however, the Mongols continued to advance. By 1243, the Seljuks of Rûm, undoubtedly weakened by a revolt of heterodox Türkmen tribesmen under Baba Isḥâq in 1240, had been defeated at Köse Dağ and become vassals. The pace of conquest then slowed during the regency of Töregene Xatun 1241-1246) and her ineffective son, Güyüg (1246-1248), the last of the Ögedeids to hold the Grand Qaġanate. A quriltai of 1250 brought the Toluid Möngke (1251-1259) to the throne and the conquests resumed[29].

Möngke sent his brother Hülegü to the Middle East to destroy the Ismâ$^{c}$îlîs and complete Mongol expansion there. In 1257 the Ismâ$^{c}$îlîs were crushed. The $^{c}$Abbâsid Caliphate fell in 1258; Baġdâd was sacked and the Caliph trampled to death. The Mongols were stopped once again by domestic discord over succession to the throne. As Hülegü turned eastward because of inadequate pasturage in Syria and the desire to observe more closely the conflict between his brothers Qubilai and Ariq Böke, the Mamlûks managed to defeat the remaining Mongol force at $^{c}$Ayn Jâlût in 1260. Hülegü (d.1265) eventually established himself in the il-xanate (il-xan "subordinate xan") of Iran.[30] Ultimately, the Arabo-Muslim lands of the Mediterranean littoral were spared Mongol conquest not so much because of the power of Mamlûk arms, but because of Činggisid squabbling. Berke (1257-1267), the xan of the Golden Horde that had centered itself in the old Khazar lands on the Volga, dominating the Qıpčaq nomads, Irano-Islamic (and Turkicizing) Xwârazm, the sedentarized, Islamic Volga Bulġars, the Finno-Ugric forest peoples and the vassal Rus' principalities, adopted Islam, under the influence of merchants or a Buxaran šayx, Sayf ad-Dîn Baxarzî, before his accession.[31] His motivations (political, economic, personal ?) remain unstated. In any event, by this act he immediately became a spokesman for Muslims among the Činggisids. Needless to say, he further opened his realm to powerful Islamic influences that were already present in the region. Politically, it was an astute move, for it gave him leverage in dealing with his Činggisid rivals for control of Transcaucasia, the perennial bone of contention between the Jočids and İl-xanids. The Mamlûks, the only Muslim military force capable of withstanding some degree of İl-xanid pressure, based as they were on Qıpčaq ġulâms, were his natural allies. It was this political configuration that checked further Mongol advances in the Near

29 On Činggisid politics surrounding the elevation of Möngke, see Allsen, **Mongol Imperialism**, pp. 18ff.

30 For an overview of the Mongol conquests, see Saunders, **History**; Morgan, **The Mongols**. The standard work on the Ilxanids is that of Spuler, **Die Mongolen in Iran**. The legality of this situation is by no means clear. Indeed, it has been suggested that the il-xanate began as "an act of usurpation" that over time (by the reign of Ġazan, 1295-1304) was transformed into an independent xanate, see Jackson, 1978, pp. 220-222.

31 See Vásáry, 1990, pp. 235-237,242-243.

East. By 1262, Berke and Hülegü were at war in Transcaucasia.[32]

The expeditions against Japan and Southeast Asia need not concern us. We may briefly note that Qubilai (1260-1294), the founder of what in China was termed the Yüan dynasty, emerged the victor in the contest for the Grand Qaġanate with Ariq Böke. He was soon locked, however, in a protracted struggle with his cousin Qaidu, the representative of a faction of the traditional Mongol elite, opposed to his pro-sedentary (i.e. China-oriented) policies. Although Qubilai managed to retain Mongolia, Qaidu held Central Asia, a threat to Yüan trade and communications with the western territories and effectively took a number of Turkic elements (e.g. part of Uyğuristân) out of Qubilai's control. Qaidu outlived his qaġanal foe, but was mortally wounded, in 701/1301-1302, in a battle with Temür Öljeitü, Qubilai's successor.[33]

## THE TURKIC PEOPLES UNDER THE ČINGGISIDS

With these conquests, the Turkic world, nomadic, semi-nomadic and sedentary was brought under Činggisid rule. The Mongols, who made effective use of the manpower and other resources available to them,[34] were not loathe to move peoples about as needed. There is no doubt that the process of ethnic consolidation was disrupted or interrupted among certain groups.[35] Tribal confederations were broken up and elements scattered. This prevented the development of concerted resistance and each fragment now had to adapt itself to the new political structure. This was a principle that Činggis Xan had learned in his wars with the tribes of Mongolia and one that he and his successors continued to apply. Turks (and Iranians, e.g. the Alano-As, the Asud of the Mongols) from the Western Eurasian states (Qıpčaqs) served in China and Eastern Turks (Uyğurs) served in Western Eurasia and the Near East. Over time, the fragmentation of the Činggisids was mirrored in the distribution of the Turkic peoples. The Oğuz were largely under the İl-xanids, but the Qıpčaqs were divided among the Jočids, Čaġadaids and Ögedeids. New groups of Inner Asian Turks and Mongols came in and were absorbed. Thus, to cite just a few examples, the later Qazaq [Kazakh] union included groups bearing the name Qanglı (also found among the Baškirs, Özbeks, Qara Qalpaqs, Qırğız, Noğays and Crimean Tatars) as well as Jalayir (the latter were also incorporated into Türkmen tribes and played an

32 Zakirov, **Diplomatičeskie**, pp. 30-33, Golden Horde-Mamlûk relations are discussed in detail, pp. 34ff.; Jackson, 1978, pp. 208-237; Spuler, **Goldene Horde**, pp. 38-52, 213-214.

33 Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karîmî, I, pp. 447-448, 538,678, Rašîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, pp. 24,142,329; Dalaj, **Mongolija**, pp. 34-50; Rossabi, **Khubilai Khan**, pp. 103-114.

34 See the detailed study of Allsen, **Mongol Imperialism**.

35 See Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, p. 36 who argues that these dislocations delayed the formation of the Qazaq people.

important role in the Middle East). Naiman are found among the Baškirs, Özbeks, Qazaqs, Qırğız, Noğays and Crimean Tatars. Merkid (Turk. Merkit) are noted among the Baškirs, Özbeks, Turkmen, Qırğız, Altay Turks and Noğays.[36]

The end result was the emergence of somewhat altered ethnic units that became the Turkic peoples of today. The available evidence indicates that although there was some Mongol cultural impact, in the arts, on the Turkic peoples,[37] Mongolian did not spread beyond the confines of the Mongolic peoples themselves. On the contrary, Turkic did. This was apparent to contemporary observers. The Mamlûk historian, al-ᶜUmarî (d.749/1348-49) comments with regard to the Mongol-Qıpčaq symbiosis : "this country was formerly the land of the Qibjâq. When the Tatârs inundated it, the Qibjâq became their subjects. Then, they mixed with them and intermarried with them. The land was victorious over natural disposition (jibillah) and origins. All (of them) became like the Qibjâq, as if they were of one stock (jins wâḥid), because the Muġul lived in the land of the Qibjâq and (because) of their marital ties with them and their community in their land."[38]

The numbers of Mongols that actually relocated to the conquered lands does not appear to have been great. Those that did were largely absorbed, as we have noted, by the local nomadic populations. In the Eurasian steppes and the Middle East, the latter were invariably Turkic. Mongolian survived in imperial chancelleries, for example, that of the Golden Horde,[39] but even here the Mongols were Turkicized. Many of the "Mongol" troops brought into these areas were actually Inner Asian Turks (Uyğurs and others) who were easily assimilated by the pre-existing Turkic populations. The Mongols systematically conscripted the conquered populations into their military and economic machine.[40] This certainly added to the ethnic mix. Yet, when one examines the results, the Turkic-speaking groupings, shifted about, sometimes dramatically, not only appear to have gained everywhere but continued to occupy, **grosso modo**, the same territories. Indeed, Qıpčaq probably expanded somewhat and the Oğuz element in the Middle East was further reinforced.

The Türk era and its aftermath brought the Turkic nomads fully to the borders of sedentary society. The Qaraxanids and Seljukids imposed themselves on the Islamic urban and agrarian societies of Central Asia and the Near and Middle East and were themselves transformed in the process.

36 Cf. Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj sostav**, pp. 32-36,41-45; Kuzeev, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 356-359, 466-469; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 142,149,634,540.
37 Basilov (ed.), **Nomads of Eurasia**, p. 86.
38 Al-ᶜUmarî/Lech, arab. text, p. 73.
39 Grigor'ev, 1981, pp. 81-89.
40 Allsen, **Mongol Imperialism**, pp. 189-216.

The Qıpčaq migrations completed the Turkicization of the Western Eurasian and Central Asian steppes. The Činggisid era, so crucial to the shaping of the modern Turkic peoples, confirmed the Turkicization of these territories, adding some new elements (Mongols, Tanguts and Inner Asian Turks) in Central Asia, Western Eurasia and the Middle East. It reshuffled and reshaped the already existing ethno-linguistic elements into often only slightly reworked "new" formations. In effect, it put a final ethno-linguistic stamp on this or that group. In the process, it undermined and changed the old tribal structure, creating new chieftaincies and personal armies more openly political and less dependent on kinship-derived concepts as a source of socio-political cohesion.

The growing assimilation of the Činggisids and the Mongol and Inner Asian Turkic forces they brought with them, an assimilation that included some sedentary elements, produced a new political system as well. It combined the prestige of the Činggisids (the **altan urug** "golden clan") as the primary source of political legitimacy with the now melded Türk and Mongol steppe traditions. The emergence of this Turko-Mongolian system reflected in the political, culturo-religious and linguistic spheres, can be dated to the early 14th century.[41] Curiously, this period, perhaps the best studied in Eurasian history (at least in its earliest phases) and the one for which sources are most plentiful (although never enough) with regard to the questions raised here, remains largely ignored. This is one of the most important tasks of future research.[42] What follows is only a cursory survey of some aspects of Činggisid rule in the Turkic lands.

The Önggüts, whose Turkic affiliations are unclear submitted in 1204. In 1207-1208, the Yenisei Qırğız (under their chiefs Yedi Inal, Al Di²er and Öre Beg Digin [Tigin]) and other forest peoples (e.g. the Oirad) of Southern Siberia, accepted Činggisid rule.[43] Not long thereafter, in 1209, Barčuq Art Tegin, the **Iduq-qut** (Mong. **Idu²ud**) of the Uyğurs centered in Beš Balıq, desirous of ending what had become a very onerous Qara Xitay overlordship, switched allegiance to Činggis Xan.[44] For this and subsequent faithful service (against the Naiman Küčlüg, the Xwârazmšâh and the Tanguts), Činggis Xan declared him to be a "fifth son" and rewarded him with what Juvainî termed "extraordinary attentions and favors." These included a marital tie with the Činggisid royal house of which his son and successor, Kesmes, proved to be the ultimate beneficiary. Upon the latter's death, his brother, Salındı became

41 Manz, **Tamerlane**, p. 6.
42 See the new study of Kadyrbaev, **Tjurki, i irancy v Kitae**.
43 **Secret History**/Cleaves, p. 173; Rašid ad-Dîn, ed. Alizade, I, p. 347; Grousset, **L'empire mongol**, pp. 199-201.
44 Gumilëv's contention **Searches**, pp. 162-163) that the Uyğurs were the financiers of the Qara Xitay state who simply transferred their loyalities to the new power, is rather overdrawn.

**Iduq qut**. He, however, was implicated in a plot against Möngke and was executed in 1252. His brother, Ögrünč (or Ögünč, d.1257), who "with his own hand severed his head...was given his brother's office and the title..." Presumably, a close watch, in the person of a Mongol **daruğa**, was now kept on the activities of the **Iduq quts**. Mamuraq, Ögrünč's son succeeded him in 1257. The region soon became one of the territories contested between Qubilai and his rivals. By the end of the 13th or early 14th century, Uyğuristan, hitherto a subordinate realm, had passed into the house of Čağadai.[45]

Uyğur "literati" had, apparently, been serving in the administrations of other polities in Mongolia. In this way, the Uyğur alphabet had begun to spread among the Mongolic peoples and a literary language, it has been suggested, was developing well before Činggis Xan united Mongolia.[46] Thus, it is not surprising that when Činggis Xan conquered the Naiman in 1204, he also took in their Uyğur scribes. These included Tatar Tonga (T'a-t'a T'ung-a) who became the tutor to the conqueror's sons. The Uyğurs then rose to considerable prominence in chancelleries throughout the Mongol realm.[47]

With the collapse of the Mongol empire, the Uyğurs long a sedentary, commercial-agricultureal people became part of the troubled territory of Moğulistan, the history of which we shall examine briefly later.

We have only fleeting references to some of the other Turkic tribes. A Qarluq grouping, under Arslan Xan of Qayalığ, fearful of his Qara Xitay overlord, submitted ca. 1211, to the Mongols.[48] He was given "a royal maiden in marriage" and took part in the campaign against the Xwârazmšâh. One of his sons was given Özkend as a fief by Möngke. Another grouping, under Ozar of Quyas (he later took Almalığ), largely engaged in brigandage at the expense of the Qara Xitay. He, too, sent an embassy to Činggis Xan indicating his acceptance of the latter's overlordship. For this he was rewarded with a marital alliance with the house of Joči. Although he was ambushed by the troops of Küčlüg, his son, Sığnaq Tegin (d.651/1253-4) maintained the Činggisid connection, was given a Jočid bride and retained the rule over Almalığ.[49] Like the Uyğurs, Qarluqs served in the Mongol

45 Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, I, pp. 32-39, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 44-53; Bretschneider, **Mediaeval Researches**, I, pp. 246-250, 260-61; Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 59-60; Allsen, 1983, pp. 247-261; Rossabi, **Khubilai Khan**, pp. 110-112.

46 Dalaj, **Mongolija**, pp. 150-156.

47 Semënov, 1978, pp. 32-34,38-39; Allsen, 1983, pp. 266-267.

48 **The Secret History**/Cleaves, pp. 171-172 places the submission of the Qarluq (Mong. **Qarlu'ud**) prior to the entrance of the Qırğız into the Mongol polity. Ratchnevsky, **Činggis-Khan**, p. 93 and Grousset, **L'empire mongol**, p. 216 also place it in, 1211, the "Year of the Sheep," but it is not clear if this embassy from Arslan Xan constituted his first token of submission.

49 Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, I, pp. 56-58, Juvainî/Boyle, I, pp. 74-77; Bretschneider, **Medieaval Researches**, II, pp. 40-41; Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karîmî, I, p. 320.

armies and also in the administrative apparatus, although not in the same numbers. Qarluq scholars are mentioned under the Yüan dynasty.[50]

In the Yüan system, beneath the Mongols proper were the **Se-mu jên** ("people of various categories," i.e. peoples of the Western regions : Tanguts, Central Asians, Western Asians), **Han-jên** (Northern Chinese, sinicized Jürčens, Qitañs, Koreans) and **Nan-jên** (Southern Chinese). In this system, the Se-mu, ranking just under the Mongols, played a very important role. Together, they constituted about 30% of the office-holders.[51] The Turkic groupings were the largest and most influential of all the foreign groups in Mongol service. Alongside of Önggüts, Qıpčaq-Qanglıs and Qarluqs served in the Imperial Guard, a major source of power in the Yüan realm. In the first third of the 14th century, the Qıpčaqs, under one of their number, the chancellor El-Temür (d.1333), dominated Yüan affairs.[52] A number of these Turks became Confucian scholars and in other fields contributed to traditional Chinese scholarship and culture.[53]

## The Činggisid Impact on the Turkic Lands

The Qırğız lands underwent considerable political instability, shuttling between various Činggisids. Populations, or at least sizable military forces drawn from southern Siberian Turkic peoples, were attached to Mongol forces or Činggisid princes and moved with them. The region was caught up in the civil war of Arig Böke and Qubilai and the conflict between Qubilai and Qaidu. Ca. 1291-1293, The Qırğız, under Qaidu, were attacked by the Qıpčaq general of Ölberli(g) origin, T'u-t'u-ha (*Toqtaq ?) who brought some of the Qırğız into his army. Others were settled in Mongolia.[54] The Qırğız, or groupings associated with that name, ultimately came within the confines of Moġulistan where their formation into the Qırğız of today took place (see Chap. 10).

The sprawling Qıpčaq tribal union was ultimately absorbed by several Činggisid and non-Mongol states. Needless to say, their history is the most complex. One group of Qıpčaqs under Köten (Rus'. Котянъ, Hung. Kötöny) fled to Hungary, in 1239, having sought and received the permission of Béla IV (1235-70). They promised their new overlord that they would convert to Christianity (there were active Christian missions among them). Köten, however, was distrusted. In March, 1241, as Mongol forces, which included Qıpčaq elements, approached Pest, Köten was murdered by the populace.

50 de Rachewiltz, 1983, pp. 289-290.
51 Dardess, **Conquerors**, p. 35; Ch'en **Westerners**, p. 2; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 269-270.
52 Dardess, **Conquerors**, pp. 10-12,17,26,45; de Rachewiltz, 1983, pp. 2811, 284-291.
53 See Ch'en, **Westerners** and Kadyrbaev, **Tjurki i irancy v Kitae.**.
54 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 92-99; **Ist. Kirgizsk. SSR**, I, pp. 381-390.

His Qıpčaqs then withdrew from Hungary. When the Mongols turned back in 1242, Béla IV, still anxious to have Qıpčaq warriors to face both foreign as well as domestic foes, brought the Qıpčaqs back, cementing the alliance with a marital tie between his son, the future István V (1270-72) and the daughter of a Qıpčaq "xan." The Qıpčaqs, however, proved to be a source of disorders within the realm and their resistance to Christianity posed some very serious problems. At the same time, however, they became an important bulwark of the Hungarian crown in its aggressive foreign policy. Qıpčaq influence reached its high point under László IV (1272-1290, "Kun László" = "László the Cuman"), the product of the aforementioned union. At a congress at Tétény (August, 1279), he pressed the Christianization of the nomads, established the conditions and regions (Nagykunság and Kiskunság, "Greater" and "Lesser Cumania") by and in which the Qıpčaqs would live in Hungary, employing force to back up the agreement. This provided the basis for an eventual solution to the "Cuman Question." Nonetheless, the immediate conflict continued. In 1280, László defeated a Qıpčaq force at the Field of Hod (Hodmező). His attempts to find a **modus vivendi** with the Tatars of the Golden Horde alarmed his Cumans. Thus, despite his Cumanophile ways, László was assassinated by the Qumans Árboc, Törtel and Kemence.[55] Although, Hungary's Cuman era may have ended with this, the Magyarization of this unruly element would take some time. Recent research suggests that the last remnants of the Qıpčaq language died out by the 17th century.[56] It is interesting to note that Alano-As groupings (Hung. **Jász**), closely associated with the North Caucasian Qıpčaqs, came together with the Qıpčaqs to Hungary.[57]

Qıpčaq groupings were also settled in present-day Rumania and Moldavia, as numerous toponyms attest, where they came to form an important component of the aristocracy.[58] They were closely associated with the Vlachs and together with them played an important role in the founding of the Second Bulgarian Empire in 1185.[59] The dynasties founded by George I Terter (1279-92, the last Terterid was George II, 1322) and Michael Šišman (1323-1330, the dynasty ended with the Ottoman conquest in 1393) were of Quman origin.[60]

The Qıpčaqs, however, were most prominently associated with the Činggisid **uluses** and two Muslim states of **ġulâm** origin (the Mamlûks

55 Pauler, **A magyar nemzet**, II, pp. 155-159,204-205,352-ff.,370-372,414; Rásonyi, **Hidak**, pp. 118-125; Kristó, **Az aranybullák**, pp. 90-95,167-170,172,184,186.

56 Mándoky, 1975, p. 144; Rásonyi, **Hidak**, pp. 128-134.

57 Claims have been made for pre-Cuman era Jász settlements. On these questions, see Szabó, **A jász etnikai csoport**, pp. 26-35.

58 Rásonyi, 1935, pp. 221-253 and his **Hidak**, pp. 141ff.

59 See discussion in Fine, **Late Medieval**, pp. 10-17.

60 Rásonyi, **Hidak**, pp. 137-138.

regimes of Egypt-Syria and the Delhi Sultanate, see Chap. 11). We will begin our survey with the Jočid states, the uluses of Batu, Orda and Šiban.

## The Ulus of Joči

Batu's realm ultimately became known as the "Golden Horde"[61] (Turk. **Altın Orda**, Russ. **Золотая Орда**, attested only in the 16th century, prior to that the Russians referred to it as "the Horde"). A Turkic tradition would appear to indicate that this name derived from the golden color (denoting seniority) of the xan's tent. But, this and other usages for the Jočid polities, e.g. the "White" (**Aq**), "Gray" (**Boz**) and "Blue" (**Kök**) hordes, found in later sources (cf. Russ. Белая Орда, Серая Орда, Синяя Орда etc) have still not been satisfactorily explained.[62] Although the ruling elite was probably familiar with and used Turkic as early as the late 13th century, the official language of the Golden Horde remained Mongol throughout much of its history. Most of the diplomatic correspondence of the Golden Horde with the Mamlûks was conducted in Mongol.[63] Alongside of Mongol, Uyğur, or eastern Turkic in the Uyğur script was also introduced. Moreover, the development of Čağatay Turkic must be viewed within the cultural context and influences of the Golden Horde. Qıpčaq, for which, in this region, we have little data (other than the 14th century **Codex Cumanicus**, produced by foreign missionaries and a number of **yarlıqs**), not uninfluenced by other Turkic languages, was undoubtedly the most commonly used of the Turkic tongues here. With Islam, Arabic, especially during the reign of Özbeg/Özbek [> Uzbek] xan (1312-1341), was also used as a literary medium. But, it is impossible to gauge how widespread knowledge of it was among the literary elite.[64]

Another measure of the assimilation of the Činggisids to their local environment may be seen in religion. The early Činggisids were situationally tolerant. As long as the local religious institutions did not become focal points of resistance, the Mongols were prepared to not only support them, but grant them important privileges. Sartaq (1255-56) adopted a pro-Christian orientation. Berke (1257-67), as we have seen, moved decisively in the direction of Islam. It is difficult to determine if this was a matter of personal preference or political calculation--or perhaps a bit of both.

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61 The most important Arabic and Persian accounts for the history of the Golden Horde are collected (with Russ. translations) in Tizengauzen (Tiesenhausen), **Sbornik**, I-II. The Russian chronicles (**PSRL**, especially the Nikon Chronicle) contain important data.

62 Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 141-144; Judin, 1983, pp. 120-132.

63 Zakirov, **Diplomatičeskie otnošenija**, pp. 98,102,125; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 286,348. On these ties, see also al-Xoli, **Svjazi**.

64 Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 285-291; Grigor'ev, 1981, pp. 80-89; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, p. 90; Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat; lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 122,139-140; Usmanov, **Žalovannye akty**, pp. 101-115.

Christianity was represented by the subject Rus' principalities and important trading colonies in the Crimea. It may also have been associated, however nominally, with groups of Western Qıpčaqs, especially those that had fled to Hungary, enemies of Činggisid rule. The political gains in this direction, from Berke's perspective, may not have been particularly promising. Islam, however, was represented by the commercial and agricultural centers of Xwârazm and Volga Bulgaria, the importance of which has, perhaps, too often been overlooked. Intra-Činggisid politics also played a role here. As the Golden Horde moved toward closer ties with Islamic, Qıpčaq-ruled Mamlûk Egypt-Syria against Hülegüid Iran,[65] the Muslim tie became ever more important. Berke also sought to win over the Central Asian **ʿulamâʾ**. After Berke, however, the movement towards Islamicization faltered somewhat. Möngke Temür (1267-80), Batu's son, maintained the Mamlûk connection, but realigned himself within the Činggisid orbit, aiming at greater independence from the Grand Qaġan. Under his successors, Töde Möngke (1280-87), a pious Muslim but inept ruler, and Töle Buġa (1287-1290), Noġai, a great amîr of Činggisid stock, became the power behind the throne and ran affairs. Toqto/Toxtu (1291-1312) managed to defeat Noġai (1299), who perished at the hands of a Rus' soldier, but the internal disorders continued.[66]

Central authority and a more purposeful Islamicization revived with Özbeg/Özbek (1312-1342) whose reign assured the victory of Islam in the Golden Horde. Özbeg's conversion is dated to after his accession. With this act, he may have been addressing a variety of political problems: the interests of the Volga merchantry, Muslims of long standing, the growing numbers of Muslims in the military, the need for closer ties with the Mamlûks to face his now Islamic İlxanid rivals[67] and the need for some source of greater internal cohesion. But, the unity of the Golden Horde itself began to unravel in a paroxysm of patricide and fratricide. Özbeg's son and successor, the pro-Christian Tınıbeg, was killed by his brother, Janıbeg (1342-1357) who realized the long-cherished dream of the Jočids to possess Azarbayjan. He was murdered by his son, Berdibeg (1357-59), as he returned from his

65 Hülegü had a Nestorian wife, Doquz Xatun. His son and successor, Abaġa (1265-82) was married to a Byzantine princess. There was considerable diplomatic activity between the Hülegüids and the Western Christian powers aimed at the Mamlûks, see Rachewiltz, **Papal Envoys**, pp. 149-154.

66 Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 82-88; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 52-85; Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 70-74; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 51-61.

67 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 140-142; Usmanov, 1985, pp. 177-180; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 90-94. According to the 19th century **Firdaws al-Iqbâl** of Šir Muḥammad Munis and Muḥammad Riẓâ Agahî, he was converted by the Yasawî ṣûfî Sayyid Ata. The 15th century **Šajarat al-Atrâk** attributes his conversion to Sayyid Ata's mentor, Zengi Ata, in the year 720/ 1320-21, see Bregel, 1982, p. 369; Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, II, pp. 206/264

Caucasian triumph. Berdibeg soon fell victim to his brother Qulpa. The latter's pro-Christian orientation produced a revolt by the last of Janıbeg's sons, Navrûz, which brought him to the throne. It is at this point that the history of the other Jočid polities impinges more directly on that of the Golden Horde. In 1361, a descendant of the Jočid Šiban, Xiḍr (Xidır Xan, Russ. Хидырь), whose territory was to the East of the Volga, in conspiracy with "amîrs" opposed to Navrûz, deposed the latter.[68]

These other Jočids now come very much to the fore. According to later tradition preserved in Abu²l-Ġâzî, Batu had given his older brother, Orda/Ordu Îčen, the lands lying to the east of those of another brother, Šiban. The latter's lands (identified by some as the Kök Orda, which is by no means certain) extended from the Ural/Yayıq and Irğız-Sawuq, Or and Ilek rivers to the Qara Qum-Ara Qum, Aral Sea-northern Syr Darya region, the mouth of the Ču and the Sarı Su. Orda, it appears, had his appanage in the region between the Irtyš and Tarbaġatai. The lands of the Aq Orda, which evolved out of the **ulus** of Orda, were basically the eastern territories of the **Dašt-i Qıpčaq**, i.e. much of Kazakhstan and some adjoining territory. The Aq Orda, then, may be defined as the land between the Ural/Yayıq in the west and Irtyš river in the east, the Tobol and lower Išim rivers in the north and Lake Balxaš, the Aral and Caspian seas in the south. Its principal urban center was Sığnaq, an old trading city with the nomads. The borders, as well as the terminology, are not clearly defined. Allsen, following the usage of Rašîd ad-Dîn, has employed the term "Princes of the Left Hand" (**šah-zâdagân-i dast-i čap**) to designate the rulers of this realm.[69]

The Qıpčaq-Qanglı tribes formed the ethnic core of this **ulus**, but there were admixtures of other Turkic (Qarluq) and Mongol tribes that had been brought to the region : Jalayir, Qongqirad, Mangid, Merkid, Kereyid, Arğun,

68 Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I (biography of al-Malik an-Nâṣir), pp. 254-255/263-264, II, (**Ta'rîx-i Sayx Uwais**), pp. 101-103/230-231; (Ġaffârî) pp. 211/270; **PSRL**, X, pp. 229-232; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 262-273; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 109-111; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 101-114.

69 Abu²l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Turk**,ed. Desmaisons, Turk. text, p. 181/pp. 190-191; **Ist. Kazaxskoj SSR**, II, p. 127; Vásáry, **Az Arany Orda**, pp. 129-130; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde** p. 25; Allsen, 1985, pp. 5-6,12-13; Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karîmî, I, p. 506, Rašîd ad-Dîn/Boyle, p. 100. Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 32 suggests that the the **ulus** of Joči split into the Kök Orda (= Golden Horde, from the Crimea and Dnepr river to Bulğar and Northern Xwârazm) and Aq Orda (Lower and middle Syr Darya and lands north of the Syr Darya and Aral Sea). According to this view, the Aq Orda, under the descendants of Orda-Îčen and Šiban was subordinate to the Batuid Kök Orda. Trepavlov, in his forthcoming study of co-rulership in the Činggisid states ("Sopravitel'stvo") argues that the Šibanid ulus, was Ibir-Sibir-Baškiria, i.e. the right wing of the realm of Ordu Îčen, the Southern Kazakhstanian steppes constituting the left wing of the Kök Orda. There were, in essence, he suggests, 2 Kök Ordas, the greater, i.e. the wing of the ulus which included both the Šibanids and the Aq Orda and the lesser, a secondary development which was directly subject to Ordu Îčen and his descendents.

Naiman and other troops brought from subject peoples (Rus', Čerkes, "Mâjârs"). These groupings were Turkicized but the chronology of this process is by no means clear. The spread of Islam in this relatively remote, nomadic zone was a much more prolonged process.[70] With the influx of nomads, the economy of the region took on a more nomadic character. Rubruck, who journeyed through the area, reports that Qayalıq ("Cailac") still served as a commercial center for the nomads, but many other large towns had disappeared and been transformed into pasturage.[71] Their history, not having a direct impact on those sedentary lands in which our sources were composed (although Orda's troops were represented in the Činggisid armies of conquest), remains obscure. Under Qoniči (ca.1277-ca.1299), a grandson of Orda, they appear to have constituted a separate Jočid **ulus**. His successor, Bayan (ca. 1299-ca. 1311?) faced challenges to his rule by relatives that led to prolonged internecine strife. Bayan's son and successor, Sâsî Buqa (ca.1312-AH 720/130-1321), and his son Îrzan, who followed him, appear to have been subject to Özbeg Xan of the Golden Horde.[72]

This situation was reversed, as we have seen, in the latter half of the 14th century. The Batuids gave way to kinsmen of Šibanid, Ordaid and other origins. The pattern of instability, however, continued. In the period 1359-1379, some 25 individuals held or claimed power in the Golden Horde. We will not examine the few, sordid details that are known. Rather, we may briefly note that Xidır Xan fell victim to his eldest son, Temir Xoja.[73] The latter was forced to flee by Mamay, a powerful amîr who restored an Özbegid to the throne (ᶜAbdullâh) in the western regions of the Golden Horde and came to dominate the now fragmented politics and polities of the Jočids for several decades.

The Xwârazm region came under the Şûfî dynasty of Qongirad origin. Urus Xan (1361-1375), the Ordaid master of the Aq Orda, campaigned in the Volga region, in the years 1368, 1374-5, with the aim of securing this part of the Jočid patrimony as well. He was not successful but the ambitions and momentary successes of his nephew, Toqtamıš (1377-97), who had attempted to seize the throne from him, injected a new element into affairs here. Toqtamıš turned to the "Great Amîr" of the Čağatayid realm, Temür (Tamerlane, see Chap. 10). It was a most propitious moment. Temür helped him secure the Aq Orda. In 1380, Mamay, the only effective authority in the

70 **Ist. Kazaxskoj SSR**, II, p. 151; Vásáry, **Az Arany Orda**, p. 130; Allsen, 1985, pp. 31-35.

71 Rubruck, in Wyngaert (ed.), **Sinica Franciscana**, I, pp. 225-226.

72 Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, II, (The "Anonymous" of Iskander) pp. 129 /234; Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. Semireč'ja, Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 70,72; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 61-63,65; Allsen, 1985, pp. 18-26. On subsequent rulers of the Aq Orda, see Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 310-316.

73 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 111-115. See the "Anonymous" of Iskandar, Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, II, pp. 130-131/234-235; **PSRL**, X, p. 233.

Golden Horde, seriously miscalculated Russian strength and was defeated at Kulikovo Pole on the upper Don by the Grand Prince of Rus', Dimitrij, henceforth "Donskoj" ("of the Don"). Weakened by this disaster, Mamay was badly mauled by Toqtamiš in 1381 in a battle on the Kalka river. He fled to Kaffa where the Genoese killed him.[74]

Toqtamiš, the principal beneficiary, now sought to bring the rebellious Rus' back to submission. Mosocw was taken, largely by trickery, in 1382 and thoroughly looted as were other Rus' lands. But, Toqtamiš retreated as soon as Dimitrij assembled a large force, indicating that the new xan was, perhaps, still unsure of his strength. Rus', divided by the Moscow-Tver' struggle for power, however, again became a Činggisid tribute-paying vassal. Toqtamiš now unwisely turned on his patron, Temür. In a series of wars, starting in 1385-6 and ending in 1396, Toqtamiš was thoroughly beaten by Temür or his proxies. Temür's Volga campaigns destroyed what was left of effective Jočid power.

Toqtamiš, however, was tenacious. His attempt to regain his standing with the aid of Vytautas (Pol. Witold, Russ. Vitovt) of Lithuania ended with yet another disastrous defeat in 1399 on the Vorskla river for himself and his Lithuanian allies. Toqtamiš, ultimately, disappeared into the expanses of Western Siberia, still attempting to negotiate with Temür for assistance against the latter's nominal vassals on the Volga.[75] The target, in this instance, was the Manġıt (Manġid) emir, Edigü (Russ. Едигей), the victor on the Vorskla, who had contributed to and profited from Toqtamiš's defeats.[76]

Edigü, as the "amîr" of the xans, was attempting to restore the fortunes of the Golden Horde. His successes bred enemies, often the Činggisid figureheads he placed on the throne. After an adventurous career which became the stuff of Turkic legends, he was killed in 1420, in an obscure confrontation, by a son of Toqtamiš. From the locally powerful union of Manġıt tribes headed by Edigü and his family, the later Noġay Horde emerged. As a non-Činggisid, Edigü had to seek legitimation elsewhere. This proved to be Islam. His status as a descendant of the early leaders of Islam (**sayyid** or **xwâja/xoja**) was proclaimed.[77] The early linkage of the Manġıt

74 Tizengauzen, **Sbornik, II**, (Niẓâm ad-Dîn Šâmî) pp. 108-109; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 273-294,316-322; Vernadsky, **Mongols and Russia**, pp. 208,245-263; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 111-127; Nasonov, **Mongoly i Rus'**, pp. 117ff.; Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 145-153.

75 Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 322-373; Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 153-160; Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 69,71-72; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 121-140; Vernadsky, **Mongols and Russia**, pp. 268-282. On the East European background of these events, see Grekov, **Vostočnaja Evropa**, pp. 127ff.

76 Tizengauzen, **Sbornik, I** (Ibn ʿArabšâh), pp. 466-467.

77 Bartol'd, 1927, **Sočinenija, II/1**, pp. 797-804; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 298, 374-405; Vernadsky, **Mongols and Russia**, pp. 282-288; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 142-154; Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 45-46; Judin, 1983, p. 162.

leadership with Islam should be reckoned a factor in the subsequent role of the Noğays as active promoters of that faith in the North Caucasus.

## The Ulus of Čağadai

The history of the Čağadaid xanate has not been satisfactorily reconstructed. This unstable polity, the core of which contained the former Uyğur and Qara Xitay lands, encompassed much of Eastern and Western Turkistan,[78] both the urban areas (although not always), the oasis agricultural zones and the nomadic steppe, the heartland of the **ulus**. The territory was marked by religious diversity. Islam in Transoxiana radiated out into the steppe, with some difficulty, among a largely pagan (shamanistic) nomadic population. There were also Nestorian and Buddhist communities. It was with the Transoxanian-centered nomadic elite that a Turkic literary tongue, based on the older, Qaraxanid Turkî, mixed with Persian and Arabic elements, "Common Central Asiatic Turkic," developed. The language, subsequently, termed **Čağatay**, represented a synthesis of Turkic with the Islamo-Iranian urban culture of Central Asia. It is the ancestor of Modern Uzbek.[79]

In the western zone, some of the boundaries between nomads and sedentaries were blurring as the two were brought into closer political, social as well as economic contact. Nonetheless, sedentary society was often at the mercy of the steppe horsemen, for aggressive, martial, nomadic traditions, resisting the lure of the cities, except as areas of plunder, remained strong. Čağadai's own personal inclinations which, in a simplified way, we may term pro-nomad (according to Juvainî he was charged with administering the yasa (**yasaq**, Mong.**jasa(g)**, the statutes, tribal customs and commands of Činggis Xan, the equivalent of the Türk **tōre**, i.e. the embodiment of nomadic customary law) and anti-city, reinforced this antagonism between steppe and sown.[80] Nomadic boisterousness was, undoubtedly, one element contributing to the instability that is a constant theme of the history of this region. But, the weakness of Čağadaid central authority also derived from larger patterns of Činggisid politics. The accession of the Toluids to power, the creation of the Il-xanate in Iran (see below) and the Toluid alliance with the Jočids, at least with respect to the Čağadaids, all served to isolate them and often cut off

78 Abu'l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Turk**, ed. Desmaisons, Turk. p. 148/p. 157 says that Činggis Khan gave him Mâ warâ'-n-Nahr, part of Xwârazm, the land of the Uyğurs, Lâšğar, Badaxšân, Balx and Ġaznîn up to the shores of the Sind.

79 Described in Cafgeroğlu, **Türk Dili Tarihi**, II, pp. 102-149,195-229.; **PhTF**, I, pp. 87-160.

80 Juvainî, ed. Qazwînî, I, p. 29, 226-227, Juvainî/Boyle, I, p. 40, 271-272 terms him "stern and severe," punctilious in his application of the yasa. Juzjânî, **Ṭabaqât**, ed. Lees, p. 398, portrays Čağadai as a cruel enemy of the Muslims and by extension the urban civilization that they represented in Central Asia.

their access to the urban centers and trade, essential to the nomadic economy. Of necessity, the Ögedeids and Čaġadaids had to fashion some sort of polity to preserve themselves.[81]

In the contest for power between Ariq Böke and Qubilai, the Čaġadaid Alġu (1261-1264?) exploited the situation to extend his holdings at Jočid expense (Xwârazm) and lay the groundwork for an independent state. His cousin, Mubârakšâh, who briefly held power ca. 1266, was the first Čaġadaid to convert to Islam. Although a number of his successors did as well, this usually led to their deposition or death. In the jockeying for power that continued in the course of the struggle between Qubilai and the Ögedeid Qaidu, the latter was established as the leading power in Central Asia and the true arbiter of Čaġadaid affairs. Some of the Čaġadaid xans, such as Kebek (1318-1326), who brought his capital to the Islamic heartland in Transoxiana (Qarši) and his brother and successor Tarmaširin (1326-1334) attempted to carry out administrative and economic reforms and gravitated more strongly towards the Transoxanian cities. Indeed, Tarmaširin, a onetime Buddhist, converted to Islam, designating it the official religion. The nomadic reaction was to kill him. His successor Čangši (ca. 1334-1338), not surprisingly, was anti-Muslim. The continuing succession struggles, often couched in pro- and anti-city ideologies, undermined political authority. Ultimately, it led to the breakup of the Čaġadaid patrimony into its eastern and western zones: the **ulus** of Čaġatay (roughly Western Turkistan) and "Moġulistan" ( <Moġol < **Monggol** in its Central Asian, Turkic pronunciation = Southeastern Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Eastern Turkistan). This allowed various Turkic or Turkicized chieftains to come to the fore, all of whom had to have Činggisid puppets as nominal rulers to fulfill what had become a requirement for political legitimacy. Qazaġan, who in 1346-47, took power in the **ulus** of Čaġatay, was one such figure. Grousset properly terms him the "true precursor of Tamerlane."[82]

In addition to the older Turkic inhabitants of Turkistan (e.g. Qarluqs and other tribes associated with the Qaraxanid state, elements of which had sedentarized), there were a number of Turkic tribal groupings, often bearing Mongol names, an indication of their origins or that of their ruling clans. In the western lands of the Čaġadaid realm, in addition to Eastern Qıpčaqs, we find the Arlat [Arulad], Barlas [< Barulas], Suldus and Jalayir, all of which are tribal or clan names noted in the **Secret History of the Mongols.**[83] There were also other military forces that had developed out of Činggisid armies (recruited as we have seen from a wide range of groupings) or regional

81 Kempiners, 1988, pp. 169-170; Bartol'd, **Dvendadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija,** V, pp. 146-148.

82 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija,** V, pp. 148-151,160-165,171,172; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj,** p. 12-13,39; Kempiners, 1988, pp. 171,177-178; Manz, 1983, pp. 81-82; Manz, **Tamerlane,** p. 43; Grousset, **Empire,** pp. 342-343.

83 **Secret History**/Cleaves, pp. 10,51,52.

military units, often associated with and named after a particular leader, e.g. the Apardı and Yasaᵓurî (< Činggisid prince Yasaᵓur) or the still obscure Qaraᵓunas. These conglomerations often took on tribal characteristics. To this complicated mix we may add local amîral armies.[84] In Moğulistan, despite its name, we find a similar mix of Turkic and Turkicized tribes, sometimes termed, disparagingly Jetes ("bandits,"[85]) by their western neighbors : Du(ğ)lat (who played the leading role, making and unmaking kings), Kerei(t) (< Kereyid), Arkenut, Qanglı, Barın (<Baᵓarin), Qırğız, Qarluq, Bulğačı as well as Barlas, Suldus etc.[86]

The political structure that evolved was highly elastic. It was Činggisid in ideology, insisting that political legitimacy rested on descent from the altan urug. This system could be and frequently was manipulated. In many respects, the political structure that emerged, while bearing many similarities and using the vocabulary of the pre-existing system, was qualitatively different. In particular, the importance of troop formations drawn from a variety of Turkic, Mongol (or increasingly Turko-Mongolian) and occasionally other elements should be stressed. In the earlier nomadic polities of Eurasia, such bodies did not wield the kind of political power that events of the 14th century indicate they had acquired. The Činggisid system had juggled and jumbled the Turkic and Mongol tribes of Eurasia, breaking them up and shuffling them about. This scrambling was extensive, affecting, in particular, the Mongol tribes themselves and the Qıpčaqs. The Oğuz, in this respect, were less directly affected, but did not entirely escape the consequences of these realignments. They, of course, had already gone through a similar process in the Seljuk era as the distribution of tribal and place names in Iran and Anatolia clearly attests.

Thus, alongside the now scattered fragments of the earlier tribal confederations, there now appeared new formations in Eurasia, under Činggisid overlordship, that were tribe-like. Perhaps, as Manz suggests, they

84 Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 22-23,27-36,154-165.

85 The etymology and significance of this term is not entirely clear. Ross, in his commentary to the **Taᵓrîx-i Rašîdî** (**Tarikh-i Rashidi**, commentary p. 75) claims that in Mongol it means "worthless person, ne'er-do-well, rascal," but notes that he cannot find it in that meaning in the dictionaries. Barthold (**Ist. Kul't. žizni, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 265) has it as a "Mongol term that corresponds to the Turkish qazaq and signifies a band of marauding outlaws who have broken with state, clan and tribe." I have not been able to find this word in Mongol or in Turkic. The closest is the Osm. **çete** which the **Türkçe Sözlük**, I, p. 296, derives from Bulgarian (cf. Bulg. чета, an Old Slavic term found also in Russ., cf. Fasmer, **Ètim. slov.**, IV, p. 351) and defines as "a small, armed unit not part of the army." Redhouse (**A Turkish and English Lexicon**, p. 714) thought it might be an Albanian term and knows it only in the expression **çapul çeteye çıkmak** "to go on a marauding expedition," **çeteci**, "a raider." The term obviously needs further clarification.

86 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 75, text pp. 305-310; Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 169-170; Mano, 1978, pp. 47-53; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 15,189.

were "simply younger tribes, originating in much the same way as had the older ones."[87] It seems to me, however, that in these new structures there was a much greater element of and emphasis on personal retinues (see below). This is reflected in ethnonyms or perhaps more precisely "politiconyms." Thus, it is only in the Činggisid era that we encounter Turkic political unions bearing names such as Özbeg/Özbek, Noğay, Čağatay, Osmanlı (Ottomans), Qaramanlı, Dulgadır, i.e. tribal or confederational names of clearly anthroponymic origin. This appears to be an innovation of the Činggisid era. In the Turkic world, prior to this, anthroponyms may have figured in clan names, but were not used as tribal or confederational names or ethnonyms.[88]

Németh explained this change as stemming from Mongol or Arabo-Islamic influences. I think that we must go further. This shift in name-giving indicates a sweeping change in the structure of the "tribes" and how they conceptualized themselves. The kinship bonds that held the tribes and confederations together had been stretched very thin or broken. In time, they would resurface. But, at the same time, a new politically based system focusing on descent from troops that had served a particular historical figure or dynasty was emerging. This new system derives, I believe, from the institution of the (Mong.) **nökür** (pl. **nöküd**). This term, which has an interesting history in Eurasia,[89] denotes in Mongol "friend, comrade, companion."[90] These were individuals who, for various reasons, had broken with or left their family-clan-tribal units and taken service with a lord. They did this voluntarily and could leave in the same fashion; although this was unlikely as loyalty was highly prized and a disloyal **nökür** who flitted from lord to lord might well find no lord willing to accept him. They were the lord's vassals, but also his "companions," closest associates, i.e. the personal retinue/comitatus of the chief.[91] Györffy compares it with the Türk **buyruq**.[92] The latter designated someone "commanded (to do something)." This was a title or office, "apparently a generic term for all persons commanded by the **xağan** to perform specific duties..." Later, it came to mean "order, command."[93] The Cumano-Hungarian form was **nyögér**. In Old Hungarian, it appears the term was **jobbágy**, later the term for "serf." Similar retinues, Györffy notes, were found in Khazaria, Rus' and Poland. Streusand compares the **nökür** institution to that of military slavery and sees in it similarities with the **manşâbdâr** system of the Mughals of India. He makes the very apt

87 Manz, **Tamerlane**, p. 31.
88 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 59-67.
89 Németh, 1952, pp. 1-23.
90 Lessing, **MED**, p. 593.
91 See Vladimircov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 87-88; Ratchnevsky, **Činggis-khan**, p. 12; Jagchid, Hyer, **Mongolia's Culture**, pp. 285-286.
92 Györffy, **István Király**, p. 470.
93 Clauson, **ED**, p. 387.

parallel of **nökür** with the antrustion ("free follower") of the Merovingian Frankish chiefs and further notes that the **nökür** having abandoned his original ties, now identified himself "only with the leader he served." As a consequence, he "received a new identity" from his lord.[94] These troops of **nökürs**, we may argue, were, in essence, an old feature of steppe society. Now, however, their importance was greatly magnified. They constituted, functionally, new tribes and took the names of their lords as a form of group identification. These politically powerful "tribes" could, in time, subordinate other tribes (real tribes), forming a subconfederation, all the members of which now bore this name.

This marks a new stage in the ethnogenesis of the Turkic peoples, one in which Mongol elements were assimilated, the Central Asian tribes broken up and reconstituted throughout the Činggisid realms. Qıpčaqs that now found themselves in different political formations did not lose a sense of identity and identification with other Qıpčaqs, but there were now new foci of political loyalty.

Not long after the death of his father, Qazağan, in 1358, ᶜAbdallâh, who held much of the **ulus** of Čağatay, was driven out by two local amîrs, one of whom was Ḥâjjî Beg of the Barlas, the uncle of Temür. In 1360, the Čağadaid, Tuğluq Temür, who had been brought to power in Moğulistan by the Duğlat, raided Transoxiana, disrupting the plans of Ḥâjjî Beg who was forced to flee. An uncertain unification of the ulus had been effected. Toğluq Temür, a convert to Islam, sought to use religion as a means to achieve political cohesion. This failed because most of his tribesmen, unlike those of the western Čağadaid lands, were still pagan. Moreover, while he sought to strengthen central authority, his amîrs and soldiers were only concerned with plunder. When Tuğluq Temür died in 1363, his sons proved unequal to the task of maintaining the fragile political unity of the Čağadaid patrimony achieved by their father. This allowed Aqsaq Temür, who had submitted to Tuğluq Temür, to establish himself ultimately as the dominant political figure.[95]

We shall return to the career of Temür and the changes it produced within the Turkic world. Before turning to these, we must first review briefly the impact of the Činggisid era on the Oğuz Turkic peoples.

94 Streusand, **Formation**, pp. 32-33.
95 Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 42-60; Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 43-45.

**Turks in the Činggisid Near and Middle East**

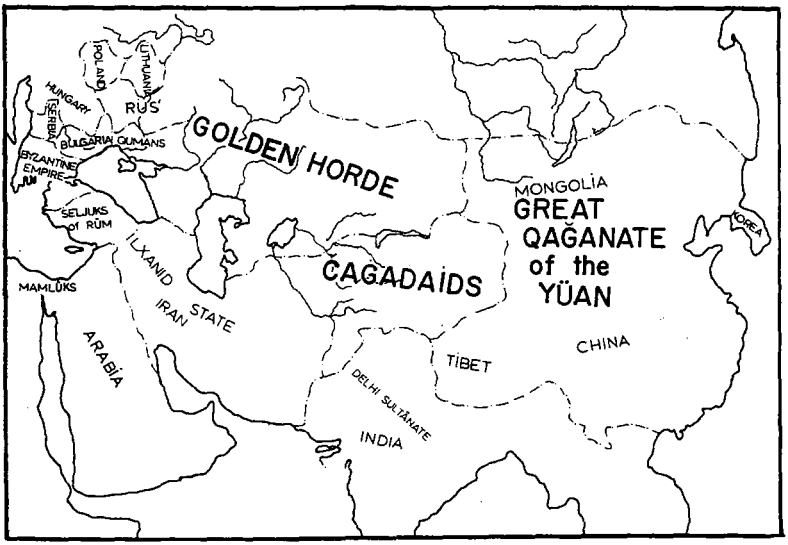
The Mongol conquests brought about the westward shift of many Oğuz/Türkmen tribes or groups. There was already an important Oğuz presence in what is today Turkmenistan, Xurâsân, Azarbayjan and Anatolia. Their numbers in Iran and Asia Minor increased. Virtually all of them came under the rule, either directly or as vassals, of the İlxanids, the Toluid dynasty established by Qubilai's brother Hülegü (1256-65). The latter's son, Abaqa (1265-1282), not without difficulties, successfully blocked Mamlûk attempts to conspire with and gain some of the territory of the Seljuks of Rûm.[96] Hülegü's descendants in Iran tended to resist assimilation to the local Irano-Islamic culture until the reign of Ġazan Xan (1295-1304) whose conversion to Islam, not the first of his line, pointed the dynasty toward a religious accommodation with its subject population. Ġazan's Islam ultimately took on a Šîᶜite orientation. Indeed, the very Mongol presence in Iran and its disestablishment of Sunnism, helped to pave the way for the subsequent victory of Šîᶜism. Although Öljeitü (1304-1316) flirted with Buddhism and Christianity, he too eventually turned to Islam with Šîᶜite inclinations.[97]

Abu Saᶜîd (1316-1335), a Sunnî and an able military man, faced with centrifugal forces within his realm and Jočid and Čağadaid incursions, was the last effective Činggisid ruler in Iran. The İlxanids were fading and would soon be extinct. Iran would be divided between the Turko-Mongolian Jalayirids and several local Iranian dynasties. In the late 14th century, Western Iran and the Irano-Anatolian borderlands came to be dominated by two Türkmen tribal confederations, the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu (see Chap. 11).

The Mongol era undoubtedly was crucial to the Turkicization of Azarbayjan. Indeed, from the perspective of the Oğuz tribes, Anatolia and the Turkicizing parts of Iran represented one and the same continuum of tribal groupings. As elsewhere in the Činggisid-dominated lands, Mongol (Jalayir, Suldus etc.) and Turkic elements (Uyğurs, Qıpčaqs, Qarluqs etc.) were brought to the regions under their control as both administrators and soldiers. Mongol continued to be used, both for official and other purposes, for some time. But, by Ġazan's era (he is reputed to have known, in addition to the expected Mongol and Turkic, some Arabic, Indic, Kašmiri, Tibetan, Chinese and "Frankish"), Turkic was probably widespread among the elite. Islamicization usually entailed Turkicization as well.[98]

96 Spuler, **Die Mongolen**, pp. 65-66; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 280-292.
97 Spuler, **Die Mongolen**, pp. 200-203; Bausani, **CHIr.**, V, pp. 541-543.
98 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 143-145; Spuler, **Die Mongolen**, 379-381.

The appearance of still more Oğuz tribal fragments was also felt in Anatolia. As the Mongols assumed direct rule over the Rûm Seljuk realm, in the last quarter of the 13th century, a number of Türkmen principalities (**beyliks**), some of which proved troublesome to their Činggisid overlords, came to the fore. Among them was the polity headed by Osman, the founder of the Ottoman empire.




MAP IX THE ČINGGISID MONGOL EMPIRE

# TEMÜR, THE LATER ČİNGGİSİDS AND THE LAST TURKIC EMPIRES OF EURASIA

## AQSAQ TEMÜR AND THE TİMURIDS[1]

The last of the great conquerors of the Eurasian land mass was the product of the Turko-Mongolian-Islamic culture that had developed in Činggisid Turkistan. Tamerlane, the English rendering of the Persian Tîmûr-i lang (< Turk. Aqsaq Temür i.e. "Temür the lame") came by this sobriquet honestly. His lame right arm was completely atrophied and he walked with a pronounced limp in his right leg, the result of a severe wound.[2] He was born in 1336 near Šahr-i sabz into the Barlas (< Mong. Barulas) tribe, one of the Turkicized Mongol tribes of the Čağatay Ulus, that had established itself in the region. He began as a freebooter, attracted a following and through the skillful manipulation and exploitation of the ever-shifting tribal and personal alliances within and forces outside of this tribal union (particularly those of Moğulistan), brought himself to power. By 1370, he was master of the Čağatay tribes and troops, had established marital ties with the Činggisids and enthroned a Činggisid puppet through whom he could rule as the **Küregen** (Mong. **küregen/kürgen** "son-in-law"[3]) and "Great Amîr" (Arab. **Amîr al-kabîr**, Pers. **Amîr-i buzurg**).[4] As a non-Činggisid (although intimations of Činggisid blood would be made by his enthusiastic propagandists), he could claim no higher rank.[5]

Temür then embarked on a whirlwind series of conquests and reconquests that ended only with this death in 1405. His state was largely a precariously held personal creation. Constant campaigning not only maintained the loyalty of his troops with the prospect of booty but also occupied those of the ruling strata who might challenge his primacy. The political fragmentation of his opponents in Central Eurasia and the Near and Middle East was most fortuitous. Like the Činggisid conquerors he emulated, Temür was a brilliant politician, as well as commander, who exploited his rivals' weaknesses and proved able to make effective use of the resources that his conquests gained him, using the fruits of one conquest to launch still others. His wars were

1 Temür is the proper Turkic form. The adjectival "Timurid" (< Arabo-Pers. Tîmûr), long in use in European languages, has been retained, rather then the less familiar Temürid.

2 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, 2, p. 39.

3 Cf. Čağ. **kōregen**, Azer. **kürāgān**. The Mongol is etymologically related to the Turk. **küdegü**, Osm. **güveyi**, Clauson, **ED**, p. 703; Sevortjan, **Ètim.Slov.**, III, pp. 43-46. The puppet ruler Soyurğatmuš (1370-1388) and his successors were Ögedeids. Timur's Činggisid wives came from all the royal lines except that of Tolui, see Woods, 1990, pp. 101-102

4 Aubin, 1976, pp. 43-55; Roemer, "Timur" **CHIr**, 6, pp. 43-46; Manz, 1983, pp. 86-100.

5 The thorny question of Timur's ancestry and his relationship to the Činggisids is fully explored by Woods, 1990, pp. 85-125, who concludes (p. 116) that it is presently "impossible to establish convincingly the authenticity of the various traditions."

justified by his propagandists in either Činggisid or Islamic terms. Sometimes, he combined both, portraying his Činggisid "overlord" as the **Pâdišâh-i Islâm**.[6]

In 1370-1375 Temür campaigned in Moğulistan and Xwârazm. In 1375-77, he assisted Toqtamış, a descendent of Orda, in gaining control over the Kök Orda. The early and mid-1380's found him campaigning in Iran. Shortly thereafter, in 787/1385-86, he faced a threat from his erstwhile protegé, Toqtamış, who was now the master of the Jočid realm. Successful here, Temür then returned to the Middle East (Iran and Transcaucasia) but was once again (1387) obliged to deal with Toqtamış and those who cooperated with him (the Moğuls of Xızır/Xıdır [Xiḍr] Xwâja/Xoja). By 1391, Toqtamış had been solidly trounced and Temür's forces had seized the capital of the Golden Horde. The "Great Amîr" then returned to the Middle East, taking Baġdâd in 1393 and making his power felt among the Türkmen tribal confederations, the Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu. His difficulties with the nomads of the Dašt-i Qipčaq, however, were not yet over. At this juncture, he once again was compelled to make his way northward and punish the resilient Toqtamış, ravaging the lands of the Golden Horde and finally finishing off his adversary here as an effective threat (1394-96). He now turned his attention to India, sacking Delhi in December, 1398. The next years again saw him campaigning in the Near and Middle East (Western Iran, Transcaucasia, Syria) culminating in his devastating tour of Anatolia and the defeat at Ankara, in 1402, of the Ottoman sultan Bâyazîd. He died in 1405 while preparing to invade China.[7]

In all of this military activity, he brought under his direct rule primarily those regions that most resembled his home turf, i.e. territories that had already been under Činggisid rule, had begun to work out, albeit uneasily, a symbiosis between the sedentary populations and their nomadic overlords and were largely of Persian culture. Years of contact, as Manz has noted, had made Temür and his "Čağatays," to some degree, "insiders" in the Islamic societies they conquered and ruled. Temür was a Muslim, although a product of the Islamic steppe frontier with its imperfect Islam. He was aware of the potential power of the ʿulamâʾ and courted individuals who could be of use to him. However much, as Muslims, they became "insiders" (especially the Timurid elite), the mass remained nomads and as such were "outsiders."[8]

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6 Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 13-14,85; Woods, 1990, pp. 103-109 who discusses Temür's ideologies of conquest. Temür presented himself as the "champion" and protector of the Čağadaids and the rightful Grand Qağanal line, i.e. that of Ögedei, whose lands had been wrongfully taken by the Toluids and Jočids.

7 For general overviews of Temür's campaigns, see Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 1-2,69-73 and Roemer, "Timur" **CHIr**, 6, pp. 46-83. His Moğlistan ventures are discussed in Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 62-87. On Toqtamış and Temür, see Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja orda**, pp. 317ff.; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 137ff. The Anatolian campaign has most recently been studied by Yücel, **Timur'un ortadoğu Anadolu Seferleri**.

8 Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 17-18,38,90.

Temür was equally successful in his wars against the Eurasian nomads. He plundered their urban centers on the Volga, but did not seek to incorporate the nomads fully into his system. The ruination of the Dašt-i Qipčaq, so vividly described by Ibn ᶜArabšâh, was in part attributable to Temür's wars, but also, in large measure, to the struggle between Edigü and Toqtamiš. Ibn ᶜArabšâh comments, in this regard, that the Qıpčaqs were attacked by "two lions" (Edigü and Toqtamiš), scattered by these misfortunes or went off "in captivity" to Temür. Some even fled to Rus' and Anatolia. Those brought or displaced eastward by Temür now came to center in the region around the Aral Sea and the Middle and Lower Syr Darya. These Qıpčaqs later constituted one of the components of the Uzbek/Özbek horde of Abu²l-Xair.[9] His devastating forays into the Near and Middle East undoubtedly pursued economic and political goals, namely the securing of the wealth essential to maintaining his army and personal rule. His wars against the nomads, however, may be viewed as largely strategic and defensive. Attempts to rule them as part of his increasingly centralized state would probably have cost more than they would have gained. Military activity in the steppe was always a risky business.

Temür, thus, was wary of the nomads. He knew them well. Having come to adulthood in the kaleidoscopic tribal politics of the Čağatay Ulus, he worked to promote a new political order. He created out of the fractious tribesmen of the Čağatay Ulus a personal state and army premised on loyalty to himself rather than tribal allegiance. The tribe did not disappear, but it did lose some of its political significance. The polity thus formed had to be constantly fed, as we have seen, with conquests and booty. These campaigns extended to nomads of other political affiliations. They were raided for booty, attacked for strategic reasons and sometimes displaced. Unlike other nomadic empires, however there was little attempt to bring non-Čağatay tribes into the permanent core of his army and there was little incentive for these other nomads to join. From the nomadic standpoint, Temür was, perhaps, too effective a ruler.[10]

It may be argued that Temür represented, to some degree, elements of a nomadic elite that was already on the road to sedentarization and transformation into traditional rulers of settled societies. They were more knowledgeable about and better able to exploit the sedentary world. This did not necessarily mean that any less devastation was visited on the latter. Temür was every bit as violent as his predecessors. But, it did mean that they were taking the traditional building blocks of nomadic political organization and arranging them somewhat differently so that a more effective exploitation/symbiosis with sedentary society could be achieved.

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9 Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I, (Ibn ᶜArabšâh) pp. 469-471; Šanijaszov, **K ètničeskoj ist.**, pp. 77-79.
10 Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 66-67,74,79-89,100-104,149-150.

One of the most interesting features of Činggisid and Temür's state-building is the extension of the comitatus structure (the **nökers** of the Činggisid era) to encompass now masses of tribesmen and the resultant de facto breakup of the tribes into "troops." This appears to be most widespread among those tribes that were in closest contact with the old Islamic-sedentary lands, as the history of Temür and the Ottomans (see Chap. 11) clearly shows. Denomadicizing nomads took service with charismatic warlords. Conditions, i.e. increasing interaction with the cities and the political demands of the warlords, encouraged these developments.

Temür's feverish need to concentrate all power in himself and a small group of family and retainers made for effective government while he lived. With his death, none of his heirs, all more or less equally held at bay by the "Great Amîr," had the power necessary to crush his rivals with dispatch. A protracted and destructive succession struggle among his sons and grandsons, ensued which damaged the state, leading to its breakup into a number of political entities. Šâh Rux (d.1447) Temür's rather pacific, youngest son, from a Qara Qitay concubine, eventually established his authority over most of his father's domain and completed the transformation of this polity along Sunnî Islamic, sedentarist lines. He even dispensed with the stamp of Činggisid legitimacy, a puppet xan.[11] His governmental policies included the further evolution of the Islamic **iqṭa$^{c}$** system into the **soyurġal** (< Turk., Mong. **soyurqa-** "to show kindness toward, have pity on, grant, deign, condescend < Chin. **ts'i** + **-urqa-**) "land grants."[12] This institution, begun already under the Seljuks, continued under the Mongols and took on the form associated with the Timurid era under the Jalayirids (1336-1432), one of the successor polities of the Činggisids in Western Iran and Azarbayjan.[13]

By 1409 Šâh Rux had established his son, Muḥammad Tarağay, known as Uluġ Beg, as his viceroy over the Transoxanian Timurid holdings and then set about replacing his nephews with his sons in many of his father's other holdings. Temür's empire, under his successors, however, was constantly in danger of invasion. Threats from Özbeks and Moğuls in Central Asia initially met with an activist response from Uluġ Beg. Closer to the steppe, he maintained the Činggisid tie, becoming through marriage, a **küregen**. He meddled in the politics of the squabbling Jočids and Moğuls and in 1425 led a successful expedition against the latter. His campaign of 1427 against his "protegé," the Jočid Baraq Xan, however, ended in disaster while his defeat and destruction of Uwais Xan (1418-29), the paramount figure in Moğulistan (see below), only led to the further political fragmentation of the region.

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11 Manz, **Tamerlane**, pp. 18,128-147; Roemer, "Successors" **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 98-105; Togan, 1949, p. 520; Woods, 1990, pp. 115-116.

12 Clauson, **ED**, p. 556; Golden, 1984a, pp. 110-111, cf. the Russ. пожаловать.

13 Guljamov et al., **Ist. uzbeksk. SSR**, I, p. 480; Reid, **Tribalism**, pp. 15-16; Roemer, "Timur" **CHIr.**, 6, pp. 94-95.

Thus, in the latter years of his reign, Uluğ Beg adopted the more defensive posture of his father.[14] But, neither Šâh Rux nor his son had the military ability of Temür. Lands, especially those lying away from the core territories in Xurâsân and the Čağatgay ulus, fell away. The Qara Qoyunlu Türkmen tribal confederation (see below), despite suffering several defeats at the hands of Šâh Rux (campaigns of 1420,1429,1434), gained and retained possession of Western Iran and Iraq and remained a significant threat. In Asia Minor, never truly conquered, the Ottomans soon revived.

With Šâh Rux's death (1447) internecine strife with resultant territorial splintering began. Uluğ Beg, a scholar and patron of the arts, having failed to establish his authority throughout his father's realm, perished some two years later on the orders of his own son, ʿAbd al-Laṭîf (1449-50). The patricide's tenure on the throne lasted six months. In 1460, the Timurid holdings were reunited by a great-grandson of Temür, Abu Saʿîd (1451-69), the Transoxanian ruler. He, however, was defeated in his bid to regain family lands in Western Iran, in 1468, by the Aq Qoyunlu and handed over to family rivals who executed him (1469). The Timurid Ḥusain Bayqara (1470-1506) now assumed power in the Eastern Xurâsânian lands (center at Herat) and Xwârazm, while Transoxiana remained under Abu Saʿîd's line. The latter region was overrun by the Özbeks in 1500. Shortly after Ḥusain Bayqara's death, his lands, too, fell victim to the nomadic invaders.[15] The source of these new nomadic irruptions was the fragmenting Golden Horde. Before turning to the fall of the Golden Horde, we must take a brief look at developments in Moğulistan.

## MOĞULISTAN

This eastern zone of the onetime Čağadaid[16] xanate had a mix of tribes (or tribal fragments) very similar to the elements that constituted the Ulus Čağatay to its west. The Qırğız union, whose complicated ethnogenesis we shall explore later, was one of its important groupings. A paramount position was enjoyed by the Duğlat, a Turkicized Mongol tribe (cf. the **Dûqlât** of Rašîd ad-Dîn, < Mong.**Doğulad** < doğula- "to limp, be lame"[17]), who became the throne-makers and throne-breakers of this loosely-held polity. If the tribes of Ulus Čağatay had to some degree become acculturated to the

14 Bartol'd, **Ulugbek, Sočinenija**, II/2, pp. 96-113; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 100-101,103-104,111,115.

15 See Bartol'd, **Ulugbek, Sočinenija**, II/2, pp. 147-174; Roemer, "Successors" **CHIr.**, 6, pp. 105-125; Guljamov, **Ist. uzbeksk. SSR**, I, pp. 475-480,486-487;

16 I employ Čağadai/Čağadaid here, as earlier, for the dynasty and Čağatay for the Turko-Mongolian tribes and territory under that dynasty's rule. Čağatay was also the name used for the Turkic literary language, based on Qarluqo-Qaraxanid, that developed here.

17 Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Romaskevič et al., I, p. 549; Lessing, **MED**, p. 257.

cities, the Moğuls are usually depicted as the stalwart paragons of the nomadic life. Their khans, not unexpectedly, wanted a closer connection with the urban economy, seeing in it greater economic possibilities and a useful counterbalance to the tribal chiefs. The latter, however, championed "nomadic conservatism" which allowed them to exploit both their sedentary and nomadic subjects. The friction between these two impulses or political-economic policies was a primary source for the instability that characterizes the history of the Moğuls.[18] Tuğluq Temür (d. 1363) of the Čağadaid line, as was noted earlier, who brought some unity to the region in the few years of his reign, had converted to Islam. He forced the "princes" of his realm to do likewise or be slain. One recalcitrant noble, reports the **Ta³rîx-i Rašîdî**, converted only after his champion (who could "lift up a two year old camel") was knocked unconscious in combat by the frail "Tajik" Muslim holy man who was the instrument of these conversions. As a consequence, "160,000 persons cut off the hair of their heads and became Musulmâns" and "Islam was disseminated all through the country of Chaghatai Khan."[19] Resistance, however, remained formidable in the steppe.

Aqsaq Temür launched a series of devastating expeditions into Moğulistan, in the 1370's and 1380's, following the death of Ilyâs Xwâja, Tuğluq Temür's son and successor. The Duğlat faction under Qamar ad-Dîn, who undermined (if not murdered) the ill-fated Ilyâs Xwâja, slaughtered some 18 members, "great and small," of the line of Tuğluq Temür and then constructed a rather weak and not unchallenged central authority. The **ulusbegi** Xudâydâd, a Duğlat rival of Qamar ad-Dîn, eventually brought Xızır (Xiḍr, Xıdır) Xwâja (1389-99), allegedly a younger son of Tuğluq Temür, to power as a figurehead for their continued control of affairs. Xızır Xwâja, however, established a marital alliance with his powerful neighbor. He also waged holy war against the non-Muslim towns of Eastern Turkistan, taking Qara Xoja and Turfan and forcibly converting their inhabitants to Islam.[20]

With Xızır Xwâja Xan's death, the now familiar pattern of internecine strife quickly reasserted itself. Authority was restored by his second son, Muḥammad Xan (1408-1416) who also strove to make his realm more independent of the Timurids. An instrument in this policy of strengthening central authority may be seen in his vigorous Islamicization of his nomadic subjects. As the **Ta³rîx-i Rašîdî** comments, "if... a Moghul did not wear a

18 Pišculina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, p. 124.

19 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, text,pp. 14-15.

20 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, text, pp. 38-57 prefers to gloss over some of the nastier deeds of Qamar ad-Dîn. Abu³l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Türk**, ed. Desmaisons, text, pp. 160-162/trans.pp. 169-170, simply states that Qamar ad-Dîn revolted, had Ilyâs killed as well as 18 members of Tuğluq Temür's family on that same day and ordered that the line be extirpated. The differing accounts are discussed in **Ist. kazax.SSR.**, II, pp. 161-162. On Temür's campaigns see also there pp. 163-174; Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. semireč'ja**, **Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 82-84.

turban, a horseshoe nail was driven into his head : and treatment of this kind was common."[21]

Several years of strife prefaced the reign of Wais/Uwais Xan (1418-28). It was the latter's misfortune that the Oirat (Oirad/Oyirad) Mongol confederation now began to raid his lands. The Oirats, termed, in Turkic, **Qalmaq** or **Qalmıq** (> Russ. **Kalmyk**, from Turk. **qal-** "to remain" [i.e. "Those who have remained pagan"[22]]), were formed out of a union of western Mongol tribes centered in a region bounded by the Xangai mountains in the East, the Upper Irtyš and Yenisei in the North, the Gobi desert in the South and Moġulistan in the West. Under Esen Khan (1439-1455) they had become a major regional power. While engaging in a struggle with their nominal Činggisid overlords for hegemony in their zone, they also began to test the defenses of their western neighbors. The latter were the Moġulistan xans whose competitors for domination of Eastern Turkistan they now became. The object of this rivalry was the important trade network that went through the East Turkistanian towns and access to the goods of urban commercial production. They also sought to make good the losses they had sustained with the fall of Esen Xan's state (1455) through raids on their nomadic neighbors. The Qazaqs would become particular targets.[23]

The **Taʾrîx-i Rašîdî**, while relating Wais Xan's undoubted bravery, reports that of his 61 battles with the Oirats, "only once was he victorious."[24] Nonetheless, he appears to have been able to deny his opponents permant gains. The struggle for the throne of his sons Esen Buġa (1428-62) and Yûnus (1462-87) ended what little effective central authority existed. Moġulistan, a geographical expression rather than a state, despite the occasional periods of competent rule by the educated Yûnus, began to splinter. As the polity fragmented, some groups decamped for the Qıpčaq-based Özbek confederation, Transoxiana or the Oirat realm. We need not follow the adventure-filled careers of Wais Xan's offspring, some of whom established themselves as a qağanal line among the Qırğız. By the early 16th century, under the dynamic Saʿîd Xan (1514-1533), these heirs of Čağadai had come to control "Moğuliyya," centered in Kâšğaria, the onetime domain of the powerful Duğlat, which became the last significant outpost of their rule.[25]

21 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, p. 58; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 95,97-98.

22 So Bartol'd, "Kalmyki" **Sočinenija**, V, p. 538. But, cf. Räsänen, **Versuch**, p. 227 **xāl'maG** < **qalimağ** "der leicht über die Ufer tritt."

23 Avljaev, 1987, pp. 110-112; Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. semireč'ja**, **Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 86; Zlatkin, **Istorija**, pp. 30-43; Halkovic, **Mongols of West**, pp. 2-3; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 238-241,277. Oirat history will be touched on here only in so far as it impinges on that of the Turkic peoples. For a general survey, in addition to the study of Zlatkin, see Courant, **L'Asie Centrale** which focuses on the 17th-18th centuries.

24 **Tarih-i Rashidi**/Ross, p. 67.

25 See the **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 73-115, (career of Saʿîd Xan) 130-139; Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. Semireč'ja**, **Sočinenija**, II/1, pp. 89-95; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 116-126,268-273.

## THE LATER ČAĠADAIDS AND EASTERN TURKISTAN

Čaġadaid rule in the eastern zone of Moġulistan soon found competition from a line of xwâjas/xojas (those claiming descent from the first caliphs Abu Bakr and ᶜUmar), the progeny of the Buxârân missionary Imâm Riza (Riḍâ) and his son Ḥaẓrat (Ḥaḍrat)-i Maxdûm-i Aᶜẓam (d.1542). They received land grants from the local rulers and played an important role in the final Islamicization of the region. The ethnonym Uyğur, now associated with a non-Islamic (Buddhist, Christian etc.) orientation, fell into disuse. The author of the Taᵓrîx-i Rašîdî, Mîrzâ Ḥaidar Duğlat (d. 1551), comments that the name Uyğur, which he knew from Juvainî's writings, "is quite unknown at the present time; it is not understood which country is meant."[26] The followers of Maxdûm-i Aᶜẓam's sons, Imâm Kalân and Isḥâq Walî, both of whom belonged to the Naqšbandî Ṣûfî order, soon split into two rival factions, the Aqtağlıq of the former and the Qaratağlıq of the latter, each backed by its coalition of Qırğız tribes. In 1678, the Aqtağlıq xoja, Ḥaẓrat-i Appaq (Afaq) brought in the Oirats and made himself ruler of Kâšġaria.

The territory became a tribute-paying vassal statelet of the Jungarian (Oirat) Xanate. Nonetheless, the blood-letting between Aqtağlıq and Qaratağlıq factions continued, occasionally assisted by their Jungarian overlords. This and the injudicious murder of Ch'ing envoys in 1754, paved the way for the Manchu conquest of the region in 1757-1760. This came in the aftermath of the Manchu victory over the now fragmenting Oirats under Amursana, in 1757, which effectively ended their state.[27] The region was organized as the "New Province" (Chin. Sinkiang [Hsin-chiang]). Following a revolt against Ch'ing rule in 1765, some 12,000 families were deported to the İli valley. These were termed Tarančı ("farmer, agriculturalist"). Other revolts followed in 1816 and 1825-1828, the latter led by the Aqtağlıq xoja Jahângîr. It was suppressed and Jahângîr was drawn and quartered in Peking. In the aftermath of this and other flareups of resistance, some Eastern Turkistanians settled in Qoqan (Kokand), which had served as a refuge and reservoir for the rebels. In 1845-1847, with Qoqan's support, a coalition of xojas seized and held Kâšġar until driven back to Qoqan by the Ch'ing. A decade later, the xoja Walî Xan Türe, aided by Qoqan, gained control of Kâšġar. But, his own shortcomings as ruler led to the speedy collapse of his regime. This provided the background for the revolt that came under the leadership of the Qoqan military man, Yaᶜqûb Beg. The revolt broke out in 1864 under the nominal leadership of the xoja Buzurg Xan. By 1873, Yaᶜqûb

26 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/ Ross, p. 360.
27 See Courant, **L'Asie Centrale**, pp. 97-114; Zlatkin, **Istorija**, pp. 425ff.

Beg, now termed Atalıq Ġâzî, was the central figure. He was defeated by Ch'ing forces in 1877 and died not long afterwards.[28]

## THE FALL OF THE GOLDEN HORDE AND THE ČİNGGİSID SUCCESSOR STATES

In the aftermath of the depredations visited upon the Jočid lands by Temür, the Golden Horde had begun to splinter into its constituent parts. This process may have been aided by an extensive drought and plague that affected Saray and the Qıpčaq steppe in the 1420's.[29] Xwârazm, a major economic and cultural center had earlier passed out of its control. The Volga cities and the agricultural lands in their orbits had been badly hurt by Temür's campaigns and the ongoing Jočid strife. This instability extended to the Crimea as well, an important outlet to the Near East. These areas of developed sedentary life broke away, under various Jočids, forming new xanates. The nomads of the Golden Horde regrouped creating several loosely held unions : the "Great Horde" (of the Russian sources) in the Volga-Pontic steppes and the Eastern Qıpčaq-Özbek mass from which the Manġıt/Noğay Horde, the Qazaqs and the Özbeks ultimately emerged.

Decentralization allowed for the reemergence of older nomadic traditions, reflected in lateral succession (brother to brother) and a greater emphasis on electoral politics in the selection of xans. The tremendous reshuffling of tribes was reflected in the dispersion of onetime major tribal unions whose names appear in all the principal nomadic coalitions of this and succeeding eras. This process was most advanced in the western parts of the steppe where the general, political name, **Tatar** became the common, supratribal designation. In the eastern zones of the Qıpčaq steppe, many of the older names remained, representing greatly downscaled units (e.g. Naiman, Qıpčaq) which now appear as clan or tribal names. Many confederational names (e.g. Özbek, Noğay), as we have noted, derived, it would appear, from famous leaders and presumably evolved from their political designations as the "men of Özbeg" etc.[30] They were, in short, dynastic names in the same way that the followers of Osman, in Asia Minor, were called **Osmanlı**, i.e. "Ottomans."

Uluġ Muḥammad (in Russ. sources Улу Махметъ, Улуг Махметъ, 1419-1414, 1427-1437/38), a Toqtamıšid[31] and the subsequent founder (or

28 Valixanov, "O sostojanii," **Sobranie sočinenija**, III, pp. 126-157; Ruziev, **Vozroždënnyj narod**, pp. 35-66; Hayit, **Türkistan**, pp. 135-155; Rossabi, **China and Inner Asia**, pp. 119-120,148-149,166-187.

29 Noted by al-Maqrizi, Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I, PP. 428/442.

30 Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 167-168,171-176.

31 His antecedents are unclear. He may have been a son, grandson or cousin of Toqtamıš, see Kurat, **Yarlık ve Bitikler**, pp. 17-30; Xudjakov, **Očerki**, pp. 16-25 for a discussion of his career and the political situation within the Golden Horde.

father of the founder) of the Qazan (Russ. Казань) xanate, held the western zone, while Kibek, a son of Toqtamış controlled the lower Volga region. By 1423-24, Baraq xan, a descendant of the Ordaid Urus, having taken power in the Aq Orda with the aid of the Timurid Uluğ Beg, on whom he later turned, staged a spectacular raid against his kinsmen in the West. He trounced Kibek, Uluğ Muḥammad and the latter's cousin and rival, Dawlat/Devlet Berdi. Baraq, however, perished, in somewhat confusing circumstances, in Moġulistan in 1428 or 1429.[32] Uluğ Muḥammad, having secured Lithuanian aid, again established himself in the Western Qıpčaq steppes, as he reported to the Ottoman Sultan Murad II, in March, 1428.[33]

### The Qazan and Qasımov Xanates

There was little security of tenure in the rough and tumble politics of the Jočids. Uluğ Muḥammad was challenged by a Sayyid Aḥmad, believed to be a son of Toqtamış,[34] supported by Svidrigello (Russ. Svidrigajlo), the Lithuanian opponent of Uluğ Muḥammad's patron, Sigismund, and Küčük Muḥammad/Mahmet, a descendant of Temür/Timur Qutluğ (another son of Urus Xan who had held power in the Qıpčaq realm in the 1390's). His opponents proved to be stronger. Plague added to the general turmoil, contributing to the migration of Tatar nobles to Lithuania and Moscow.[35] Küčük Muḥammad maintained power, for a short while, in the western steppes, frequently warring with his principal rival, Sayyid Aḥmad.[36] Uluğ Muḥammad, however, was pushed up the Volga and founded, according to some scholars, the Qazan xanate in 1437-38.

This reconstruction of the events was contested by Vel'jaminov-Zernov who concluded that it was his son, the patricide, Mahmutek (Maḥmûtek, Russ. Махмутекъ, Мамотякъ, Мамутякъ, Маматякъ <Arab. Maḥmûd) who founded the xanate in the Fall of 1445. Uluğ Muḥammad may have been xan for a few days only. Whatever the case may be, Uluğ Muḥammad was an active figure in the region. In 1445, prior to the establishment of the Qazan xanate, he defeated and captured the Muscovite prince, Vasilij II "Tëmnyj" (1425-62). The latter, eventually ransomed, used his time wisely in the Horde, befriending two sons of his captor, Yaᶜqûb and Qasım (Qâsim).

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32 Baraq defeated Uluğ Beg, in 1427, as we have seen, when the latter attempted to make him into a more obedient vassal, see Bartol'd, **Ulugbek, Sočinenija**, II/2, pp. 101-102,104,105, 111-112,116. On Baraq, see Kurat, **Yarlık ve Bitikler**, pp. 30-33.

33 Kurat, **Yarlık ve Bitikler**, pp. 8-11, commentary, pp. 17ff.

34 So Grekov, Jakubosvkij, **Zolotaja Orda**, p. 414 and Vernadsky, **Mongols in Russia**, p. 299). There were several figures bearing this name at this time and later, see the discussion by Safargaliev, **Raspad**, p. 242.

35 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 234-235.

36 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 258-260.

When their brother, Mahmutek, killed their father, Yaᶜqûb and Qasım fled to Moscow, where they took service with Vasilij. In 1452, the latter, seeking a counterweight to Qazan, granted Qasım the city of Gorodec/Meščerskij Gorodok (Tatar. Xan-Kermen "Fort of the Xan") on the Oka, in the Rjazan' principality, in a region largely inhabited by the Finnic Mordvins and the Meščers. This became the Qasımov/Kasimov xanate.[37] Other Tatar princes had been granted towns by the Muscovite rulers at various times. But the statelet thus established at what was now called "Kasimov," developed into a more permanent polity. It had a substantial Tatar population and attracted others. Noğay elements were brought in by Qasım which, blending with the other Turkic and Finnic elements produced the Kasimov Tatars.[38]

From its inception, the Qasımov xanate was a client state of the Muscovite rulers without a stable dynasty, functioning, at times, as an alter ego of its kinsmen on the Middle Volga.[39]

The xans of Qazan were, in theory, absolute rulers in the Činggisid tradition. Their power, in reality, was limited by a council of the **Qaračıs**[40] and other begs, as well as the ᶜulamâᵓ. Russian sources make reference to large assemblies, "all the land of Kazan'" («вся земля казанская»), which decided the most important questions.[41] The xanate, which was ruled by the line of Uluğ Muḥammad until 1518, had much more complicated relations with its powerful Slavic neighbor. As an important element in Moscow's military and commercial policies, the rulers of Qazan enjoyed considerable periods of genuine independence before the xanate was conquered by Ivan IV in 1552. A pivotal factor in these relations were the kindred, Činggisid Crimean Xanate, which after 1518 sought to place its own candidates on the Qazanian throne, and the Noğay/Manġıt Horde (see below). The latter

37 Vel'jaminov-Zernov, **Issledovanija**, I, pp. 3,7-8,10-15,26ff.; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja orda**, pp. 418,421-22; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 244-251. Xudjakov, **Očerki**, p. 21 believes that this was not a voluntary act on the part of Vasilij II. Rather, he was compelled to make this grant and to pay tribute.

38 Vorob'ëv, Xisamutdinov, **Tatary**, p. 45. They are the westernmost subgrouping of the Volga Tatars and are transitional to the Tatar subethnicity, the Mišers. On the latter, see Muxamedova, **Tatary-Mišari**. **Mišer** derives from **Meščer** (Vásáry, 1975, pp. 270-274) or **Megyer** (Németh, 1972, pp. 293-294).

39 It was a place of refuge for emigrants from Qazan and a springboard for Muscovite manipulation of and intervention in Qazanian politics, see Vorob'ëv, Xisamutdinov (eds.), **Tatary**, pp. 11-12. In addition to Vel'jaminov-Zernov's study, see Bartol'd, "Kasimov," pp. 451-452.

40 The term appears to come from Turkic **qarači** "the common people" and was borrowed into Mongol, **qaraču** where it designated a non-Činggisid, "a man of the people," see Clauson, **ED**, p. 647. Here, it designates a noble, clan leader of non-Činggisid stock. Radloff's Uyğ.(**Opyt**, II/1,c.162) **qaraju**, **qarači** "minister," as Clauson implies, stems from the non-Činggisid origins of its bearer. Schamiloglu, 1984, pp. 283-297 suggests that the system of four **qarači** beys was an old, but thus far little-studied Činggisid institution that was subsequently found in all the successor states of the Golden Horde.

41 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, p. 116.

fearful of Crimean influence and accustomed to king-making since the days of its great leader, Edigü, was a continuing factor in Qazanian politics. The Qazan xans, with whom the Noğay murzas also established maritial ties, promised to pay the "Mangıt tribute" (Russ. «мангытские доходы») and allocated a special place to the "Mangıt prince" in internal politics. Qazan was also an important link in the nomadic economy of the Noğays, serving as a major market for their cattle.[42]

The Qazan Xanate, like its forerunner, the Volga Bulğar state, contained an ethnically diverse population. The Oğuric-speaking, Muslim Bulğars were Qıpčaqicized. When this process began is unclear. The presence of Common Turkic speakers in Volga Bulgaria certainly antedated the Činggisid era. Oğuric grave inscriptions, sometimes mixed with Qıpčaq, continue into the 14th century.[43] In any event, the establishment of a xanal center on the Middle Volga and the movement here of Qıpčaq-speaking Tatar aristocracy and soldiery undoubtedly gave a further impetus to Qıpčaqicization. Jakubovskij characterized the Xanate as not really a Tatar state, but a Bulğar state with a Tatar dynasty.[44] This is, perhaps, something of an overstatement for Qıpčaq rather than Bulğar Turkic ultimately won out. Whatever the relative strengths of the different components, the combination produced the Qazan Tatars.

Other Oğuric groupings, the Čuvaš, retained their non-Qıpčaq speech and aboriginal customs; hence their distinct identity today as the only speakers in the Turkic world of Oğuric. The long-standing influence of the Volga Bulğars on elements of the Volga Finnic peoples (the Mari, Udmurts[45] and Mordvins) continued. Thus, among the Volga and Permian Finnic populations we find the Qaratays, a Tatar-speaking ethnic subgrouping of the Tatar ASSR, who are of Mordvin origin and the Besermen (< *Bösörmen, Büsürmen < Müsülmân < Arabo-Pers. Musulmân "Muslim"[46]) subgrouping of the Udmurts. The latter, Muslims as their name implies, are an Udmurt-speaking group of Bulğar, Tatar and Udmurt origin. The Xanate's influence extended into the steppes as well, encompassing the Baškir tribes. The Udmurts, Ob Ugrians and Baškirs were brought into the Xanate sometime

42 In brief, see Rorlich, **Volga Tatars**, pp. 24-29 and Battal-Taymas, **Kazan Türkleri**, pp. 23-35. For a detailed analysis of Muscovite-Qazanian relations, see Pelenski, **Russia and Kazan**, pp. 23-61, Kurat, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 152-202 and Kappeler, **Russlands erste Nationalitäten**, pp. 39-83 which includes a useful discussion of the non-Tatar population of the xanate. On Qazan-Noğay ties, see Kočekaev, **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 64,69-70.

43 See discussion in Xakimzjanov, **Èpigrafičeskie**, pp. 5-27, who focuses on the Common Turkic epitaphs. See also Tekin, **Volga Bulgar** for the most recent edition of the texts.

44 Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja orda**, p. 417.

45 Who still term the Qazan Tatars **Biger**, i.e. "Bulğars."

46 Cf. Hung. **Böszörmény**, in **MNyTESz**, I, pp. 365-366, Russ. **Besermenin**, Fasmer, **Ètim. slov.**, I, p. 160.

before 1469.[47] With the fall of the Qazan Xanate in 1552, the Finno-Ugric subject peoples, for the most part, came under Moscow's rule (the Ob Ugric peoples were not completely Moscow's subjects until the Russian movement into Siberia). The Baškirs, however, began a dogged resistance and were not fully incorporated into the Russian Empire until 1740.[48]

## The Crimean Xanate

Another victim of these buffetings within the Jočid house was Ḥajjî Girey who, following a failed bid to take power in the Horde in 1428, had sought refuge in Lithuania, a haven for Tatar princes as we have seen (and possibly his birthplace). It was from Lithuania, with the assistance of its ruler, Kazimir (Pol. Kazimierz), that Ḥajjî Giray was summoned by the Tatar nobles of the Crimea in 1443 (the dating is uncertain). This marks the founding of the Crimean xanate. The Giray line brought with them the prestige of the Činggisids, but they were far from absolute rulers in their realm. Real power lay with the clanal aristocracy, represented by the 4 **Qarači** beys, coming from the all-powerful Širin clan and three others which initially included the Arğın, Barın and Qıpčaq clans.[49] Their composition later changed. They played an important role in the selection of the Xan, had their own connections with the Ottoman government and represented clanal polities, with their own officials, within in the larger realm.[50]

Thus, by 1450, the two regions of the Golden Horde with the most sedentary and urban character, the Crimea and Volga Bulgaria, were now independent.[51] With Ḥajjî Giray's death in 1466 a throne struggle ensued between his sons Nur Devlet (1466-67, 1474-75, 1476-78) and Mengli Girey (1467-74, 1475-76, 1478-1515). This brought to the fore the pivotal role that would be played by the Tatar ruling clans in the government of the state and the importance of external sources of legitimation. In the course of these events, the leader of the Širin grouping had established communications with

47 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 252-258; Kappeler, **Russlands erste Nationalitäten**, pp. 42-44; Hajdu, **Finno-Ugrian**, pp. 155-156, 161, 165-166,173,179; Décsy, **Einführung**, pp. 96-97,107-108,139-140.

48 See Kappeler, **Russlands erste Nationalitäten** and Donnelly, **The Russian Conquest**.

49 On them see Manz, 1978, pp. 282-309. These clans exercized considerable power elsewhere as well, playing prominent roles in the affairs of the Kasimov and Qazan Xanates. In the latter, the 4 Qaračıs functioned as a royal council. In Qazan, the representative of the Širin clan, as **Ulu Qarači**, also enjoyed a certain preeminence (Pelenski, **Russia and Kazan**, p. 54). The **Qarači** beys of Kasimov stemmed from the Arğın, Qıpčaq, Jalayir and Manğıt clans. **Qarači** beys are also noted among the Noğays and Siberian Tatars, see Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, p. 172.

50 See Fisher, **Crimean Tatars**, pp. 17-23 on administration.

51 **Ist. Tatarii**, pp. 82-84; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 410-418,421; Vernadsky, **Mongols and Russia**, pp. 292-294,298,301-302,316,320; Spuler, **Die Goldene Horde**, pp. 154ff.; Fëdorov-Davydov, **Obšč. stroj**, pp. 165-166; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 232-264.

the Ottomans. In 1475, Mengli Girey, locked in an ongoing struggle for power, accepted Ottoman overlordship. Although Mengli Girey was soon driven from power by Sayyid Aḥmad of the Great Horde, who reinstated Nur Devlet, he was restored in 1478, at the urging of the Širin, by an Ottoman army. The Crimean Xanate, which in the era before the Russian conquests of the Volga xanates sought to organize "Tatar" coalitions against Moscow and unleashed devastating raids against the Russians and Ukrainians, remained under Ottoman suzerainty until the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca (1774). It was subsequently annexed by Russia in 1783.[52]

### The Xanate of Astraxan

Shortly after the emergence of the Qazan and Crimean Xanates, and certainly by 1466, the Astraxan Xanate (< As Tarxan, also Ḥâjjî Tarxan, located in the old Khazar zone on the lower Volga) came into existence. In a letter to the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II, dated to 1466, Maḥmûd Xan, the brother of Sayyid Aḥmad (ruler of the Golden Horde, 1465-1481[53]) and the probable founder of the Astraxan Xanate, made note of the previously existing cordial political and economic relations between the two (**bizning uzaqı xan babalarımız birle sizning burunğı yaxšılarıngızning ilči kilečisi kilišip bazirgân arğışları yürušüp**) and now, following a period of difficulty, sought to renew these ties. This period of difficulty, according to Safargaliev, marked the birth pangs of the Xanate in the lower Volga. Qasım I (1466-1490), usually credited with being the first Xan of this line, is, according to Safargaliev's reconstruction, the son of Maḥmûd.[54] This xanate, however, did not possess great human resources and was forced to rely on and maneuver between other Tatar forces. These were the "Great Horde" (until 1481), the Noğay Horde and the Crimean Xanate. As in Qazan, the Noğay princes, who interfered in Astraxan's thronal politics, had special positions and revenues alloted to them. Astraxan wavered between Noğay and Crimean orientations until the Xanate fell, in 1556, to the forces of Ivan IV.[55]

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52 On the origins of the Xanate, see Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 232-234,237-241,259-264. The most convenient general study is Fisher, **Crimean Tatars**. Hammer-Purgstall's **Geschichte der Chane der Krim** is still useful as is the more recent work of Ülküsal, **Kırım Türk-Tatarları**.

53 Not to be confused with the earlier opponent of Uluğ Muḥammad.

54 Kurat, **Yarlık ve Bitikler**, pp. 38-44; Kurat, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 274-275; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 264-266.

55 Its history is briefly discussed by Kurat, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 274-280. On Astraxan-Noğay ties, see Kočekaev, **Russko-nogajskie otnošenija**, pp. 61-63.

## THE FALL OF THE GREAT HORDE

With the breakaway of these key regions, the "Great Horde" under Aḫmad (1466-1481) now consisted largely of the southwestern lands of the former Golden Horde, extending from the Volga to the Dnepr and from the North Caucasian steppes to the frontiers of Muscovy. In terms of military potential, the "Great Horde" was still the most powerful of the Jočid successor polities and Aḫmad adopted an aggressive stance towards all of his neighbors, nomad and sedentary alike.[56] Rus' was, apparently, again brought back to some form of formal submission. But, the military might of Aḫmad's tribesmen was ebbing. These were nomads who had not only lost important warmer pasturages around the Black and Caspian Seas, but whose access to urban centers was, to some degree, at the mercy of others. Economic relations became rather primitive. There was further political splintering. Rus' subordination, problematic at best (and the nature of which has been long-debated by historians) proved to be of short duration.

The hollowness of Aḫmad's claims was exposed in Autumn, 1480 when, having gathered a powerful host, he failed to cross the Ugra river and defeat the unprepared Ivan III. Not long thereafter, Aḫmad was killed in a simple act of brigandage, in January, 1481, by the Šibanid Ibaq (perhaps to be read as : Aybaq, 1481-93[57]), xan of the Western Siberian Tatars centered at Tümen, assisted by Musa and Yamğurčı of the Manğıt/Noğay horde (see below). Having contributed to the collapse of the Great Horde, the Noğays now tended to side with Aḫmad's heirs in order to check the Crimean Xanate. The latter defeated "Aḫmad's children" («Ахматовы дети»), so termed in the Russian sources, in a series of campaigns (1486-91). Despite attempts by Aḫmad's sons, Murteza (d. 1481-99) and Šayx Aḫmad (1485-1503) to maintain a cohesive politico-military presence, the Great Horde began to dissolve. Internal dissension, pressure from other Činggisids (especially the Crimean Xanate) and the growing Rus' state, which had actively promoted Tatar coalitions against the Horde, proved too strong. In 1502 the Horde was overrun by the Crimean Xan Mengli Giray and ceased to exist as an independent entity.[58]

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56 He suggested joint military action in a letter to the Ottoman Sultan, Mehmed II, dated to late May-early June, 1477, see Kurat, **Yarlık ve Bitikler**, pp. 46-60.

57 In his correspondence with Moscow, he styled himself Ibrâhîm ( > Ibaq ?), "son of tsar Šiban," Karamzin, **Istorija**, v.VI, cap. IV, Notes, p. 39n.240.

58 Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 60; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 267-272; Spuler, **Goldene Horde**, p. 186-208; Kurat, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 143-147; Togan, **UTTG**, pp. 361-362; Kočekaev, **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 58-61,67,70; **Ustjuž. letopis. svod**, pp. 92-94. Ibaq sent an embassy to Ivan III to inform him of his deed and received gifts in return. Some Russian sources (**PSRL**, XX, p. 346) ascribe the killing of Aḫmad to the Noğay **murza** Yamğurčı (Ямгурчей). The Nikon Chronicle (**PSRL**, XII, p. 203) calls Ibaq "King Ivak the Nogay" (царь Ивакъ нагаискый).

## THE NOĞAY (MANĠIT) HORDE AND SIBERIAN TATARS

The origins of the Siberian Xanate, only obliquely reflected in the sources, are intertwined with those of the Noğays who also derived from that same Qıpčaq-Özbek mass that proved to be so productive in the formation of the modern Turkic peoples. The dominant tribal grouping in what came to be called the Noğay Horde were the Turkicized Mongol Manġıt/Manğıt (Mong. Manggud). The terms **Noğay** and **Noğay Horde** are first noted in 15th century Russian sources.[59] It has long been presumed that this particular grouping of tribes was connected with Noġai (d.1299), the throne-maker of the Golden Horde,[60]a not unreasonable linkage. Safargaliev, however, noting that its Mongol meaning is "dog," which might be considered insulting, suggests that this name was given to them by others, perhaps the entourage of Toqtamış, who bestowed this sobriquet on Edigü for whom there was little affection. The latter, as we have seen (Chap. 9) was the famous throne-maker (d.1420) of Manġıt origin whose activities increased the power and prestige of his Manġıt "yurt" which now became one of the most powerful politico-military forces in the Golden Horde. The name then came to be associated with his tribal following.[61] Safargaliev, however, ignores the fact that while an anthroponym based on "dog" may be insulting in a Muslim context, it was certanly not so in the pre-Islamic Eurasian steppe tradition. The Uyğur, Khazar and Mongol anthroponym Qasar (designating a type of dog) is well known. Names such as Qutuz ("mad dog, rabid dog") may also be found (even among the Muslim Mamlûks).

Abu³l-Ġâzî Bahadur Xan, reflecting steppe epic traditions, reports that 24 descendants of Joči Xan ruled in what was called the "Yurt of Sayın Xan" (i.e. of Batu). "After that, the Yurt fell to the Manğıt. Their leader (**anlarnıng evveli**) was the Aq Manğıt, son of Qutlı Qıyalı, called Idiki Biy (i.e. Edigü Biy/Bey < Beg, PBG). Thereafter it was called the Manğıt yurt."[62]

Misrule by one son and successor, Ġâzî Biy and the death (in 1426 or 1428) in combat, with Baraq Xan, of another son, Manṣûr,[63] led to the

59 Cf. the **Istorija o kazanskom carstve, PSRL**, XIX, p. 8.

60 See Volkov, **Ètnonimy**, pp. 77-80. The **Ist. kazax. SSR**, II, p. 182 cites as yet unpublished documents ("Xiva chronicles" ms. LO IV AN SSSR, E, 6, f.46b) which show that in the 1270's Noġai received, from the Batuid Möngke Temür, lands on the right bank of the Volga. The subsequent Noğay center was to the east of this region.

61 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 226-227.

62 Abu³l-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Tarâkima**, ed. Kononov, text, pp. 20-21/trans. p. 44.

63 The succession of events surrounding Baraq and his opponents is by no means clear. While some accounts have Baraq falling at the hands of his opponents, Manṣûr and Ḥajjî Muḥammad (associated with Siberia, see below), others have a completely opposite outcome, see Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 204-205.

fragmentation of the horde. A number of his many sons took service with other xans. Sizable groupings went to Western Siberia. Given the mobility of the nomads, rulers had to work actively to maintain a tribal following. The basic core of the now depleted horde remained, in keeping with old nomadic custom, with the youngest son, Nur ad-Dîn Murza (1426-1440, **murza**, murza < Arabo-Pers. **amîrzâda**), in the "hearth" territory on the Yayıq river, at Saraychiq. He rebuilt Noğay power in the Volga-Yayıq mesopotamia. Like his father before him, he turned to Islam as a source of legitimation, intimating ties to the famous Central Asian mystic Aḥmad Yasawî (d. 1166) or even the Prophet himself.

A more important figure in the Noğay recovery appears to have been his son, Oqas (Waqqâṣ[64]), who after he broke away from Abu'l-Xair Xan, the powerful Özbek xan (see below), in the 1440's, brought with him or attracted other tribes that had been part of the Özbek union. In addition to the Manğıt core, there were Qıpčaqs, Qanglıs, Qarluqs, Kengeres, Naiman, Arğın, Qonğurat, Alaš and others. Under pressure from Abu'l-Xair Xan, they shifted slightly westward.[65] Nonetheless, Noğays were active in affairs in both the eastern and western parts of the Qıpčaq steppe. They participated in the revolt of subject tribes that followed the death of the Abu'l-Xair Xan (1468) and in the shifting steppe politics of the late 15th century that led to the breakup of his confederation. The Noğay princes Musa and Yamğurčı figured prominently in the destruction of Aḥmad of the Great Horde in 1481 as we have seen. Later, they were allied with Aḥmad's successors and the xans of Astraxan as a counterbalance to the growing power of the Crimean xans. The latter, who now sought to regather the forces of the Golden Horde against their recent ally, Moscow, were engaged in complicated maneuverings aimed at separating the Noğays from their allies and sowing discord within the Noğay union itself. The Noğays were not under one central authority. Evidence for friction between the different murzas appears in contemporary accounts.[66] Needless to say, there were continual shifts, by all parties, in allegiances within and outside of the union. Thus, Herberstein recounts how the Noğay princes Mamay and Ağıš murdered the Crimean xan, Muḥmmad Girey (1515-1523), their ally, out of fear of his growing power.[67] The Noğays were also deeply enmeshed in Qazanian politics, a region that was strategically and economically of great importance to them.

64 The **Tavârîx-i Guzîda (MIKX**, pp. 16-17) notes : "Of the tribe of the Manğıt (there was) Waqqâṣ beg, grandson of Idikü beg. This beg twice was the reason that the xan gained the throne of Sain (Batu, PBG). He slew many with the sword and sought glory (for the xan)."

65 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 227-229; Kočekaev, **Social'no-ėkonomičeskoe**, pp. 20-22 and his **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 19-30,33-34,49-50; Fëdorov, **Ist. ètn. Sev. Kavkaza**, pp. 117-118; **Ist. kazax. SSR, II**, pp. 182-183.

66 Kočekaev, **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, p. 71.

67 Herberstein, **Zapiski**, pp. 183-184.

In the east, the Noğays made common cause with their former enemies, the Šaybânid Özbeks, with one branch of which they maintained politico-marital and economic ties after the latter had established their xanates in present-day Uzbekistan.[68]

By the 16th century, the Noğays nomadized up to the Qazan xanate in the northwest and the xanate of Sibir in the northeast. In the east they extended to the Lower Syr Darya and Aral Sea, raiding the Central Asian cities, and in the south to the Caspian. The Baškirs and "Ostyaks" paid them tribute. In the 1530's, this vast nomadic sea was capable of putting forth 200,000 warriors (out of a total "horde" of perhaps some 350,000). The Noğay Horde, however, was not a state, but a fluid tribal union. Unlike its Činggisid neighbors, it lacked central authority, undoubtedly, in part, because of the ruling family's non-qağanal origins. This military reservoir was put to use by the Özbeks and other enemies of the Qazaq confederation which had been applying steady pressure on the Noğays. Thus, the Noğays figure in a number of defeats suffered by the Qazaq xans in the 1530's. This situation changed in the next decade. Internal disputes within the large ruling clan, presaging the breakup of the Noğay horde, came to the surface. At the same time, the Qazaqs, now facing Oirat raids, sought peace on their western flank.[69]

Of no less importance were relations with Moscow which dated back to the time of Edigü, but took on a more permanent character by the late 15th century, following the destruction of Aḫmad of the "Great Horde." In 1489 a joint embassy from the Noğay princes Musa and Yamğurči and Ibaq, the ruler of the Tümen (West Siberian) Tatars came to Moscow.[70] Muscovite interest and influence increased as they became more involved in the affairs of the Qazan xanate. From the standpoint of the latter, the Noğays, as elsewhere, were a useful counterpoise to the Činggisid Tatar factions. In essence, the function of this "free lance" fighting force had not changed since the time of Edigü. But, the Noğay **murzas** and **biys** were being drawn in different political directions. Rus', Qazan and Crimea competed for influence among them and to deny their opponents Noğay forces. The latter, in turn, sought control over Astraxan and xans in Qazan who would be favorable to them.

With the death of Šix Mamay biy in 1549 and the coming to power of Yûsuf, the contradictions in these orientations came fully to the surface. One faction was economically oriented westward towards the Volga and Moscow. The other, centered in the Yayıq (Ural) region, looked to Central Asia. Yûsuf, who was apprehensive about the growing Muscovite pressure on

68 Kočekaev, **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 48-55,59-64.
69 Kočekaev, **Social'no-èkonomičeskoe**, pp. 21-22 and his **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 34,53-56.
70 Karamzin, **Istorija**, v.VI, cap. II, cc.117-119.

Qazan, became deeply involved in the complicated political struggles for power in the xanate. The Ottoman Empire and Crimean xanate now sought to win him over to an anti-Moscow coalition, finally succeeding in 1551. This policy was opposed by Ismâʿîl Murza who noted that his people traded with Moscow while Yûsuf's tribes sent their merchants to Buxara. With the conquest of Qazan, the Noğay Horde began to splinter, some elements becoming, along with other Eastern Qıpčaq groupings one of the components of the Bašqorts/Baškirs, Qazaqs and Özbeks. Ismâʿîl's group constituted the "Great Noğay Horde" (Ногаи Большие/*Ulluğ [Ulli] Noğay) in the Caspian region, left bank of the Lower Volga and Yayıq. The "Lesser Horde" (Ногаи Малые) was west of it on the right bank of the Volga and in the Kuban'-Azov region. A third grouping, the Altıul[71] Horde, was in the Emba basin. The Lesser Horde, like earlier groups of Noğays, came under Crimean influence, while Ismâʿîl's horde appears to have become a vassal of Ivan IV. In 1555, at Moscow's behest, Ismâʿîl waged war on Yûsuf, killing him and other opponents.[72]

The appearance of famine in the steppe in the 1570's and early 17th century brought a westward shift of the eastern hordes. Pressure was also put on the Noğays by the Oirats who began, by 1608, to raid the Volga lands which they found attractive and later took. This added to the press of Noğays on the borders of the Muscovite state. This might have produced a severe Russian response if the latter had not become caught up in a period of internecine strife and foreign intervention, the "Time of Troubles." Continuing Oirat [Qalmaq/Kalmyk] incursions forced the Great and Lesser Hordes to reunite and, following earlier precedents, turned them increasingly towards an Ottoman-Crimean orientation. Some of these groupings would become the Noğay Turkic-speaking subgrouping of the Crimean Tatars (**Noğay Tatarları** or **Noğaylar**)[73] found, until World War II, in the northern steppe zone of the Crimea. Others, long familiar with the North Caucasian steppe lands and adjoining regions, in time, removed themselves to Dağistan, to the Qumuq and Kabarda lands. Still others remained within the Ottoman orbit, going to the Bujak (Scythia Minor, the region around Akkerman, Dobrudja in Rumania). Thus, scattered Noğay groups now nomadized between the Volga and Bessarabia. By the late 18th century, the Noğays, as such, now greatly reduced in numbers, found themselves divided into three principal groupings : Caspian (Qara Noğay) in the Kizljar steppes, Beš Taw

71 < **altı oğul** "six sons."

72 Kočekaev, **Russko-nogajskie otnošenija**, pp. 67-81,89-101 and his **Social'no-èkonomičeskoe**, pp. 22-30.

73 Bartol'd, **Ist. turecko-mong. narodov**, **Sočinenija**, V, p. 212 notes that the Qazaqs and Özbeks call the Volga Tatars **Noğay** (in Modern Özb. **Nūğây**, see Maʿrufov (ed.), **Özbek tilining**, I, p. 515).

(Pjatigor'e) and Kuban'.[74]

The ancestors of the Siberian Tatars were closely tied to the same mass of Qıpčaq (deriving from the Kimek union that had earlier held this region) and Qıpčaqicized tribes that had produced the Noğays. The history of Western Siberia under early Činggisid rule is imperfectly known due to the dearth of sources. It has only recently begun to draw scholarly attention.[75] This was, as it is today, a region of immense natural resources which the Činggisids planned to exploit. The Uralic forest population, consisting of Ugrians, on the Ob' river, gradually pushed thither (12th-15th century) from their earlier Kama zone habitats and Samodian/Samoyed peoples, because of the fur trade, had long had contact with the steppe nomads. Indeed, this trade, along with the good pasture lands along the Irtyš and Ob', was one of the region's principal points of attraction.

In the Činggisid era, this was Jočid territory under Šiban and Orda. The founder of the nucleus of what became the Xanate of Sibir was the legendary Tay Buğa, to whom is credited, very likely incorrectly, the founding of the town of Čimgi-Tura (Tümen). His descendants were partisans of Toqtamiš in his struggle with Edigü. In the 1420's, the Šaybânid (**Šiban** was usually rendered in the Islamic sources as Šaybân) Ḥajjî Muḥammad (or Maḥmûd Ḥajjî or Xwâja in some sources), was driven out of the Eastern Qıpčaq steppe by Baraq Xan of the Aq Orda. Aided by the Noğays, he established himself in Western Siberia with his center at Qızıl-Tura. Some scholars (Safargaliev) consider him the founder of the Xanate of Sibir. In 1430 he perished in a struggle against Abu'l-Xair Xan who annexed his lands. It was in Siberia, we might note, that Abu'l-Xair, in 1428, began his career of state-building (to be discussed below). When he moved to the Qıpčaq steppe, Siberia was conceded to Mahmutek, son of Ḥajjî Muḥammad, his earlier victim. After Abu'l-Xair's death (1468), the Šaybânid Ibaq of the line of Ḥajjî Muḥammad, also a foe of Ab'ul-Xair, but now pushed out of the Qıpčaq steppe by his onetime allies in the anti-Abu'l-Xair coalition, brought his Qıpčaq-Özbek soldiery into parts of Western Siberia, the earlier refuge of his family. Here he established a connection with the reigning Tay Buğaid, Mar[76], whom he later killed. In 1481, as we have seen, he and the Noğays, not forgetting their interest in the Volga and Pontic steppes, ventured forth to rob and kill Aḥmad, Xan of the Great Horde. As had been true of Maḥmûd Xwâja before him, we see him repeatedly acting in concert with the

74 Kurat, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 282-285; Volkov, **Ètnonimy**, pp. 76-77; Kočekaev, **Social'no-èkonomičeskoe**, pp. 30-33. These issues are treated in much greater detail in the latter's **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**.

75 See Allsen, 1985, pp. 5-40 and the remarks of Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 214-217.

76 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, p. 222 views him as belonging to another dynasty which the Russian chroniclers "mechanically joined" with that of Tay Buğa.

Noğays. The latter were, once again, playing their familiar role of kingmaker. Ibaq was killed in 1495 by the partisans of Mar's grandson, Muḥammad (Махметъ, Магметукъ of the Russian sources), into whose territory he was seeking further expansion.

Ibaq's brother, Mamuq, ca. 1496, briefly seized Qazan only to be driven out by Muscovite pressure. Yet another brother, Ağalaq, this time with the support of the Noğay, Uraq **murza**, moved on Qazan in 1499, but was also frightened off by Moscow. Russian sources give the impression that in the Noğay-Sibir partnership, the latter often had a subordinate role. The Čimgi-Tura center was subsumed, in the early 16th century, by Tay Buğaids who had by this time united the "Tatar" groupings of the Tobol and Middle Irtyš and established themselves at Sibir-İsker/Qašlıq, an old Ugrian settlement on the Irtyš, near present-day Tobol'sk.[77] This marks the beginning of the Xanate of Sibir.[78]

By mid-century, there had developed a faction that sought closer ties with Moscow. In 1555, the paramount chiefs, Yadigar (Едигеръ), a grandson of Muḥammad, and Bekbulat, dispatched an embassy to Ivan IV, seeking Russian protection and offering to pay a yearly tribute of 1000 sable-skins. The Šaybânid Küčüm Xan, a descendant of Ibaq, was able to take advantage of the internal discord that this Russian alignment caused to seize power in 1563.[79] Küčüm Xan was viewed as something of an interloper in the region. He is credited, albeit uncertainly, with extending his control over elements of the Baškirs and Ob Ugrians and with attempting to introduce Islam into the region in a serious way. His harsh taxation policies, needed to finance his wars against the Qazaqs (while maintaining an alliance with the Šaybânid Özbeks) and Russians, did little to bolster his popularity. With Ermak's Siberian expedition, in 1582, a protracted struggle with Moscow ensued. In 1598, Küčüm was defeated for the last time by the Russians. He fled and perished in Central Asia, perhaps at the hands of the Noğays.[80]

As we have seen, a key factor in the unsettled affairs in the Jočid realms were the tribesmen of the eastern Dašt-i Qıpčaq. They both contributed and

77 Egorov, **Ist. geograf.**, p. 128. Sibir or Šibir is noted in the **Secret History**/Cleaves, p. 173 among the forest peoples subjugated by Joči.

78 Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 202-206,221-222; Miller, **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 189-195,474-475; **Ist. Sibiri**, p. 364; **Ist. kazax.SSR**, II, pp. 185-187; Kočekaev, **Nogajsko-russkie otnošenija**, pp. 56-57; **MIKX**, pp. 19,20,26,37,99,100; Pelenski, **Russia and Kazan**, pp. 29-30.

79 **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 366,371-372; Miller, **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 196-197,208-209 (whose conjectures on dating do not seem very likely); **PSRL**, XIII, p. 248. On Küčüm's ancestry see Abu'l-Gâzî, **Šajara-yi Türk**, ed. Desmaisons, text, p. 177/trans. p. 186 and Safargaliev's discussion (**Raspad**, pp. 222-224) of the fragmentary and contradictory sources.

80 Bartol'd, "Kučum-xan" **Sočinenija**, V, pp. 554-555; Miller, **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 198-201, on the Russ. conquest, pp. 202ff. Miller also cites a number of Russian documents dealing with Küčüm, pp. 354-361,363-371; Baxrušin, **Ostjackie**, pp. 38-39.

reacted to the disintegration of the Golden Horde. The ramifications of this fragmentation of political authority were felt throughout Central Asia, including the Timurid realm, whose founder's activities had served as a catalyst to the breakdown.

## THE EASTERN QIPČAQS : ÖZBEKS AND QAZAQS

Aqsaq Temür's forays into the Jočid steppes and Moġulistan had hastened the political splintering of these regions. The mass of Jočid soldiery, an important element in the formation of the Noġays, Siberian Tatars, Qazaqs and Özbeks proper, was associated with the name **Özbeg/Özbek** (cf. Pers. **Uzbakiyân, Ulus-i Uzbak, Vilâyat-i Uzbak** etc.) by the second half of the 14th century. The origins of this political-name/ethnonym are not entirely clear. It has long been connected with the Xan of the Golden Horde, Özbeg (1312-1341), but it surfaces only several decades after his death in the Aq Orda territories.[81] Abu'l-Ġâzî says that Özbeg converted his il and **ulus** to Islam "and after that they called the whole of the il of Joči the "il of Özbek"."[82] It is equally unclear whether this was a designation used primarily by outsiders or a self-designation, functioning in the steppe zone as a supratribal appellation. As I have stated earlier, I think that this ethnonym falls into the same category as **Noġay, Osmanlı** etc. Whether accurately or not, the bearers of this name saw themselves as the followers, **nökers** of Özbeg Xan. In any event, the word has had a complicated history as both a political term and ethnonym. It was brought into the region that now bears its name, Uzbekistan, by Qıpčaq-speaking tribesmen and is presently associated with the Turkî language of the cities that has its origins in the speech of the Qarluqs, Qaraxanids and Čaġatay-Timurid world. Local histories here often simply called them **Türkler**.[83]

Temür appears to have given the Özbek region to Qoyrıčaq, a son of Urus Xan, in 1395. His son Baraq, driven from here by Uluġ Muḥammad, ca. 1418-1419, as we have seen, was returned to power with the aid of the Timurid Uluġ Beg in 1423 but perished in 1428 in Moġulistan.[84] It was at this stage

81 Vásáry, **Az Arany Orda**, pp. 130-131; Allworth, **Uzbeks**, pp. 9 (citing Maḥmûd b. Walî, **Baḥr al-Asrâr**, trans. Axmedov, p. 32 : "after the raising of Uzbek khan's sovereign banner (over the Golden Horde) and to this day, the inhabitants of this land (Turkistan, PBG) have been named Uzbeks"), 32; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 233-234; Grekov, Jakubovskij, **Zolotaja Orda**, pp. 298,302; Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 11,13-15,38. The early 18th century **Ta'rîx-i Qipčâqî** of Xwâjamqulî Beg Balxî (**MIKX**, p. 389) says of the Šaybânids : "their army is called Uzbak."

82 Abu'l-Ġâzî/Desmaisons, text, pp. 174-175/trans. pp. 183-184. This explanation is repeated in the **Firdaws al-Iqbâl**, see Bregel, 1982, p. 369. Allworth, **Uzbeks**, p. 33, accepts this view.

83 Allworth, **Uzbeks**, pp. 4-5,11-12,14,37-40, who comments on its modern usage to denote a "Russian-sponsored nationality."

84 Axmdeov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 39-41,120-125,147-48.

that the remarkable figure of Abuʾl-Xair b. Dawlat-Šayx emerged. He was a Šaybânid[85] who rose to prominence, in the 1420's, in the power struggles among his kinsmen.

The competing figures were Ḥâjjî Muḥammad (from whom the Xans of Sibir derived, see above) and Jumadıq/Yumaduq who ruled in the region north of the Aral Sea. Each contestant sought support from the Qıpčaq-Özbek mass, especially from the Noğays, the long-established kingmakers. Abuʾl-Xair was a partisan of Jumadıq who became Xan in 1425. The Noğay elements which revolted against Ġâzî Biy in 1426 took service with Jumadıq. Soon disappointed with the latter, however, they fled, joining his foe, Ḥajjî Muḥammad who ruled in the eastern part of the Qıpčaq zone and in Western Siberia. Jumadıq was defeated and killed by Ḥâjjî Muḥammad in 1428 and the sixteen year old Abuʾl-Xair was captured, pardoned and released. Within one year, he was himself elevated to the xanal dignity by a coalition of tribal chieftains (including Waqqâṣ Biy of the Noğays).[86] In the same year, he took Tara/Čimgi-Tura, thereby setting the stage for a showdown with Ḥâjjî Muḥammad. He destroyed the latter in 1430 and then, in 1431, perhaps in response to pressures from Ḥâjjî Muḥammad's remaining partisans, he turned from Siberia and launched a campaign on Xwârazm. This was largely successful and may have been motivated, as Axmedov suggests, by the need to consolidate his recently fashioned tribal union through military success and booty.[87] Eventually forced out of Xwârazm by plague, he returned to the steppe and sought to gain direct access to another urban center, making himself master of Ordu Bazar in the Eastern Qıpčaq steppe. Apparently, he was unable to remain long here for opposition within his union was drawing him back to the steppe. In 1446, he again sought to secure an urban base, taking Sığnaq and some other towns of the Syr Darya region. Some five years later, he helped the Timurid Abu Saʿîd to establish himself in Samarqand. This marked the zenith of his power. His foes in the steppe were growing. These now included the Noğays, the partisans of Ḥâjjî Muḥammad (including his son Ibaq) and a coalition of Özbek tribes under Janıbeg and Girey, sons of Baraq, that came to be called **Özbek-Qazaqs**. Weakened by defections, Abuʾl-Xair was badly mauled by the Oirats in 1457 and forced to accept humiliating conditions for peace. Further defections followed. He died in 1468 on campaign in Moğulistan and as the **Taʾrîx-i Rašîdî** notes "the **Ulus** of the **Uzbegs** fell into confusion, and constant strife arose among them."[88]

85 Abuʾl-Ġâzî/Desmaisons, text, pp. 182-183/trans. p. 193.

86 The **Taʿrîx-i Abuʾl-Xair Xânî** (see **MIKX**, pp. 143-144) gives a detailed listing of his supporters.

87 Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 49. On the campaign, see **MIKX**, pp. 149-152.

88 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, p. 82. See the **Taʾrîx-i Abuʾl-Xair Xânî**, in **MIKX**, pp. 140-171 and Bartol'd, "Abulxajr" **Sočinenija**, II/2, pp. 489-490; Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 45,48-59; Safargaliev, **Raspad**, pp. 205-211; Allworth, **Uzbeks**, pp. 27-29,34-36,45-46.

Although he created an extensive nomadic confederation and held it together by impressive political and military skills, Abu⁾l-Xair did not create a fully developed state.[89] His attempts to establish permanent ties with important urban centers should be viewed as indicating interest in a more durable political structure. As a Činggisid, he had political legitimacy and brought with him the shell of an administrative apparatus that had the potential to become a state. But, the tribal chiefs were very powerful and his position, for all the aura of Činggisid prestige, was still elective. Moreover there were other Činggisids who could, with equal right, oppose him. Thus, like Temür, he had to keep his restless nomads constantly employed or face the breakup of his coalition.[90] He proved unequal to the task and some of the tribes that he had brought under his rule, were breaking away even before his disaster with the Oirats. This defeat, of course, ensured the crumbling of his polity.

Šayx Ḥaidar Xan, Abu⁾l-Xair's son and heir, became the focal point of all his father's enemies. Not long afterwards, a coalition consisting of Aḥmad Xan of the Golden Horde, the Siberian Xan, Ibaq, the Noğays of Yamğurčı and Musa, Janıbeg b. Baraq Xan, Sayyidek-Sulṭân b. Ḥâjjî Muḥammad Xan and others killed the Özbek Xan and scattered his family.[91] One of Abu⁾l-Xair's grandsons, Šâhbaxt, better known as Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan (1468-1510), after an adventure-filled youth, led his Qıpčaq followers into Timurid Transoxiana and conquered, ca. 1500, the territory that today bears the Özbek name, Uzbekistan. By 1507, he held Herat (after the death of the Timurid Ḥusayn Bayqara) and by 1508 was in Xurâsân, threatening the Ṣafavids. The precise numbers of the forces brought in by the conquering nomads is difficult to determine. Sultanov has estimated a force of some 40-60,000 fighting men which would indicate a total Šaybânid Özbek population of 240-360,000, perhaps, at best, a quarter of the total Özbek ulus (their Qazaq foes are estimated at 1 million). They were most certainly a minority in the region whose masters they now became. Many of the tribal groupings Šaybânî Xan brought with him were only fragments of larger tribal formations found throughout the Qıpčaq-Özbek mass (e.g. Qıyat, Qongrat, Burqut, Manğıt, Nayman, Quščı, Jalayir etc.). But, his forces also included elements from outside of the Özbek ulus. Eventually, as we learn from Saif ad-Dîn Axsikentî's **Majmûᶜ at-Tavârîx** (16th century), the Özbek confederation in Transoxiana consisted of some 92 tribal elements.[92]

89 For a more positive assessment, see Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 90-97, 100-103.

90 Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 70.

91 See accounts in the **Tavârîx-i Guzîda-yi Nuṣrat-Nâma, Fatḥ-Nâma, Šaybânî-Nâma, Baḥr al-Asrâr in MIKX**, pp. 19-20,48-49,56-57,63,64,98-100,361-362.

92 Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 9-10,13-14,18-21,23,27,29-30.

## The Özbek Xanates

The Özbek conquest brought to an end a complex and protracted struggle between the Šaybânids and Timurids. Among the Timurid dynasts subsequently evicted (by 1505) from the region as a consequence of the Özbek takeover was Babur (d.1530) who, no longer able to maintain himself on his native turf, began the conquest of India. Thus were laid the foundations of the Muğal dynasty (1526)[93] that would dominate India until the coming of the British and of the Central Asian Xanates of Buxârâ, Qoqan (Kokand) and Xiva (Xwârazm) until the coming of the Russians.[94] Both of these polities followed the Irano-Islamic state paradigm in its Timurid form. With the early Šaybânids, given their ignorance of Persian, this had a more Turkic cast.[95]

A learned and devout Sunnî Muslim, Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan waged **jihâd** against his long-time foes, the still largely pagan Qazaqs and died in battle with the Šîʿî Ṣafavids.[96] It has been argued that the sectarian nature of this dispute with Šîʿî Iran, sealed that path of access to the wider Islamic world. Central Asia, acccording to this view, a frontier society from the Islamic perspective, was now left to its own intellectual and spiritual resources. These, as was true elsewhere in the Islamic world, consisted of the ʿulamâʾ and the Ṣûfî orders. The latter had long ago found a receptive audience among the masses of the faithful and continued to promote the faith on the ever-expanding frontier with the nomads and the Indian subcontinent (cf. the Central Asian origins of the Ṣûfî orders in India). The Šaybânids and their successors were closely tied to them (in particular the Naqšbandiyya), appearing as both ruler and ṣûfî/**darvîš**. Indeed, this was one of their sources of legitimation. Those of the more educated (urban) strata with intellectual interests, lacking other stimulation, became caught up in the theological scholasticism of the ʿulamâʾ. The strongly military cast of Šaybânid society, however, did not promote scholarly pursuits. There was also a "brain drain," it has been suggested, the "best and the brightest" being

93 For a recent study of the shaping of Muğal rule, especially in the era of Akbar, see Streusand, **Formation**.

94 There is far too extensive a literature, some of it highly partisan in tone, to cite here. A useful outline of the Russian conquests and rule here can be found in H. Carrère d'Encausse's contributions to Allworth (ed.), **Central Asia**, pp. 131-265. Soviet surveys include the studies of Xalfin, **Rossija i xanstva** and **Politika Rossii** which treat, in depth, the 19th century encounter and conquest. The Soviet historiograpy of the annexation of Central Asia is the subject of Axmeddžanov's, **Sovetskaja istoriografija**. A useful study of the impact of Russia on Central Asian peoples and cultures is that of Bacon, **Central Asia**.

95 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, p. 184.

96 On the career of Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan, see Allworth, **Uzbeks**, pp. 29,47-62. In brief, see also Roemer, "Successors" and his **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 119-120,124-127. The Qazaq wars are described in the **Mihmân-nâma-yi Buxârâ**, an "official biography" written by Faḍlallâh Rûzbihân Iṣfahânî, see Iṣfahânî/Džalilova, text, pp. 73a-93a/pp. 96-111.

lured off to the luxurious courts of the Indian Muğals. The result was intellectual stagnation.

Another factor in Central Asian decline, according to this view, was economic. European maritime expansion had opened new routes, lessening the importance of the overland, long-distance caravan routes in the East-West trade.[97] With the Russian conquests in Siberia, a powerful, new local competitor appeared.[98]

This is a tidy and seemingly plausible picture. There has been little evidence adduced, thus far, however, to substantiate it with respect to Central Asia. In the period under discussion, the "golden age" of Islamic intellectual vigor had almost everywhere passed. The role of mass cultural institutions, like the Ṣûfî brotherhoods, was dominant. In this respect, Central Asia was little different from much of the Islamic world with its Ṣûfî-dominated popular culture. Contact with the Ottoman Empire, the greatest Islamic state of the age, continued, albeit not without difficulties. The Sunnî-Šî'î conflict played an important role in the propaganda warfare between the Ottomans and Ṣafavids, but was not as keenly felt elsewhere or even among the opposing parties on the popular level. The evicted Timurid, Babur, a Sunnî, was prepared to make common cause with the Ṣafavids in the hope that this would return him to Central Asia.[99]

The trade issue, with regard to the Central Asian overland commercial relations, is by no means clear. Soviet scholarship depicts Šaybânid trade and commercial activities in the 16th century, despite an initial decline following the conquest, as generally healthy. Indeed, they argue that the Portuguese conquests on the Indian coast only served to increase Indian trade with Central Asia.[100] This is an area that deserves further study, particularly within a world-historical context. In this connection, the growth of Russian

97 Wolf, **Europe**, p. 260; Steensgaard, **Asian Trade**, pp. 171-174. Rossabi, 1990, pp. 351-370 accepts the concept of a decline, but places a greater emphasis on "political disruption" (caused by Qazaqs, Özbeks, Jungars and others) and on "religious and social changes." The long-distance element may have undergone some changes, but local trade certainly continued. On the trade routes, see Lattimore, **Inner Asian Frontiers**, pp. 172-176 and the analysis for the Činggisid-early Timurid periods, Abu-Lughod, **Before European Hegemony**, pp. 153-184,343,358-363. She argues that plague and the collapse of the late Mongol-Timurid system provided the disruption of the Eastern system that allowed the Western powers to achieve dominance.

98 Hambly, **Central Asia**, pp. 167-171; Bartol'd, **Ist. kul't. žizni, Sočinenija**, II/1, p. 273 and his **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, p. 186; Lapidus, **History**, pp. 424-426.

99 Roemer, "Successors" **CHIR.**, VI, pp. 126-127.

100 Guljamov et al., **Ist. uzbeksk. SSR**, I, pp. 536-539. The 17th-18th centuries, in this work (p. 571) are barely touched on, other than to note that a "lively trade with China and India continued." Still later, however, the authors suggest that it was only by the late 18th-early 19th century, following the "devastation" of the first half of the 18th century, that trade experienced a substantial growth, in no small measure due to the growing involvement of Russia (pp. 629-633).

Central Asian trade[101] is an important topic. The extent of Russian interest in the region is reflected in changes in St. Petersburg's attitude toward its Muslim subjects. Under Catherine the Great, laws were passed (in 1763 and 1776) which ended long-standing discriminatory legislation against the Volga Tatars and enabled them to become active in commercial activities in the Turko-Muslim world of Central Asia. As Tatar merchants and later teachers and scholars moved into the steppes, they created an important mercantile and entrepreneurial bourgeoisie.[102] Clearly, the Central Asian trade was not insignificant. Similarly, with the coming to power of the Ch'ing dynasty in China (1644) and its incorporation of parts of Central Asia into its empire, the costly "tribute" relations of the past were, in some instances, transformed into trade relations. The Russians, for a time, even served as important middlemen in the movement of certain products (e.g. rhubarb) to the West.[103] The nature and impact of this trade must also be studied further to test the sweeping conclusions noted above. Although one should not exclude the impact of larger changes in the outside world in contributing to the decline evident in Central Asia in the 18th century, domestic political instability, the age-old problems of nomad and sedentary (perhaps exacerbated by economic concerns) should not be underestimated. Even here, the picture was hardly one of spiral decline. Sizable numbers of nomads had been sedentarizing since the 17th century. Indeed, in the early 19th century, central authority showed signs of recovery.[104]

To return to Irano-Özbek relations, there were not only religious motivations involved in Šaybânid-Şafavid conflict, for Iran and Afghanistan (and thence possibly India) were the natural areas of expansion for this nomadic conquest state as well as a needed outlet to the larger Muslim world.[105] Moreover, the Šaybânid Özbeks had a natural ally in the powerful Sunnî Ottoman empire. On occasion, the Özbeks were able to break out of the Transoxanian territories and briefly hold parts of much-coveted Xurâsân. But, lacking the technological edge in this, the new gunpowder era, the nomads, for the most part, remained hemmed in by their powerful neighbors. As Braudel phrased it, "gunpowder had triumphed over speed."[106] In the 16th century, this lesson was repeatedly brought home.

Although the state came apart with Šaybânî's death, his successors quickly reconstituted it forming two polities, one centering on Buxârâ and

101 Cf. Juldašëv, **K istorii.**
102 Rorlich, **Volga Tatars**, pp. 42-43; Kappeler, **Russlands erste Nationalitäten**, pp. 373-376,441,455-474.
103 Rossabi, **China and Inner Asia**, pp. 163-165 and his 1990 article.
104 Bartol'd, **Ist. turecko-mongol'skix narodov**, pp. 223-224.
105 See in brief Morgan, **Medieval Persia**, pp. 98,114-118,120,124ff.; Roemer "Safavid" **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 217,227,235-240, 257, 267,286-287,309. Safavid-Özbek relations, still await a full-scale study.
106 Braudel, **Civilization**, I, p. 97.

Samarqand (the official capital) and the other in Xwârazm/Xiva. In short, they regroupped along already well-established political borders. The Buxârân state had a strong Tâjik element and an established Turkî-speaking population among whom the Qıpčaq-speaking Özbeks were a minority.[107] In Xiva, there was a large Oğuz/Türkmen element already present in addition to the Qıpčaq Özbeks brought in by the conquerors. These two groups remain linguistically distinct.[108] In keeping with old steppe traditions, the state (which the nomadic Özbeks inherited by virtue of conquest), was viewed as the collective property of the ruling clan. As elsewhere, this led to bloody throne-struggles as well as the parcelling out of territories to satisfy various family lines.[109]

Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan's successors attempted to maintain, with increasing difficulty, the unity of their state. ᶜUbaidallâh (1533-1539) was able to take control of Xiva from warring Özbek factions in 1538. Even more impressive was ᶜAbdallâh II (1557-1598), who reunited the Özbek statelets, scored military successes against the Qazaqs and undertook devastating expeditions in Eastern Turkistan and the eastern lands of the Ṣafavids. He was finally stopped by the redoubtable Šâh ᶜAbbâs in Xurâsân.[110] With his death, it all fell apart and the Šaybânids were replaced by the Jânids or Aštarxânid/Astarxânids,[111] descended from the Činggisid refugee ruling house of Astraxan and ᶜAbdallâh's sister. Despite some claims that they "reformed" government, they do not appear to have changed the Šaybânid system.[112] From their center at Buxârâ, they ruled the Šaybânid realm until 1785 when they were supplanted by a dynasty of Mangıt/Noğay origin brought to power by Mîr Maᶜṣûm Šâh Murâd (1785-1800), the son-in-law of the last effective Jânid, Abuᵓl-Ġâzî (1758-1785). The Mangıt dynasty, as **atalıqs** (the **atalıq** was originally a royal tutor, like the Seljukid **atabeg**, later rather like a chief minister), serving as the **major domo** of the dynasty, had been functioning as the actual rulers since the 1730's. Their rise to power was undoubtedly aided by the defeat of the Jânids at the hands of Nâdir Šâh (1740) who extracted lands and troops from them. The Mangıt line remained in power when the Russians established a protectorate over the realm in

107 On the Qıpčaq component of the Modern Özbeks, see Šanijazov, **K ètničeskoj ist.**, esp. pp. 77ff.

108 See Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 139-143 and Bartol'd's **Očerk ist. turkmen**, pp. 596ff. On the Oğuz and Qıpčaq dialects of Xwârazm, see Abdullaev, **Fonetika.**

109 Bartol'd, **Ist. kul't. žizni**, p. 268 compares it to the appanage system of Kievan Rus'.

110 The **Šaraf-nâma-yi Šâhî** of Ḥâfiẓ-i Tanîš (see the still incomplete edition : **Šaraf-nâma**/Salaxetdinova, 1-2) is largely devoted (as well as dedicated) to ᶜAbdallâh's exploits.

111 McChesney, 1980, p. 70 suggests that the more appropriate name for this dynasty would be "Tuqây-tîmûrid," their progenitor being the Jočid Tuqây-Tîmûr (Toğay-Temür). On their coming to power, see, in brief, McChesney, pp. 75-78.

112 McChesney, 1980, pp. 81-84.

1866. The last ruler, ᶜAlim (1911-1920) was toppled by the Soviets.[113]

In the meantime, the Farġâna valley, with its concentration of Qırğız tribes, had come under the rule of East Turkistanian Xwâjas in the late 17th century. This situation dramatically changed, ca. 1710, when Šâh Rux Biy (1710-1722), an Özbek of the Ming tribe, took power here. He and his son ᶜAbd ar-Raḥîm Biy (d.1734) laid the foundation for the Qoqan/Kokand Xanate.[114] His successors had a complex relationship of alliance, cooperation and enmity with the neighboring Qırğız tribes. By the 1780's, the Qoqan Xans had largely established their authority over many of the Qırğız nomads, a process that was completed by 1831.[115]

In 1759, Erdeni/Irdana Xan, the Qoqan ruler (1746-1770), established a tributary relationship with the Ch'ing court which, in reality, followed the time-honored mode of commercial exchange between the Middle Kingdom and the nomads. The latter sent "tribute" to China and received "gifts" from the emperor in return. Good relations continued until 1810 by which time the Qoqan/Kokand Xanate had become an important regional power, sometimes at the expense of the Ch'ing. Thereafter, relations soured due to the illegal activities of Kokandian merchants, leading to Kokandian incursions in the 1820's when China denied them access to the markets of Sinkiang. Qoqan/Kokand also became a source of Muslim rebellion in Manchu-dominated territories, culminating in the movement led by Yaᶜqûb Beg (d.1877, see above) in Eastern Turkistan.[116] It was, however, to the Russians that Kokand fell in 1876.[117]

The third Özbek Xanate, that of Xwârazm/Xiva, with its sizable Türkmen nomadic population and Turkicized sedentary subjects, was close on the borders of Iran but paradoxically less influenced by Persian culture than its eastern kinsmen. Hitherto under the rule of the Şûfî dynasty of Qungrat descent and nominally under Timurid overlordship, it began to take shape almost immediately after Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan's death under the forceful direction of another Šaybânid, Îlbars I (1512-1525). The new rulers, while maintaining the theoretical unity of the xanate, in fact divided it up into often autonomous statelets, a source of ongoing domestic strife.

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113 Bartol'd's survey, of the "Uzbeckie xanstva," chap. 5 of his **Ist. kul't. žizni**, is an excellent introduction. For Buxârâ's history under Russian rule, see Becker, **Russia's Protectorates**, Carrère d'Encausse, **Islam and the Russian Empire** and Hayit, **Türkistan**.

114 Romodin, **MIKK**, I, pp. 229-231 (**Muntaxab at-Tavârîx** of Ḥajjî Muḥammad Ḥâkim Xan, early 19th century). See also Bartol'd, **Ist. kul't. žizni**, pp. 276-277 and his briefer **Encyclopedia of Islam** entries: "Kokand," "Fergana" "Xorezm," **Sočinenija**, III, 462-466, 535-537,549-552; Karypkulov et al., **Ist. kirgiz. SSR**,I, pp. 490-491. The name of this city has been derived from Pers. **xûk/xok** "pig," xo "good" and **xor** "hill, hillock" (**Xorkant > Xorqand > Xoqand**, see Bababekov, 1987, pp. 98-104.

115 Karypkulov (ed.), **Ist. kirgiz. SSR**, I, pp. 492-499.

116 Rossabi, **China and Inner Asia**, pp. 149, 172-178; Hayit, **Türkistan**, pp. 138-148.

117 For a brief outline of Kokandian history, see Hayit, **Türkistan**, pp. 32-38. An older account is that of Nalivkin, **Kratkaja istorija**.

Buxârân Šaybânid attempts (1537-1538) to assert their hegemony here and Türkmen resistance to central political authority added to the instability. The capital was shifted to Xiva from Urganč when the left tributary of the Amu Darya, which fed the city, went dry (last half of the 16th century). Although briefly (1593-1598) brought again under Buxârân control by ᶜAbdallâh II, the Xanate largely led its own existence, which included warfare with Buxârâ. Its most famous figure was the historian-Xan Abuᵓl-Ġâzî (1643-1663) who was also an effective general. With the death of his expansion-minded successor, Anuša (1663-1674), various Činggisids were brought in from the Qazaq steppe to serve as figureheads for the high officials who really ran affairs. This game of musical chairs with xans produced even greater instability. There was also ethno-political competition between Özbek[118] and Türkmen which the xans often manipulated to their own momentary advantage. The Türkmen, who viewed the Özbeks as little more than Sarts (the third major grouping in the xanate[119]), in particular, lacked any political cohesiveness, different groups being subjects of the Khivan, Buxârân and Persian rulers.

In 1687, the Buxârân Šaybânids occupied the Xanate, having been summoned by their partisans in Xiva and named Šâh Niyâz Išıq Ağa as their representative to rule the region. He soon moved towards independence, going so far as to seek Russian protection. Independence from Buxârâ was achieved by ᶜArab Muḥammad (1702-1717). But, now, Xiva, in particular, because of the ongoing domestic strife, became an object of Russian expansionism. The Xanate briefly accepted the overlordship of Nâdir Šâh of Iran (1740-1747), but proved to be anything but pacific subjects. From 1763 onwards, the Qunğrat dynasty, foes of the Manğıts of Buxârâ, often bringing in puppet Činggisids from the Qazaq steppes as xans, ran affairs and brought some measure of order to the troubled realm. Occasionally, they laid claim to the whole of Türkmenistan. But, the dynasty continued to be weakened and to lose territory due to rebellions of Türkmen and Qazaq "subject" tribes. In 1873, the Xivan Xanate became a Russian protectorate and like Buxârâ was fully absorbed into the Soviet Union in 1920.[120]

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118 They were subdivided into 4 groups : Qıyat-Qungrat, Uyğur-Naiman, Qanglı-Qıpčaq and Niküz/Nüküz-Manğıt, see Aristov, **Zametki**, p. 425.

119 Originally an Indic loan-word, via Iranian, **Sart** (< Skrt. **sartha** "merchant") had come to designate a "town-dweller" often with an indication of Iranian ethnicity. By early Modern Times, it denoted a Turkicized town-dweller. See discussion in Bartol'd, "Sart", pp. 527-529. The Sarts of Xiva were undoubtedly Turkic-speaking, or at least bilingual, by this time (see Chap. 12).

120 See Bartol'd, **Ist. kul't. žizni**, pp. 274,283-286, **Dvenadcat' lekcij**, pp. 186-188 and his **Očerk ist. turkmen.**, pp. 596ff.; Hayit, **Türkistan**, pp. 27-30; Guljamov, **Ist. uzbek. SSR**, I, pp. 590-606.

## The Qazaq Xanate

The origins of the Qazaq union are traced to the anti-Abu²l-Xair coalition that formed under the leadership of Janıbeg and Giray/Kiray, sons of Baraq, representing the line of Orda and the old ruling elite of the Aq Orda. They broke with the Özbek xan, their Šibanid rival, in the 1450's, as we have seen, and having been defeated by him in 1455/56, they fled to Moġulistan. Here, İsan Buğa gave them lands in the western zone (Western Semireč'e) of his realm whither other Özbek nomads escaping the strong rule of Abu²l-Xair were fleeing. As a consequence of their raids on the Qalmaqs [Oirats] and Qırğız as well as their general brigandage, they were called **Qazaq**. The etymology of this term is uncertain.[121] In Turkic it designates a "free, independent man, adventurer, wanderer"[122] with the strong implication of willful, often unbridled behavior. From the perspective of the ruling family of Abu²l-Xair, this was an accurate description. They were rebels. This ethnonym, then, arose as a political designation. With the death of the Özbek Xan, they were joined by many other Özbek tribal elements. This polity took shape ca. 1465-66, even before Abu²l-Xair's death. The general instability of the region with weak rule in Čağatayid Moġulistan and the impact of Oirat raids, gave the Qazaqs, as well as the Qırğız time to form advanced confederations. The formation of the Qazaq and Qırğız unions were not only symptoms of the demise of Moġulistan, but of the forces hastening its collapse.[123]

Although the Qazaqs under Burunduq Xan (1474-1511), Giray's son and successor, suffered some setbacks,[124] they drove out Muḥammad Šaybânî, defeated the Moġuls who, on occasion, made common cause with Abu²l-Xair's grandson and bested other Činggisid rivals. The latter were driven to the periphery of the Jočid steppe lands. Thus, as we have seen, Ibaq established himself in Siberia and Muḥammad Šaybânî in Transoxiana.[125] Their union grew, coming to control much of the Qıpčaq steppe. By the time

121 Németh, **HMK**, p. 37 (following Gombocz) derived it from ***qaz-**, a presumed velar form of **kez-** "to travel, walk about, traverse" (Clauson, Ed, p. 757). Von Gabain, 1962, pp. 167-170, derived it from **qazğan-**, **qazan-** "to obtain, gain" (see Clauson, **ED**, p. 683 "to earn (wages by labour), to gain (profits by trade)," in Türk. "to strive for success, acquire").

122 Radloff, **Opyt**, II/1, cc.364-365. Russ. **kazak**, Ukr. **kozak** "Cossack" are from the Turkic (Fasmer, **Ètim. slov.**, II, p. 158).

123 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/ Ross, pp. 82,92,272-273; **MIKX** (**Bahr al-Asrâr**), pp. 352-353; Axmedov, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 62-63,67; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 246-248,251-255,262-268.

124 The Manġıt/Noğays, as elsewhere could be a deciding factor, cf. the defeat of the Qazaqs at the hands of Muḥammad Šaybânî, recounted in the **Tavârîx-i Guzîda** (**MIKX**, p. 21), in which the Manġıts played a significant role. At other times they were allies (**MIKX**, pp. 28-29).

125 See excerpts from the **Tavârîx-i Guzîda**, **Fatḥ-nâma** and **Šaybânî-nâma** in **MIKX**, pp. 28,30-31,74-76,82-83,105-107,111-112; **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/ Ross, pp. 230-231; **Ist. kazax. SSR**, I, pp. 260-263.

of Qâsim (1511-1518?), the son of Janıbeg, who had run affairs during the latter years of Burunduq's reign (ultimately, driving him into exile) they may well have numbered 1 million. The **Ta³rîx-i Rašîdî** said of him "excepting Joči khan, there had never reigned a greater khan than he in that country."[126] Further Qıpčaq, Turkicized Mongol and Čağatay groups (e.g. Özbek, Noğay, Naiman, Arğın) were brought into the confederation. Basically, the Qazaqs were distinguished from their neighbors and foes, the Šaybânid Özbeks, politically, but not ethnically. Indeed, the great changes that had taken place here were largely dynastic in nature, with various xanal lines taking their tribal supporters from the same, common source.[127]

The Šaybânid-Qazaq struggle continued, after 1500, as Muḥammad attempted to cut off all trade between Transoxiana and the Qazaq steppe and launched campaigns into the steppe.[128] Qâsim assured the economic viability of his union by gaining control over the lower Syr Darya cities, the nomads' vital point of commercial contact with the sedentary world, but failed to conquer the major Transoxanian cities.[129]

After Qâsim Xan, fissures appeared in the Qazaq body politic. His successor, Mamaš/Mumaš, died in battle, in the course of a contest for power, "of a shortness of breath" in 1522. His successor, Ṭâhir (1523-1532), was a "harsh man" whose people "suddenly deserted him." He alienated the Noğays who now encroached on some of his lands. Ṭâhir ended his days an exile among the Qırğız, who were part of this union.[130] The picture that emerges is that of a ruling clan, fighting for power among themselves and then attempting to enforce a stronger central authority than their nomadic "subjects" were willing to countenance. The nomads simply voted with their feet, decamping for less strict overlords.

This process was, undoubtedly, connected with the formation of the Qazaq tribal unions, the form of political organization most characteristic of this people until the Soviet era. The Qazaq term for this union is jüz/žüz (<Turk. **yüz** "100"). Three of them came into being : the "Great" (in Semireč'e), "Middle" (in central Kazakhstan-Southwestern Siberia) and "Lesser"/"Small" (in Western Kazakhstan, with a Ural-Volga orientation) Jüzes (**Ulı, Orta, Kiši žüz**), probably by the reign of Ḥaqq Nazar (1538-1580), according to popular belief, if not earlier. There has been considerable discussion

126 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 82, 230,273.

127 Olcott, **Kazakhs**, p. 3,; Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, p. 10; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 236-237; **Ist. kazax. SSR, II**, pp. 268-270.

128 Işfahânî/Džalilova, f.77b/p. 101. On Muḥammad's campaigns against the Qazaqs, see ff. 73a-93a/pp. 96-111.

129 Olcott, **Kazakhs**, p. 9. The **Zubdat al-Aṯâr** (MIKX, pp. 133-134) describes Qâsim's victory of 1510. The fragment noted by Bartol'd 1904, p. 143, appears to point to a later (1513) campaign that almost ended in personal disaster for Qâsim (MIKX, p. 132.).

130 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 82,273,373-374,377-379.

regarding the origins and configurations that these unions took. They were not based on kinship, but were political unions. Political relations, of course, could be expressed in the language of kinship. The unions were based on military and geographical factors and resultant economic relationships with markets.[131]

Ḥaqq Naẓar Xan pursued an aggressive policy towards his neighbors. He maintained a union with the Qırğız but expanded into Noğay territories, bringing elements of the latter into his union.[132] He sought to maintain access to the vital Syr Darya towns and urban centers of Transoxiana and Moğulistan. Although less successful here, he became involved in Transoxanian Šaybânid politics. This led to his assassination in 1580.[133] His grandnephew, Tawakkul (Tewekel, Tauke, Тевеккель, Тевкель, Тауке, Тукай, 1583-1598), who numbered the Siberian xan Küčüm among his foes, broke with the Šaybânid Xan ᶜAbdallâh in 1583 and towards the end of his reign defeated him and invaded Transoxiana achieving significant gains there. He died of wounds suffered in the siege of Buxârâ.

Tawakkul's successor, Išim [or Esim] (1598-1628), gained a momentary advantage in the struggle with the Transoxanian Özbeks, but the Qazaqs soon lost their hold in this region due to a combination of factors. Internecine strife had surfaced, centering on a struggle with a rival, Tursun, with whom Tawakkul cooperated against common foes and whom he finally killed in 1627. Meanwhile, the breakaway of other "sultans" such as Abulay indicated the weakening of political ties. At the same time, an Özbek revival under the Jânids occurred with both sides intervening in the other's affairs. Finally, there loomed on the horizon the ever-growing threat from the Oirats.[134] The latter had suffered some reverses in their eastern homeland. Under pressure, both internal and external, a union of Oirat tribes, in 1628, under Xô Örlöx, migrated to the Lower Volga, cutting across the Qazaq lands and subjugating "the Tatars named Noghai, Khatai, Kipchakh and Jiteshen."[135] These were the Kalmyks who would soon be drawn into Russian attempts to control the Turkic nomads on their eastern and southeastern frontiers. Their kinsmen in the East, the Jungar state, regularly warred on the Qazaqs. The Qazaq xan Jahângîr (? d.1652 ? 1680?) was captured by the Kalmyks. Tauke Xan (Тевке, Тявка, 1680-1718) was also confronted by this danger. He was the last of the more or less effective Qazaq xans (associated

131 Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj sostav**, pp. 8-108 has a detailed analysis of the various theories and the composition of the jüzes. See also, the comments of Olcott, **Kazakhs**, pp. 10-11; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnyj**, pp. 225-227,232,237; Judin,1983, pp. 143-145,147-149; Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 24-25,35,83-84; Levchine, **Description**, pp. 301-303.

132 Kočekaev, **Russko-nogajskie otnošenija**, pp. 103-104.

133 **Šaraf-nâma-yi Šâhî (MIKX**, pp. 253-254,256).

134 Olcott, **Kazakhs**, pp. 24-25; Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 117-119; **Ist. kazax. SSR**, II, pp. 276,278-279, 282-283.

135 **History of the Kalmyk Khans** in Halkovic, **Mongols**, pp. 41-42.

with the creation of the Qazaq law code, the **Jeti Jarğı**, probably a response to the growing loss of pasture lands, due to Kalmyk encroachments, and resulting disputes). Thereafter, there was no single xan. The economic impact of the Kalmyk raids, which drove the Qazaqs from their Syr Darya urban connections, caused even greater Qazaq pressure on the cities. Suffering in the steppe, the nomads sought to make good their losses at the expense of the towns.[136]

Under this constant pressure, the Qazaq union began to splinter further. It was at this juncture, that Russia sought to draw the Qazaqs into their orbit. Abu'l-Xair (1718-1749), ruler of the Kiši Jüz and one of the leading xans, in 1727, at the head of a combined Qazaq host defeated the Oirats. Nonetheless, he realized that a countervaling force to the Kalmyks would have to be found. In 1731, the Kiši Jüz accepted Russian protection. It was soon followed by the Orta Jüz (1740) and the Ulu Jüz (1742).[137] Qazaq rulers, however, continued to flirt with the Jungars as well. These maneuverings did not bring an end to Qazaq travails. Indeed, relations with the Russians quickly soured. Abu'l-Xair perished in internecine strife. Nûr ʿAlî (1748-1786), Abu'l-Xair's son and successor, tried to steer a safe course between Russia and the Jungars. When Western Oirat power was broken by the Manchus in 1757, the Qazaqs took some measure of revenge on those Oirats who returned to Mongolia in 1771. But, the Qazaqs were now forced to maneuver between two imperial powers : Russia and Ch'ing China. A measure of their discontent with their relations with Russia can be seen in their participation in the Pugačëv revolt (1773-1775).

Ablay Xan (d.1781), the ruler of the Orta Jüz who became the paramount figure among the Qazaqs, managed to win recognition from both the Russian and Ch'ing authorities. He was one of the few Qazaq leaders who was not beholden to the Russians for his position and is viewed as a champion of Qazaq independence. His authoritarian rule also earned him enemies within his confederation.[138] After such a powerful figure, a reaction set in. His successors were unable to maintain the same degree of central authority. The Russian movement towards greater control was inexorable. There were outbursts, such as the revolt led by Sırım Batır (1792-1797), against growing Russian control. Nonetheless, one by one, the Qazaq xanates, the last

136 Halkovic, **Mongols**, pp. 44-45; Basin, **Rossija i kazax. xanstva**, p. 121; Barfield, **Perilous Frontier**, pp. 277-278,280-281,286-287,291; Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 64-68,120-121; Olcott, **Kazakhs**, p. 25.

137 See Sulejmenov, Moiseev, **Iz istorii**, pp. 12-32; Olcott, **Kazakhs**, pp. 31-33 and analysis in Basin, **Rossija i kazax. xanstva**.

138 See Olcott, **Kazakhs**, pp. 39-43 and the study of his career in Sulejmenov, Moiseev, **Iz istorii**. A brief sketch of his ancestor was given by Valixanov, "Ablaj," **Sobranie sočinenij**, IV, pp. 111-116.

vestiges of nominal independence, were abolished : the Orta Jüz in 1822, the Kiši Jüz in 1824, the Ulu Jüz in 1848.[139]

Islam had penetrated the urban centers of Kazakhstan with the early waves of Muslim Arab armies that brought that faith to Central Asia. Thereafter, its progress among the nomads was slow. By the late Činggisid imperial period (14th century), it had spread to the ruling elite. This is certainly reflected in the names of the Qazaq rulers of the 15th and succeeding centuries. Proselytization by Ṣûfî orders among the nomads continued into the 15th-16th centuries. In the late 18th century, this task was taken up by Tatar merchants and teachers who were subsequently joined in this endeavor by merchants from the Özbek xanates in the late 19th century. Interestingly enough, Islam penetrated to the grass roots level only after the Russians established their protectorate in the Qazaq lands. It was encouraged, for a time, by the Russian authorities, working through the Tatars. The latter, both teacher-preacher and merchant, were viewed as imperial agents and often met with a hostile reception. As elsewhere, Qazaq Islam, on the popular level, contained numerous vestiges from earlier shamanic beliefs.[140]

## The Qırğız

We shall take up the much-debated question of Qırğız ethnogenesis in Chap. 12. Nonetheless, our understanding of the history of this region would be incomplete without some reference to this complex problem at this point. The Turkic population of Kirghizia (Qırğızstan) of the Činggisid era evolved out of groups of Turkic-speaking tribes (Western Türk, Qarluq, Yağma and others) that came to this region and absorbed the earlier Iranian (Saka) nomads and to a lesser extent the Soġdian urban population. Tribes belonging to the Inner Asian, i.e. Yenisei Qırğız union (but not necessarily of Yenisei Qırğız origin) may have begun to enter this and adjoining regions (the Altay and Irtyš) with the advent of Qitañ power in Mongolia in the early 10th century. The nature of their relations with their Kimek-Qıpčaq neighbors can only be conjectured. Undoubtedly, they were one of the contributing forces to the westward shift of the Kimek union. Some Qırğız tribes may, in turn, have been absorbed by the Kimek. In any event, the ethnonym **Qırğız** which had already spread to other peoples as a political name in the era of Qırğız statehood, was retained or perhaps spread to yet other groups. To this complex mix, Qıpčaq elements were added.[141]

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139 For a general overview, see Olcott, **Kazakhs**, pp. 31-53. A more detailed study, with a particular orientation, is that of Šoinbaev, **Dobrovol'noe vxoždenie.**

140 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 69-70; Zenkovsky, **Pan-Turkism and Islam**, pp. 57-60; Bacon, **Central Asians**, pp. 41-45.

141 See Karypkulov et al. (eds.), **Ist. kirgiz.** SSR, I, pp. 408-430; Abramzon, **Kirgizy**, pp. 10-70; Petrov, **K istorii.**

These tribes were brought under Mongol rule in the Činggisid era, becoming one of the many tribal elements that proved to be so resistant to centralized Čaġatayid government in Moġulistan. Mîrzâ Ḥaidar, in referring to the Qırğız who were brought to eastern Turkistan under the Čaġadaid Manṣûr Xan (1503-1545), says that the Qırğız, in general, "were the originators of all the revolts in Moġulistan." Their rebelliousness took the form of opposition to Islam. The same source notes that they were "still infidels, and hence their hostility to the Moġuls."[142] According to the **Tazkira-yi Xwâja Muḥammad Šarîf** (second half of 16th century) the Qırğız paid the Islamic **zakât** and other taxes only under duress.[143] The Ottoman author, Seifî (scr. 1582) writes that "they are neither Infidels nor Muslims."[144] Maḥmûd b. Walî (17th century) in his **Baḥr al-Asrâr** says that they "worship (various) idols. They are not true Muslims."[145] Thus, it may be concluded that the Islamicization of the Qırğız was a protracted and uneven process, largely, as elsewhere, the work of ṣûfîs and merchants. It was probably completed by the 18th century. Qırğız popular Islam still retains more than a few shamanistic traces.[146]

Islam, however, had by the early 16th century penetrated the ruling strata, perhaps because of their greater contact with urban-based merchants. Thus, the **Ta³rîx-i Rašîdî** mentions their leader, Muḥammad, who, in the early 16th century distinguished himself by plundering Šaybânid lands. His Qırğız were among the forces initially supporting the Čaġadaid, Sa'îd Xan. By 1517, however, the latter had broken with Muḥammad, captured and disgraced him.[147] Subsequently, elements of the Qırğız cooperated with or were brought under Qazaq leadership (particularly that of Ḥaqq Naẓar) in the 16th century.[148]

The movements of groups bearing the name **Qırğız** in the succeeding period are not entirely clear. It is at this point, the mid-17th century, that various Qırğız groupings found themselves increasingly caught up in the imperial plans of the Russian empire expanding into Siberia and the Oirat [Jungar] state moving westward. With the demise of the remnants of Čaġadaid rule at the hands of the Eastern Oirats in the late 17th century, some Qırğız tribes were displaced and settled (or were settled) in Eastern Turkistan. A Russian report of 1703 states that the Yenisei Qırğız were driven off by the "Kalmyks" ending their occupation of their ancestral habitat

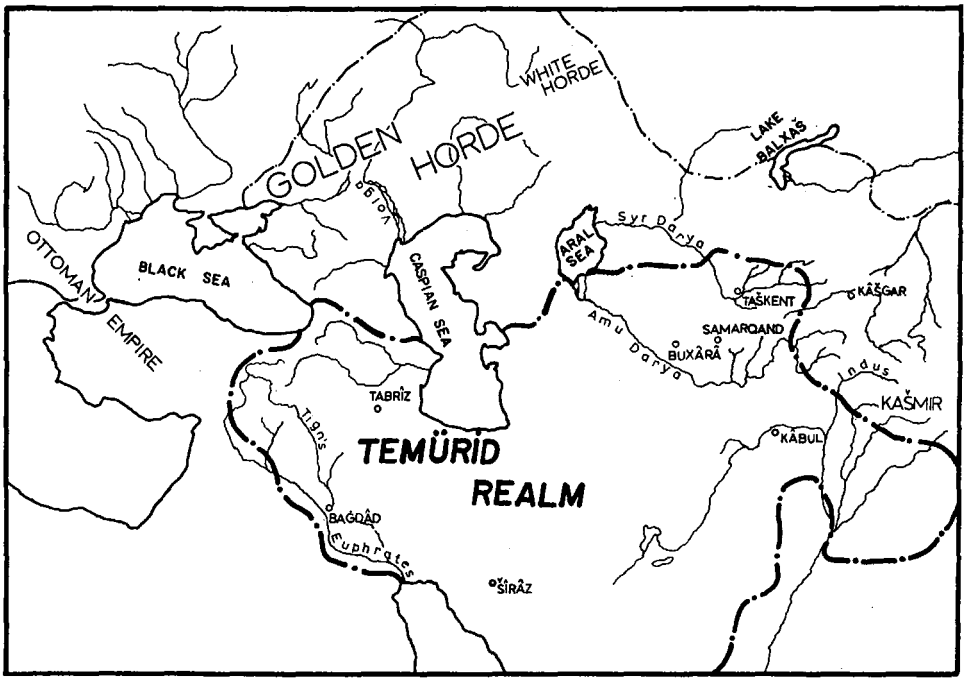
142 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/ Ross, pp. 125,148.
143 **MIKX**, p. 235.
144 Cited in Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. Semireč'ja**, p. 97.
145 Maḥmûd b. Walî/Axmedov, p. 41.
146 See Abramzon, **Kirgizy**, pp. 267ff; Bajalieva, **Doislamskie verovanija**.
147 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 349-351.
148 See **MIKX**, pp. (**Baḥr al-Asrâr**) 329-334,349-351,353,358, (**Ta³rîx-i Šâh Maḥmûd bin Mîrzâ Faẓil Čoras**) 379, (**Ta'rîx-i Kâšğar**) 412-413.

(unless we are to consider the present-day "Xakas" Qırğız, a question we will touch on later).[149] It would appear, however, that while the Oirats caused the movement of various Qırğız groupings, the majority, usually termed **Burut**, were and remained in the Central and Southern Tien-shan zone in the early 18th century. Sizable groupings were also in Farġâna. Oirat overlordship ended when their state was crushed by the Manchus in 1758-1759. With the fall of the Jungarian state, some displaced Qırğız (and Qazaqs) returned to Semireč'e. Here and elsewhere, they were under nominal Ch'ing overlordship. In the early 19th century, the Qoqan/Kokand Xanate began to extend its authority to the Farġâna valley Qırğız. By mid-century, the Russians started to acquire Qırğız lands, annexing the last independent regions in 1876, after the conquest of Qoqan.[150]

Having traced the decline of the last Eurasian Turkic states, we should now turn to the Near and Middle East where the Turks, not an indigenous ethnic grouping, would create some of their most enduring political structures and in the process transform the region.

149 See Bartol'd, **Kirgizy**, pp. 524,526..

150 Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. Semireč'ja**, pp. 90,92,101, **Kirgizy**, pp. 509-543 and the detailed account in Karypkulov et al., **Ist. kirgiz. SSR**, I, pp. 408-498,555-585, II, pp. 53-86.




MAP X THE TEMÜRID REALM

# THE TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The decline of the Seljuk states ushered in an age of Seljuk-derived **atabeg** statelets in the Near East. These were swallowed up by the Mongols or the Mamlûk state that arose out of the collapse of the Ayyûbid realm (1171-1250). The latter was a dynasty of Kurdish origins, but strongly Turkicized (as was much of the military establishment of the Islamic Near East). The era of Mongol overlordship concluded with the emergence of four types of Turkic states. Three of these were closely related, structurally and ethnically, drawing, in essence, on the same governmental traditions and tribal reserves. The latter were tribes, overwhelmingly Oğuz, that had been splintered and fragmented in successive waves of migration into the Near and Middle East beginning with the Seljuk era and ending in the Mongol period. Living in far greater proximity to sedentary society than their steppe forebears, the nature of their nomadism changed given the relative lack of pasturage and the competition with agriculturalists for the same lands. In time, many became semi-nomads or denomadicized. Such ex-nomads were, initially, a source of instability.

The fragmented tribes, whose patterns of migration can be traced in place-names in Syria, Iran, Anatolia (especially the central and western zones) and elsewhere,[1] reconstituted themselves. Around a tribal core there now clustered heterogeneous elements which had entered the service of the chief or bey (< beg). Some of these new entities maintained the old tribal names (e.g. Avšar/Afšar) and continued to function as tribes. Others became known after the name of their leader (e.g. Osmanlı) or the place with which they were associated (e.g. Šâmlu < Šâm "Syria," Rûmlu < Rûm "Anatolia"). These were restless, dynamic groupings, one of which, the Ottomans, went on to found an empire that spanned southeastern Europe, North Africa and the Near East. Others joined to form new tribal confederations, two of which, the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu, bore the names of livestock (the significance of these terms, unless the most obvious, is not clear, see below). Still other tribesmen were organized by religio-political leaders, the Ṣafavids, and were called after the characteristic headgear that indicated their religio-political orientation (e.g. the Qızılbaš). The fourth type of Turkic state was a very different structural phenomenon. The tribal element was absent. In its place was a military dictatorship based on a slave soldiery, grafted onto a non-Turkic/non-Turkicized territory.

The first type is illustrated by a series of statelets (**beyliks** "principalities" < **bey**) of predominantly Oğuz/"Türkmen"[2] tribal origin in Anatolia, the

1 Eremeev, **Etnogenez**, pp. 86-89. See Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 211-215 and the detailed analysis that follows, pp. 423-461 for a listing and pp. 618ff. for additional data.

2 This ethnonym, as was noted previously, was originally a political term first recorded by 11th century Islamic authors with reference to Qarluq and Oğuz groupings. Some of these sources associated it with an Islamic affiliation (so Marwazî, ed. Minorsky, pp. 18/29; see

territory of the Seljuks of Rûm. The second may be seen in the Turko-Mongolian and Türkmen tribal confederations of Iran. The third derived from the other two, but placed even greater emphasis on charismatic religious leadership (not lacking in the others as well). The fourth found expression in a now fully articulated Mamlûk state. Their individual histories are far too complex to be dealt with in detail here. As a consequence, we shall limit ourselves to some general comments about the nature of the Mamlûk state, which, in the final analysis, was a tangential or at best marginal chapter in the genesis of the Turkic peoples, and comment, in a little more detail, about those entities that played an important role in the shaping of the Turkish people and Turkic population of Iran.

## THE MAMLÛKS[3]

As we have noted earlier, the use of slave soldiers (**ġulâms, mamlûks**) by Islamic and to a lesser extent non-Islamic rulers of the Near East (e.g. Davit' Aġmašenebeli of Georgia) dates back to the 9th century ᶜAbbâsid caliphs. The Ghaznavid state was founded by Sâmânid **ġulâms** and its primary military forces continued to be slave troops[4] whose organization and internal dynamics, in many respects, presaged those of the Syro-Egyptian Mamlûks. The Delhi Sultanate had its origins in the "Slave Kings," Turkic **ġulâms** of the Ġûrids. These "Slave Kings" (1206-1290), slightly older contemporaries of the Mamlûks, consisted of Central Asian Turks, in particular Ölberli Qıpčaqs, many of whom came to India through the Egyptian slave markets.[5] The Seljuk state, in its heyday, possessed a substantial **ġulâm** army.[6] It is hardly remarkable, then, that one of its successor-states, the Ayyûbids of Egypt-Syria, particularly in its later years (e.g. under aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb, 1240-1249) began to recruit large numbers of Turkic slaves, brought in from the Eurasian steppes. They were quartered in the Baḥriyya fortress on the Nile (**Baḥr an-Nîl**) and hence their later name, the **Baḥrî** line of sulṭâns. The power-struggle (1249-1260) that followed aṣ-Ṣâliḥ Ayyûb's death was

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also the comments of Köprülü, **İlk Mutasavvıflar**, p. 114), but this is by no means certain. It derives from **Türk** + **men** a suffix of strengthening, augmentation, i.e. "Pure Türk, Very Türk, Great Türk" etc. Kafesoğlu (1958, pp. 121-133) compares it with the politcal term **Kök Türk** and views it as the Qarluq equivalent of the former.

3 A general overview, with good bibliography, is provided by Humphreys, "Mamlûk Dynasty," **DMA**, 8, pp. 70-78. Holt's volume, **Crusades**, pp. 82-166,178-202 contains a good summation of contemporary scholarship. A more detailed study of the early Mamlûks is presented by Irwin, **Middle East**. Special questions are taken up by Ayalon in his collected studies (**Studies, Mamlûk Military**) and his monograph (**Gunpowder**).

4 Bosworth, **Ghaznavids**, pp. 98-106.

5 Golden, 1986, pp. 26-28; see the studies of Habibullah, **Foundation** and Ahmad, **Political History**.

6 Turan, **Selçuklular**, p. 255; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 230-234.

complicated by a Crusader and then Mongol invasion which ended in defeat for the latter (1260). Mamlûk prestige was greatly enhanced, but uncertainty as to governmental structure, rulership and succession, a perennial problem hereafter, came to the fore. At first, they attempted to maintain the fiction of Ayyûbid rule under various figureheads. This soon failed and the **mamlûks** took over in their own right. The Mamlûk state was, essentially, a military dictatorship of ethnically alien slave soldiers (continually replenished) who consciously maintained their ethno-linguistic separateness from their Arabic-speaking subjects in the Eastern Mediterranean (Egypt and Greater Syria). They legitimated their rule through the refugee ᶜAbbâsid puppet caliphal line that had found safety in their domains in 1261. The caliphs remained there until the Ottoman conquest when the last puppet "caliph" ended his days in obscure circumstances in Istanbul. They were, thus, the champions of the Islamic world, in particular in the face of the Mongol threat. Their domestic history, however, was marked by constant struggles between different factions for supreme power. Despite the periodic chaos that this produced, the Mamlûks presented to the outer world a highly effective military.

In the aftermath of the defeat of the Mongols, the **Baḥriyya** faction led by Baybars al-Bunduqdârî (1260-1277) emerged as the most powerful force, having murdered Qutuz, the victor over Hülegü's armies. Baybars also actively promoted ties with the newly converted ruler of the Golden Horde, Berke, in order to assure the continual flow of **mamlûks** from the Qıpčaq steppe, the military basis of his regime.[7] These ties were founded on geo-political considerations; both Saray and Cairo shared a common foe, İlxanid Iran. But, there were other factors as well. Islam was an important connection, one that Berke took seriously. Both states rested on a base of Qıpčaq soldiery. Baybars himself was a Qıpčaq, probably of the Burčoğlı tribe.[8] Türkmen, Kurdish and even Mongol groups (Oirats) that were unhappy with İlxanid rule found refuge in Mamlûk-controlled Egypt and Syria.

The Turkic character of the "Noble Sultanate" (**as-salṭanat aš-šarîfa**), the official designation of this state, was underscored by the term Muslim and Byzantine authors gave to it **Dawlat al-Atrâk** ("State of the Turks")/Τουρκία. Qıpčaq Turkic remained the language of the ruling military-political elite, as is witnessed by the Turkic language manuals and glossaries produced under Mamlûk auspices.[9] Qıpčaq Turkic continued as the primary tongue of the military elite even when substantial numbers of Čerkes (Arab. pl. **Jarâkisa**)

7 Cf. the correspondence and diplomatic activity of Baybars with Berke in the **Taᵓrîx Baybars**, Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I, pp. 77-78/98-100.
8 Zakirov, **Diplomatičeskie**, pp. 33-39,pp. 43ff.; Tizengauzen, **Sbornik**, I, pp. 476/503 and n.1.
9 Karamanlıoğlu, 1962.

were recruited. The significance of this ethnic term, usually denoting a speaker of a Palaeo-Caucasian Circassian/Adyge/Kabardinian language, but often applied by Turkic-speakers to North Caucasians in general (and sometimes to Georgians as well), is not clear. Later Georgian authors, as the marginal comment on a manuscript of Leonti Mroveli's work in the **K'art'lis C'xovreba** indicates, identified **qivč'aqi** with **č'erk'ezi**.[10] The Arabic accounts, however, depict Barquq (1382-1389,1390-1399), the founder of the "Circassian" line of Mamlûks, the **Burjiyya**, as of Circassian origin. His father, Anas, was a Christian when he came to Egypt and knew neither Turkic nor Arabic, speaking to his son only in Circassian.[11] The shift to the Burjiyya is, perhaps, connected to the devastating impact of the plague (1347-1349). The increasing Islamicization of the Golden Horde may also have limited the number of non-Muslim Turks who could be enslaved.

The Mamlûk realm, ravaged by Temür's invasions (Syria), recovered and once again was one of the most powerful states of the Muslim world until the emergence of the Türkmen Aq Qoyunlu and Ottoman states in the latter half of the 15th century. Faced with economic decline (both self-induced and resulting from Portuguese inroads in their commercial spheres of interest) and unwilling or unable to make the adjustment to the "gunpowder age," they collapsed before the militarily superior Ottomans in 1516-1517.

## THE BEYLİKS OF ASIA MINOR[12]

In the Seljukid and Činggisid eras, there was a tendency for tribal elements to move towards the frontiers (**uj**) of the state. In part, this stemmed from the nomad's natural desire to remove himself as far as possible from the strong arm of the central government. It was also, for nomads who were on the path to denomadization due to the lack of available pasturage, the region that provided the best opportunities for raiding, trading and soldiering. In Činggisid times, additional nomadic and semi-nomadic tribal elements were pushed to the frontiers by the arrival of newcomers from Central Asia and Azarbayjan or, conversely, the newly arrived nomads were driven thither. These included not only Oğuz, but Turkic peoples of the Mongol empire (Uyğurs, Qıpčaqs[13]). There were also displacements of

10 **K'art'lis C'xovreba**, ed. Qauxč'išvili, I, p. 17,n.3.

11 Tekindağ, **Berkuk Devrinde**, pp. 40-41.

12 Sketches of the history of the **beyliks** may be found in Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 303-314; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 43-91 and his more detailed **Anadolu beylikleri**; Turan, **Doğu Anadolu**; Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 203ff.

13 Cf. the Qıpčaq elements in the Anatolian Turkish dialect of Bartın, Korkmaz, 1965, pp. 227-269, or the Qıpčaq traces in the Kütahya region, Gülensoy, **Kutahya**, pp. 125-129. The most recent survey on the Anatolian dialects is that of Guzev, 1990, pp. 35-62. The number of Oğuz tribes that actually entered the Islamic lands of the Near and Middle East, in the pre-Činggisid era, is in dispute. Cf. the comments of Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 314-317. A rather hypercritical view taken by some European specialists, to counter the overly

indigenous peoples such as the Kurds. The growing weakness of the Byzantine eastern frontier after the Palaiologoi regained Constantinople (1261) and became more Mediterranean-oriented was another contributing factor to the growing Turkish strength in the uj. It was also here that charismatic military and religious leaders, some of a heterodox bent, were gathered. Turkic and Muslim heroic traditions (the alp and ġâzî), already well-acquainted in Central Asia, were joined to Muslim urban, economic-chivalric institutions to promote the holy war. The abortive attempt, in 1277, of the Anatolian Seljukids to throw off Činggisid overlordship with Mamlûk aid, drove more Türkmen elements to the western frontiers and revived the jihâd. Although the region now fell under direct Činggisid rule, İlxanid governors, such as Temürtaš (1318-1327), were themselves drawn to the ġazâ'.[14]

The beyliks began to take shape well before the collapse of Seljukid-İlxanid central authority here. They can be divided into a number of categories. Some were formed in the early years of the Turkish conquest of Anatolia. The Saltuq principality in Eastern Anatolia (Erzurum, Bayburt), descended from Abu'l-Qâsim Saltuq who was with Alp Arslan, came into being after the victory at Manzikert in 1071. It played an important role in Transcaucasian affairs, but lost its independence in 1202 and was absorbed into the Seljuk realm.[15] The house of Dânišmend, appearing ca. 1080 and centered at Sivas, Ankara and Kayseri in Central Anatolia, figured prominently in the struggles with the Crusaders. In time they splintered and their lands were brought under central Rûm Seljuk authority in 1178.[16] The Mengüjüks of Erzincan, Kemah and Divriği, descended from another of Alp Arslan's commanders, were their contemporaries. They too fragmented, the political independence of the Erzincan branch ending in 1228. Nearly 50 years later, the İlxanid Abaqa, apparently, brought to a close the history of the Divriği branch.[17] Another companion of Alp Arslan at Manzikert was Artuq b. Eksük, of probable Döğer Oğuz origin, who gave rise to a statelet (the Artuqids) in the Southeastern Anatolia-Diyarbekir region, with a strong Turkic tribal character. It soon subdivided into lesser statelets (Hasankeyf

enthusiastic approach of some Turkish scholars, concludes that unimpeachable evidence attests the presence only of the Avšar, Döger, Qınıq, Salur and Yıva (see Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, p. 39).

14 Köprülü, **Osmanlı**, pp. 91-95, 131ff.,146ff.; İnalcık, 1981-82, pp. 72-74.

15 See Turan, **Doğu Anadolu**, pp. 3-52.

16 Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 208-211; Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 54-55. On the Dânišmend epic, see Garbuzova, **Skazanie**. The Dânišmendids may have come from the region of Xwârazm (Togan, **UTTG**, p. 197). Wittek (**Rise**, p. 20), however, stresses their claims to an older, pre-Seljuk ġâzî status, but also makes note of a tradition which presents them as Armenian converts to Islam.

17 Turan, **Doğu Anadolu**, pp. 55-79 and the study of Sakaoğlu, **Mengücek Oğulları** which has much material on the arts.

[Ḥisn Keyfâ], Âmid, Mardin, Meyyâfârikîn [Mayyâfâriqîn] and Harput). The Ḥisn Keyfâ principality succumbed to the Mongols ca. 1231-2, that of Harput was taken several years later (1234) by the Rûm Seljukid ᶜAlâ᾽d-Dîn Kayqubâd. The Mardin line considerably outlived its kin, falling to the Qara Qoyunlu in 1409.[18]

Of that same generation was the Axlât-Šâh dynasty centered in Axlâṭ (< Armen. Xlat') near Lake Van. It was founded by a **ġulâm** of Alp Arslan, Sökmen. The Axlât-Šâhs ruled over a sizable Armenian (hence they are sometimes termed Arman-šâh or Šâh-i Arman) and Kurdish population and played an important role in the Muslim wars with the expanding Georgian kingdom of the late 12th century. When the Sökmenid line came to an end in 1185, its **ġulâms** continued as rulers until the region was taken over by the Ayyûbids (1207-1230) and then Seljukids.[19]

In addition to those **beyliks** that came into existence in the immediate aftermath of the Seljuk victory of 1071, there were statelets that formed later in the Seljukid era. Typical of these was the Čobanid house (Čoban Oğulları) of Northwestern Anatolia (center at Kastomonu) whose origins date to the late 12th or early 13th century. Its founder, Hüsâm ad-Dîn Čoban Bey, who led the famous Seljuk expedition to the Crimea ca. 1224-1225, may have stemmed from the Qayı tribe. Its brief history is obscure. In somewhat confusing circumstances, the principality, which the Čobanids held at the pleasure of the Seljukids, ca. 1292, was given over to the Jandarid house, which ultimately had to secure it in battle against the Čobanid Maḥmûd Bey (d. 1309). Šams ad-Dîn Jandar (1291-?), the founder of this house, was of Alayontlu Oğuz origin. By the 1380's, the Jandarids were in the Ottoman orbit.[20]

One of the earliest of the later **beyliks** and the most important, aside from that founded by Osman, was the Qaraman principality, which comes to the attention of our sources ca. 1260. Its roots should probably be sought in displaced Oğuz tribal elements (either Salur or more probably Afšar) pushed westward to the Ermenek region from Azarbayjan by the Mongols. Qaraman elements were still to be found in Transoxiana in the 12th century as well as in Azarbayjan. The **beylik** sprang from Nûre Sofi/Ṣûfi, who may have been a Babâ᾽î dervish, i.e. a follower of Baba Isḥâq who led a Türkmen revolt against the Seljuks on the eve of the Mongol invasion. The Bâbâ᾽îs, like the later Bektašîs who derived from them, had a strong Šîᶜite tinge. They created a kind of trinity of God, Muḥammad and ᶜAlî, in addition to venerating the

18 Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 213-215; Merçil, **Müslüman-Türk Devletleri**, pp. 243-250 and the more detailed treatment of Turan, **Doğu Anadolu**, pp. 133-240.

19 See Turan, **Doğu Anadolu**, pp. 83-129; Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 215-217.

20 See Yücel, **XIII-XV Yüzyıllar Kuzey-Batı Anadolu**, pp. 33-51 (on the Čobanids), pp. 53ff. (on the Jandaroğulları); Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 310-312.

Imâms of Twelver Šîᶜism.[21] The Mongol invasions of Central Asia brought many ṣûfî šayxs westward to Rûm and thus various ṣûfî orders figured in the genesis and shaping of the religious orientation of the Türkmen principalities.[22] According to a 14th century work, the **Menâqibnâme** of Baba Ilyâs Xorâsânî, Nûre Sofi was in the entourage of Ḥâjjî Bektaš, as was also Šayx Ede Bali who figured so prominently in the early history of the House of Osman.[23] His son, Qaraman (d. 1261 ?), with whom the political and military fortunes of the principality rise, is described alternately as a wood-cutter and dealer in lumber or highway brigand, both of which are plausible occupations for an ex-nomad.[24] During the unsuccessful revolt of 1277 of Anatolian Türkmen allied to the Mamlûks who were seeking to end Mongol rule there, the Qaramanid Mehmed Beg (d. 1278) seized Konya [Ikonion], the Rûm Seljuk capital, and installed a puppet Seljukid, Jimri, on the throne. According to Ibn Bîbî, Turkish was declared the official language,[25] an interesting example of an evolving tribal or Turkic consciousness. The Mongol counterattack left Mehmed Beg among the many thousands who were killed and compelled his forces to retreat. Nonetheless, the Qaramanids continued to be a source of resistance to Mongol rule. With the death of the last Seljukid in 1308, the Qaramanids again took possession of Konya. They now considered themselves the heirs of the Anatolian Seljukids.[26] As such, they proved to be the toughest competition that the Ottomans faced in asserting their rule over the Anatolian **beyliks**. Although crushed in 1396 by **Yıldırım** Bayazîd, they were revived by Temür only to be permanently annexed by Mehmed the Conqueror in 1475.[27]

Contemporaneous with the Qaramanids were a number of short-lived beyliks, none of which survived beyond the mid-14th century, whose origins may be traced to the mid-late 13th century. These were : the Ešref Oğulları of Pisidia, whose progenitor was a border commander of the Seljukid Ġiyaṯ

21 Momen, **Introduction**, p. 103. Baba Isḥâq, it is reported, claimed that he, not Muḥammad, was the "true apostle of God," see Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, pp. 16-17,20.

22 See discussion in Köprülü, **İlk Mutasavvıflar**, pp. 47-48 and his **Osmanlı**, pp. 161-172.

23 Mélikoff, 1982, p. 148. Elvan Çelebi, **Menâkıb-ul-kudsiyye**, eds. Erünsal, Ocak, p. 169. The editors (pp. LX-LXIII) summarize the data for Nûre Sofi from a variety of sources. Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 127 notes Nûre Sofi's connection with Baba Ilyâs.

24 İnalcık, 1981-82, p. 75. Ibn Saᶜîd (last quarter of 113th century), remarks on the large numbers of Türkmen at the border zone who live by raiding, carpet-making and lumber. Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 161-162). Sümer (p. 157) connects the Ağač-eri with a denomadicized Türkmen grouping settled in woody-mountainous areas who became involved in lumbering. They are associated with the present-day **Tahtajıs [Tahtacı** "woodcutter"], a Šîᶜite Yörük [nomadic] Türkmen grouping in Cilicia. On the Tahtajıs, see Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, pp. 38,137-138,149-150,152,252; Şapolyo, **Mezhepler**, pp. 288-297.

25 Ibn Bîbî, ed. Houtsma, **Recueil**, IV, p. 326; Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, p. 168.

26 Köprülü, **Osmanlı**, p. 78; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 281-282,289,292; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 160-161; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 43-44 and his **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 1-3.

27 See Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 1-37; Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 310-338.

ad-Dîn Kay Xusrau (Gıyasüddin Keyhusrev, 1264-1283), the Sâḥib Ata Oğulları of Afyon Karahisar, descended from a Seljuk wazîr, Sâḥib Ata Faxr ad-Dîn ᶜAlî (d.1288), the Pervâne Oğulları in the Sinop region, stemming from the Seljukid official Muᵓin ad-Dîn Süleymân Pervâne (1260's).[28]

Of somewhat later origin, dating to the early 14th century, a period in which İlxanid rule was in decline, was the Eretna statelet (1335-1381) in Central Anatolia (Kayseri, Sivas, Tokat), founded by an Uyğur amîr, Eretna, of the Mongol governor Temürtaš. Eretna rule's here was followed by that of his onetime deputy, the Qâḍî Burhân ad-Dîn Aḥmad of Salur Oğuz origin (ca. 1381-1398) who was killed by the Aq Qoyunlu.[29]

We need not go into the details of the histories of the various **beyliks**, a complex and still imperfectly investigated field. We can, however, make some general statements about their origins, especially those of the immediate neighbors of the Ottomans, in order to illustrate better the formation of the Ottoman state, the Şafavid realm and the Türkmen statelets that preceded the latter. The **beyliks** have been broadly divided into those with a strong **ġâzî** character and those with a less pronounced interest in holy war. The **ġâzî** states, quite naturally, were located on the borders with the Christian world. The lucrative slave trade, directly fed by raids into the "lands of Unbelief," according to Halil İnalcık, played an important role in the development of these **ġâzî** states.[30] Typical of such "front-line" states was that of the Menteše.[31] Its eponymous founder, Menteše, apparently the leader of some Türkmen band allied to the Qaramanids, shifted westward, sometime after 1277, and took over Byzantine Karia (ca. 1282). He was one of the leaders of the Turkish thrust into the remaining Byzantine territories of Southwestern Anatolia. Having gained the coast, he now brought the **jihâd** to the sea as well. In the late 14th century, the **beylik** came under direct Ottoman control (1390-91). Temür's defeat of Bayazîd in 1402, led to a brief restoration, but by 1424 it was firmly within the Ottoman orbit.

Menteše's neighbors in Western Anatolia, the **beyliks** of Aydın,[32] Saruxan [Saruhan][33] and Qarası [Karası/Karasi, of Dânišmendid origin] were founded, in the early 14th century, by miltary men from the Germiyan

28 Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 58-61, 148-152.

29 Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 155-168; Yücel, **Kadı Burhanneddin**.

30 İnalcık, 1979, p. 35.

31 See the classic study of Wittek, **Menteşe**.

32 It is unclear if this name derives from a personal or clan/tribal name, Akın, **Aydın Oğulları**, pp. 7-14.

33 Descended from one of the military leaders of the Xwârazmšâh, Jalâl ad-Dîn, who had taken service with the Seljuks of Rûm, Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, p. 84; Bunijatov, **Gosudarstvo xorezmšaxov**, p. 195. The Xwârazmian troops that settled with their leaders in the Manisa region are called Hurzumlu (see also Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 180,318,357,630). There are other such settlements around Kütahya and Alaşehir.

principality. The latter, a semi-ġâzî state in Byzantine Phrygia, with its center in Kütahya, had become a reservoir for the "front-line" states. It was headed by the house of ᶜAlîšîr, of possible Afšar Oğuz origin.[34] They first surface in the Malatya region at the time of the Baba Isḥâq rebellion, perhaps having come there (ca. 1230) in connection with the movements of Jalâl ad-Dîn, the fugitive Xwârazmšâh. They were among the Seljuk forces used to crush the revolt. The Germiyan, in the last quarter of the 13th century, shifted their military activities to Western Anatolia and adopted a more hostile stance towards the Seljuk government whose representative, among the Türkmen tribal elements here, they had earlier been. Under Yaᶜqûb Bey (1300-1340), at the zenith of their power (the 14th century Mamlûk author, al-ᶜUmarî, says that the Germiyan ruler was the "greatest of the kings of the Turks,"[35]), they conquered some Byzantine lands. Their generals, however, as we noted, soon struck out on their own. The Germiyan, and the statelets to which they gave birth, were under Ottoman overlordship by the 1420's.[36] Also prominent in Western Anatolia were the Ḥamîd Oğulları of Eğridir, (Ulu)Borlu, Yalvač and Antalya, whose founder, Dündar Bey, was the grandson of a Türkmen clan or tribal leader.[37]

Syria also contained sizable Türkmen groupings, termed **Šâmlu** who had their summer camps in the Sivas region. The nomads here preserved the old Oğuz division into Boz Oq (primarily Bayat, Avšar, Beğ-Dili, Döğer) and Üč Oq (Yüregir, Qınıq, Bayındur, Salur, Eymir). The Dulğadır (founded in 1337 in Elbistan) and İnal Oğulları (< İnallu), among others derived from Boz Oq groupings, while the Ramazan (Ramaḍân) Oğulları stemmed from the Üč Oq. The latter, in collaboration with the Mamlûks, conquered Cilician Armenia.[38] The Šâmlu, as we shall see, will play an important role in the history of Iran.

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34 Köprülü, **Osmanlı**, pp. 79-80; Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, p. 39. Recent dialect studies (Gülensoy, **Kütahya**, pp. 3-4) appear to indicate a stronger Qınıq presence. Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, p. 290 suggests that they were a mix of Turks and Kurds. Their contemporaries, the Eşref Oğulları, the western neighbors of the Qaramanids, may also have had a Kurdish admixture (see Cahen, **Op. Cit.**, p. 305). A detailed discussion of the sources on the origins of the Germiyan, quite critical of Cahen's Kurdish theories and others tying them to the "Tatars" etc., is given by Varlık, **Germiyan-oğulları**, pp. 1-14. On the history of the Aydın, Saruhan and Karası, see Akın, **Aydın Oğulları**, pp. 15-83; Lemerle, **L'emirat d'Aydin**, a study of the Umur Paša epic, Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 84-91,96-120.

35 Arabic text from the **Masâlik al-Abṣâr** cited in Varlık, **Germiyan-oğulları**, p. 35.

36 The Germiyan were first brought completely under Ottoman rule by Bâyazîd I in 1390. They regained their independence in the aftermath of Timur's defeat of Bâyazîd in 1402. But, by 1414, they again had to accept Ottoman overlordship, a situation that was irreversibly confirmed in 1429, see Varlık, **Germiyan-oğulları**, pp. 69,91-93.

37 Wittek, **Rise**, pp. 34-37; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 306-308; Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 39-54,62-69.

38 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 165-166.

## THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE : THE FORMATIVE YEARS

This was the milieu in which the Ottoman ( < Arab. ᶜUṯmân, Pers., Turk. Osmân) state was born and developed. As we have seen, these statelets were of diverse ethnic and social origins. Some derived from İlxanid and Seljukid officials. Others were descended from Oğuz clan or tribal chieftains or individuals who were probably self-made men, condottieri of the frontiers. There has been much debate over Ottoman origins and those forces, ethnic, cultural-religious, economic and political, that molded their early history and institutions. Köprülü and Wittek[39] stressed the eclectic culture of the frontier, the meeting point of Islam and Christianity, in the shaping of the Ottoman polity. While Köprülü underscored the tribal element, Wittek placed particular emphasis on the role of the charismatic ġâzî leader, who could be a clan or tribal chieftain or a former Seljuk official, and his close interaction with local religious figures (usually dervishes). With the restraining hand of the Mongols now removed or growing ever more distant, a militant Islam which had revived on the frontier in the aftermath of the abortive attempt in 1277 to shake off Činggisid rule now came to the fore. The Ottomans became leaders in the ġazâ[3]. Thus, Wittek outlined the movement of the Ottomans from an "emirate of march-warriors," deeply influenced by the ġâzî ethos, to a more orthdox Islamic polity molded by representatives of "official" Sunnî Islam, **axîs** and ᶜulamâ[3] from the old Seljuk core lands.[40] The **axîs** [ahi] were members of urban, guild-like, Muslim civic-minded organizations or brotherhoods (<Arab. **ax** "brother"), akin to the **futuwwa**, **fityân** organizations of an earlier era. Ibn Baṭûṭa, the 14th century Muslim traveller who observed them in Anatolia, termed the **axiyya** "**fityân**" and pointed to their ubiquity among the Türkmen of Rûm, "in every district, city and village." In the absence of a strong central government, they helped to keep law and order, protected the weak from the powerful, provided hospices for travellers and engaged in other charitble enterprises.[41] For obvious reasons, they often existed in a kind of symbiosis with the local **beys**. They undoubtedly played a role in the Islamicization of elements of the Greek and Armenian urban population. The early Ottomans, in particular, were closely allied with them.[42]

39 See Köprülü, **Osmanlı** and Wittek, **Rise**.

40 Wittek, **Rise**, pp. 41-43.

41 Ibn Baṭûṭa, ed. Bustânî, pp. 285-287.

42 On the **axîs** of Anatolia, see Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo sel'džukidov**, pp. 135-142; Vryonis, **Decline**, pp. 396-402 and the detailed discussion by Şapolyo, **Mezhepler**, pp. 207-253. Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 157-158, has suggested that the Mongol invasions also uprooted sedentarized, urban and village Turkic populations (and some Iranian elements) from Central Asia and brought them to Anatolia. Thus, an urban Turkic population came, ready-made, to the region. He argues that by the first half of the 14th century, the Muslim population formed the majority in Anatolian towns. Vryonis, **Decline**, p. 446, dates the Islamicization/Turkicization of Anatolia to the late 13th to early 15th centuries, noting

Modern Turkish scholarship has generally accepted this schema of Ottoman origins and development. In addition to the importance of the ġâzî spirit and dervish influence, they, like Köprülü, also point to growing population pressure from Central Anatolia and the weakening of the Byzantine defences that aided the early Ottoman leaders in establishing their paramountcy on the frontier.[43]

Recently, this conceptualization of the origins of the Ottoman state, particularly the emphasis on Holy War, has been challenged by Lindner. He argues that the broad tolerance that the Ottomans gave to Islamic heterodoxy, not to mention their close cooperation with Christians, who joined their ranks, would appear to point to a less than total "committment to an untarnished Islam."[44] The tribes of the Anatolian plateau, he argues, were "pragmatic, often temporary political groupings around a succcessful chief." Such a tribe was a "response to external pressures."[45] Thus, from the scattered fragments of Oğuz tribes, ġâzîs, dervishes, ġarîbs (the homeless) and others, tribes, or tribe-like structures, with genealogies of convenience produced when necessary, came into being. As nomads, in the process of denomadicizing, the Turkish tribesmen lived by their military skills, i.e. predatory raiding. These acts of courage and daring-do (**yiğitlik**), long associated with the **alp**, **alp-eren**, warrior-heroes, of Central Asian Turkic folklore, were given a religious gloss. The alp and ġâzî were combined. Like the "tribesmen" opposite them, the Byzantine border soldiers, the **Akritai**, were more interested in survival than ideology. Their loyalties were often determined by economic opportunity, usually gained by the force of arms. Byzantine negligence of the eastern frontiers and overall misrule only exacerbated the problem, alienating Christians in the frontier zone. Thus, Byzantines could and did become part of the "tribal" following of Osman. The sedentary element in his following grew. Indeed, the nomads themselves were settling down or being settled for military as well as ecological-economic reasons. Agricultural bases can support greater populations than nomadism. Sedentarization would maximize manpower. In this fashion, according to Lindner, Osman's tribe was transformed into a sedentary state.[46]

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that, in the process, the various groups influenced one another.

43 Cf. İnalcık, 1981-82, pp. 71-75; Sevim, Yücel, **Türkiye Tarihi**, pp. 239-242,244-245.

44 Lindner's argument here is not convincing. Heterodoxy, in no way, lessens committment to a religious ideal. Indeed, the reverse is often true. Moreover, given the frontier and often superficial nature of Islam among the tribesmen, one should not demand a rigid consistency. Groups that waged the ġazâ' also took service as mercenaries with Christians. These were variants of the same strategies for survival. The nomads and denomadicizing nomads were, as always, adaptable.

45 Lindner, **Nomads and Ottomans**, pp. 2-6,8-9.

46 Lindner, **Nomads and Ottomans**, pp. 12-14,24,29-31,36.

Incontrovertible data on Ottoman origins is not abundant. Osmân b. Ertoğrul first appears in the last decade of the 13th century. His political center was at Söğüt in Bithynia near the Byzantine frontier. His father, Ertoğrul (d. 1281? 1288?), was a chieftain of the Qayı tribe of the Boz Oq subconfederation of the Oğuz.[47] He came to Söğüt sometime after 1277 from Central Anatolia (Ankara), having received it from the Seljukids. This tradition, however, may have been a convenient, political afterthought of Ottoman chroniclers.[48] Legend has it that his grouping of the Qayı, under his grandfather, Süleymân Šâh, had migrated to Eastern Anatolia, ca. 1230, from the region near Merv (Marw/Mary) in Türkmenistan as a consequence of the displacements brought about by the Mongol invasions, the collapse of the Xwârazmšâh regime and the resistance to the Mongols of Jalâl ad-Dîn. These Qayı then began to strike out on their own with elements going east and west. Ertoğrul, from the region around Erzerum came westward, having taken service with the Seljukids of Rûm. This chronology has been questioned, the argument being made that Qayı were in Anatolia well before this (i.e after 1071). They had figured in the formation of the Artuqid **beylik**, see above) and hence it is not impossible that Ertoğrul's ancestors had been present in Asia Minor for some time.[49]

The decline of İlxanid and Seljukid authority towards the close of the 13th century produced local, Türkmen rebellions. A state approaching anarchy obtained in some regions. In 1291, in a power struggle that was part of this general pattern of disintegration, Osmân's overlord, Muẓaffar ad-Dîn Yavlaq Arslan, the Čobanid amîr of Kastamonu, perished. In the unsettled conditions that ensued, Osmân became independent and as the Čobanids appear to have abandoned the holy war with Byzantium, he became actively engaged in the **ġazâ'**. As the leader of a **ġâzî** movement, he was able to attract sizable numbers of **ġâzîs** from the Kastamonu **beylik** and elsewhere, not to mention Türkmen tribesmen. He had the support of Muslim urban organizations, the Ṣûfî orders and the axîs. It is not improbable that Osmân was a chieftain (in all likelihood elected), from the charismatic, royal clan of the Qayı. He was also a tribal leader, in the modern, anthropological sense, in that he led a group that had formed out of political and economic but not necessarily biological ties (although these were undoubtedly present as well). Their political vocabulary, however, was still tribal, with its emphasis on kinship (real and fictitious). This group of Qayı, **ġâzîs**, disgruntled Byzantines and others were forged into a tribe or a tribe-like entity and termed themselves **Osmanlı**, the People of Osmân, as others had become Menteşeli,

47 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 165.
48 Cf. Nešrî, ed. Unat, Köymen, I, pp. 62-65; ʿAšıqpašazâde, ed. ʿAlî Bey, pp. 3-4.
49 Köprülü, 1943, pp. 229-230,265ff. Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 122,162; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 97-103.

Aydınlı etc.[50] This polity with its ruling, military elite of tribal origin, **ġâzîs** of tribal and non-tribal backgrounds, dervishes/**abdals**, axîs and a growing **reᶜâya** (subject, tax-paying population) consisting of Muslims and non-Muslims, was typical of the **ġâzî**-type statelets of the frontier.

As we have seen, the debate continues over the relative weight of tribal, **ġâzî**, nomadic and sedentary elements. There is no unanimity regarding the role of the **ġazâ/jihâd** ethos in this budding state. The presence of important, unconverted Christian elements would seem to preclude too great an emphasis on holy war. Lindner, as we have noted, put forward the hypothesis that Osman "made a tribe, the Osmanlis, out of his nomad followers" using predation as a "political program" and a tool to attract still more followers from an increasingly economically insecure nomadic and sedentary population.[51] Nonetheless, for all its seeming contradictions and bearing in mind the apologetic and tendentious tendencies of later offical chroniclers, I think it would be a mistake to completely dismiss the religious, i.e. the **ġâzî** element and the role of the **Ṣûfîs** and axîs. Osmân, it should be remembered married the daughter of Šayx Ede Bali, a much-honored dervish who foretold the establishment of a sultanate in his line.[52] For the nomads and free-lance **ġâzîs** who joined Osman, this religious appeal, undoubtedly sweetened by the prospect of booty in hard times, was not inconsiderable. The close association of the dervishes, often more than tinged with heterodoxy, with the Ottomans from their earliest history, cannot be ignored. Central and Eastern Anatolia had a long history of heterodoxy dating back to Byzantine times. Indeed, even today, the popular Islam of rural Anatolia (and Iranian Azarbayjan) has a heterodox character.[53] Many of the **ṣûfî** orders of this period, so important to the creation of the **ġâzî** states as a whole, were deeply influenced by popular **Šîᶜism**. The **Bektašîs** (founded by **Ḥâjjî Bektaš**, whose origins are unclear[54]) who in the 14th century became closely associated with the Ottoman Janissary corps and played such an important role in Islam in the Balkans, derived from the same **Bâbâʾî** heterodoxies that laid the groundwork for the **Qızılbaš**. In addition to the cult of **ᶜAlî**, these groups accepted older, esoteric **Šîᶜite** teachings about the presence of divinity in **ᶜAlî** associated with notions of **tajalli** (the manifestation of God in human form) and **tanâsux** (metempsychosis, the transmigration of souls by which the divine manifested itself in the **Šîᶜite imâms**).[55]

50 İnalcık, 1981-82, pp. 75-76.

51 Lindner, **Nomads and Ottomans**, pp. 36-37.

52 She was the mother of Orxan, see **ᶜAšıqpašazâde**, ed. **ᶜAlî bey**, pp. 6,35; **Nešrî**, ed. Unat, **Köymen**, I, pp. 80-85.

53 Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 197-200,203ff.; Mélikoff, 1982, p. 142.

54 On the connection with the Central Asian **Aḥmad Yasawî** and the various accounts regarding his activities, see **Köprülü, İlk Mutasavvıflar**, pp. 37-44.

55 Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, pp. 7-13,15-16; Momen, **Introduction**, p. 103, Mélikoff, 1982, p. 149-150.

As with the Seljuks, the alienation from their nomadic followers of a rapidly sedentarizing dynasty, acquiring all the trappings of Near Eastern kingship, came early on in Ottoman history. That it proved less destructive to the Ottoman polity may have been due to the mitigating religio-ideological factors. The truly disgruntled tribal elements, however, had a means to express their dissatisfaction and this too had a strong religious coloration : heterodoxy in the face of an Ottoman establishment that had become the champion of Sunnism. This heterodoxy was manifested in the Qızılbaš [Kızılbaş] movement and its rallying point was the Şafavid order. By the time this explosion occured, the Ottomans already possessed a powerful sedentary base. We shall return to this question later.

Osman's early history is not well-known. In the 1290's, this uj beyi ("frontier prince"), officially acknowledged by the Seljukid authorities, was acquiring territories in the region of Dorylaion/Eskişehir. In part, his attention here may have been dictated by pressures from Germiyan. By 1301, he defeated a Byzantine army and gained control over the region around Nikaia/İznik, the onetime Byzantine capital in exile while the Latins held Constantinople (1204-1261). The city, however, was not taken until 1331. Osman began the encirclement of Bursa, the most important Byzantine city in the region which fell to his son and successor, Orxan [Orhan, 1324-1359] in 1326.[56] The disturbances in Anatolia caused by Temürtaš (d.1327), the İlxanid governor of "Rûm" who revolted in 1321 (claiming to be the mahdî) and again in 1326, undoubtedly aided the Ottomans.[57]

Orxan continued the pressure on the Byzantine towns. Nikomedia/İzmit fell in 1337. The Ottomans were now drawn to the coastal region. The beyliks there had already become involved in Byzantine affairs as a result of internal discord and Serbian pressure on Constantinople. The Byzantines had long been reliant on foreign mercenary troops, Christian and now Turkish Muslim as well. These employment possibilities were particularly important for the Turkish beys as it attracted still more followers to their banners.[58] In this way, the Byzantines, unwittingly to be sure, were accomplices in their own destruction. Our sources are contradictory, but it appears that in the 1330's and certainly by 1345, Orxan, having intervened in the Qarası beylik, annexed most if not all of it.[59] This then positioned the Ottomans for involvement in

56 The literature covering the conquests and foundation of the Ottoman empire is much too extensive to be noted in full here. There are, however, several works which may be cited that provide both a reliable narrative of events and good bibliographies : Uzunçarşılı's multi-volume **Osmanlı Tarihi** and Shaw's **History**. Undoubtedly the best introduction to Classical Ottoman history and institutions (up to 1600) is that of İnalcık, **Ottoman Empire**.

57 Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 40-42; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 301-302. Grousset (**Empire**, pp. 387,389) comments that Temürtaš's fall, in essence, left Anatolia "masterless," thereby paving the way for the Ottomans.

58 İnalcık, 1981-82, p. 78.

59 Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 99-102.

Byzantine affairs and their entry into Europe. John Kantakuzenos (reg. 1347-1354), in the course of his struggle to gain the Byzantine throne secured Orxan's assistance through the mediation of the legendary Umur Bey of Aydın. The alliance was sealed by the marriage of Kantakuzenos' daughter to the Ottoman ruler.[60]

We need not detain ourselves with the details of the political maneuverings that followed. Orxan, perhaps responding to the urgings of the coastal gâzîs, began to lay the groundwork for a movement into Europe. His oldest son, Süleyman, was given command of the western frontier (perhaps in keeping with older Inner Asian traditions, according to which the oldest son is given the lands furthest away from the hearth). As allies of Kantakuzenos against the Serbs and Bulgarians, Süleymân's Turkish troops, who defeated the Serbs at Demotika, gained, in 1352, a foothold on the isthmus of Gallipoli [Turk. Gelibolu] at Tzympe/Çimpe. The collapse of various fortifications in Gallipoli in an earthquake (1354) only rendered the region more open to the Ottoman advance. This event, then, made permanent the Ottoman presence in Europe. With a number of experienced commanders at his side (many of them from Qarası), Süleymân began to strengthen his position, bringing in tribesmen from Anatolia. These preparations were the source of considerable consternation in Byzantium.

Further advances were delayed by Süleymân Paša's death in 1357 and that of Orxan in 1359.[61] Murad I (1359-1389), Orxan's son and successor, quickly went over to the offensive and by 1369[62] had established himself in Adrianople/Edirne. The Turkish advance through Thrace soon brought them to the borders of Serbia and Bulgaria. In 1371, the Ottomans defeated Serbian forces at the Marica River, a victory which, in the opinion of the Balkan historian, John Fine, Jr., contributed more to the Ottoman conquest of the Balkans and the Serbs, in particular, than the more dramatic denouement at Kosovo Polje.[63] Byzantium in 1372, followed by Moldavia in 1373 recognized Ottoman overlordship. By 1376, Bulgaria became a tribute-paying vassal state, a status which did not save it from raids and piece-meal conquest.

Ottoman expansion was not limited to the Christian states of the Balkans. In 1362, Ankara (previously held and lost by them) was retaken from Eretna. During this same period, the Western Anatolian coastal beyliks, Aydın,

60 For the Balkan context, see Fine, Late Medieval, pp. 292-309. On Umur Bey, see Lemerle, L'Émirat, pp. 220-221.

61 Nešrî, ed. Unat, Köymen, I, pp. 184-187 places Süleymân's death "two months" before Orxan's demise.

62 According to Fine, Late Medieval, p. 406, recent scholarship indicates that this date and not 1361, as was earlier thought, is correct.

63 Fine, Late Medieval, pp. 377-382. For a sketch of Ottoman conquests in the Balkans to 1402, see there pp. 406-435.

Saruxan and Menteše had come within the Ottoman orbit. Parts of the Ḥamîd Oğulları territory were purchased or annexed in 1374. Germiyan, alarmed by the growth of the Ottomans and Qaraman, decided to throw in its lot with the former. A marital alliance was arranged in 1378 and land was given to the Ottomans. This rapid expansion was the cause of considerable anxiety in the Qaramanid realm whose lands were now brought into direct contact with the Ottomans. The Qaraman ruler, ᶜAlâ᾽ üd-Dîn, who was married to Murad's daughter, marched into Ottoman-controlled lands in 1386. Murad's response was an expedition, in the following year, that defeated his son-in-law near Konya. The Qaramanid offered submission, but this would be an uneasy peace for Murad had little time to consolidate fully his Anatolian gains.[64] Events beckoned in the Balkans.

Tvrtko of Bosnia and Lazar of Serbia had joined forces in the hope that the Ottoman advance could be contained. While or just after Murad had been occupied with affairs in Qaramania, Ottoman forces were defeated at Plošnik/Toplica. Murad countered, in 1388, by first ending any possiblity of Bulgarian participation in this coalition and then meeting his foes at Kosovo Polje (June 15, 1389). The Serbian and Bosnian forces were soundly defeated but, Miloš Obilić (or Kobilić), a Serbian nobleman, feigning defection, was brought to Murad whom he then assassinated.[65] The victory brought the South Slavic lands under Ottoman control.

When news of Murad's death reached Anatolia, ᶜAlâ᾽ üd-Dîn, the **qâḍî** Burhân ed-Dîn (who had replaced Eretna, ca. 1380), an uneasy ally, and others who feared or chafed under Ottoman overlordship immediately revolted.[66] The task of suppressing them fell to Murad's capable son Bayazîd I (1389-1402). The last vestiges of Aydın, Saruxan and Menteše autonomy were ended. By 1391, the Qaramanids, whose lands he invaded, and their allies were ready for peace. In 1392, much of the Jandarid **beylik** was annexed, but qâḍî Burhan ed-Dîn, aided by "Tatar" forces, administered a severe defeat to the Ottomans.[67] As troubles were again surfacing in the Balkans, Bayazîd was compelled to put off a final settlement of affairs in Asia Minor. Thus, the Qaramanids, albeit weakened, remained and would continue their resistance. Meanwhile, **qâḍî** Burhân ed-Dîn emerged with an even more enhanced reputation and expansionist plans of his own. To add to this heady mix, the Mamlûks had a more than passing interest in Southeastern Anatolia, adjacent to their Syrian holdings. Further in the

64 Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 45,65 and his **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 123-124,174-175,245-249.

65 Nešrî, ed. Unat, Köymen, I, pp. 304-307 and ᶜAšıqpašazâde, ed. ᶜAlî Bey, p. 63, give the assassin's name as Miloš Qopile; Fine, **Late Medieval**, pp. 408-410; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, I, pp. 249-257.

66 On the role of **qâḍî** Burhân ed-Dîn, see Yücel, **Kadı Burhaneddin**, pp. 103-106.

67 Yücel, **Kadı Burhaneddin**, pp. 104-115.

background lurked the Türkmen Aq Qoyunlu confederation which in 1398 defeated and killed **qâdî Burhân ed-Dîn** in pursuit of its own territorial ambitions in Eastern Anatolia. The Ottomans drove off the Aq Qoyunlu and annexed much of this statelet.[68]

To this conjunction of anti-Ottoman forces a new and much more powerful element was soon added : Temür had been advancing toward Anatolia in 1393-1394. Bayazîd spent the remaining years of his life racing between Qaramanid-inspired troubles in Anatolia and his European foes, among whom the Hungarians were particularly prominent. In 1396, he defeated the European "Crusaders" at Nicopolis and then again crushed his Anatolian opponents. Inevitably, his activities here attracted the attention of Temür who had, by now, extended his own sphere of influence to the region. In 1402, the two met at Ankara with disastrous results for the Ottomans. Bayazîd was outnumbered, overwhelmed, defeated and led off into captivity. He died somewhere in Anatolia.[69] Temür remained in Anatolia for a year extending his conquests to the western coastal region (Smyrna/İzmir). He strengthened the Qaramanids who could serve as a useful check on his vanquished foes. The Ottoman hold on both their European and Anatolian territories was weakened, but the state was not destroyed.[70]

In the power struggle that ensued among Bayazîd's sons, it was the centralized bureaucracy, state apparatus and **ġulâm** army and servitors, the **qapıqulları (kapıkulları**, "Slaves of the Porte," a growing body since the time of Murad I[71]), that proved to be essential to the survival of the state. They kept the now reduced state together and gave it a coherence during the years of instability that followed.[72] Temür's death (1405) and the relative lack of interest in affairs on the Western frontier on the part of his successors who had, as we have seen, more immediate problems with which to contend, was

68 Yücel, **Kadı Burhaneddin**, pp. 154-162.

69 The battle and Bayazîd's capture are described by Nešrî, ed. Unat, Köymen, I, pp. 350-357. When asked by Temür what he would have done had Temür fallen into his predicament, Bayazîd replied "I would have placed you in an iron cage" whereupon Temür did just that to his undiplomatic captive. A 16th century anonymous Greek chronicle relates, in some detail, Temür's humiliation of his still arrogant Ottoman captive (**Anonim**/Baştav, pp. 105-106).

70 For an analysis of Temür's activities in Anatolia, see Yücel, **Timur'un Ortadoğu-Anadolu Seferleri**.

71 See Uzunçarşılı, **Kapukulu Ocakları**, I, pp. 5ff.144-146 on the evolution of this system and the eventually systematic recruitment of Balkan Christians (the **Devširme**) into the Janissary (**Yeni Ceri** "New Army") forces. The Bektaší şûfî order came to be closely associated with it (Uzunçarşılı, **Op. cit.**, pp. 147-150). Bektašîsm, moreover, had many elements that were of Christian origin or would appeal to Christians (e.g. a kind of trinitarianism, see above).

72 İnalcık, **Ottoman Empire**, p. 18. Shaw, **History**, I, p. 41, however, argues that Mehmed I's reign marks a reaction against the Christian and Qapıqulları (of Christian origin) influences that had characterized Bâyazîd's era.

also a contributing factor in the Ottoman recovery. By 1416, Mehmed I ( < Mehemed < Muḥammad, (1413-1421), had managed to do away with the major opposition within his family, from pretenders and heterodox religious leaders (Šayx Bedr ed-Dîn Simavnî[73]) and had begun the process of reconquering the Anatolian beyliks. His successor was Murâd II (1421-1451) whose accession to the sultanate was accompanied by the customary fratricidal disorders and defections of the Anatolian beys. By 1429, however, Aydın, Menteše, Teke and Germiyan were again firmly under Ottoman control. Only Timurid protection preserved the Qaramanids.[74] Murâd had, more or less, restored the geographical boundaries of the Ottoman-controlled lands to their pre-1402 borders.

Having fought the Venetians at sea (1423-1430), blunted Hungarian-inspired threats in the Balkans, ravaged the Qaraman lands (1444)[75] and brought them to submission, Murâd II now retired, hoping to secure a smooth succession for his teenage son Mehmed II. His hopes were quickly dashed by bickering at the court and a European crusading coalition led by the Jagiellonian ruler of Poland and Hungary, Władysław [Hung. Ulászló]. Murâd was drawn out of retirement, defeated the Crusading army at Varna (1444) where Władysław lost his life and continued to campaign in the Balkans where he defeated János Hunyadi, the leading commander of the Hungarian forces, at the second battle of Kosovo Polje (1448).[76]

Murâd's military successes and domestic policies further transformed the Ottoman state from a ġâzî, frontier principality into a traditional Islamic polity. At the same time, the Turkic past was not forgotten. Indeed, there appears to have been a hightened consciousness of their Oğuz origins.[77] It is unclear whether this was in response to the propaganda from their Türkmen rivals for preeminence among the Turkic tribal elements in Anatolia[78] or simply expressions of "tribal pride." In any event, all these developments

73 This was, undoubtedly, a reaction to the growing orthodoxy of the Ottoman establishment. This revolt, in 1416, by the Šayx's followers in Rumelia (**Rûm eli** "the Land of Rûm/Rome, i.e. the old Byzantine territories, the term used for the conquered lands in Europe) and Western Anatolia, was a portent of future difficulties with heterodox tribesmen. They were subsequently considered on a par with the Qızılbaš. On Šeyx Badr ad-Dîn, see Mazzaoui, **Origins**, p. 62; İnalcık, **Ottoman Empire**, pp. 188-190.

74 Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, pp. 393-394,400-403,406; Varlık, **Germiyan-oğulları**, pp. 91-93; Akın, **Aydın Oğulları**, pp. 78-83; Wittek, **Menteşe**, pp. 94-99.

75 °Ašıqpašazâde, ed. °Alî Bey, p. 130 : **Qonya'ya čıqdı. Yağma buyurdı, vilâyet-i Qaramânı šöyle urdılar kim köylerini ve šehirlerini elek elek itdiler, ḫarâb itdiler** "He (Murâd) went out to Konya. He ordered it pillaged, they dealt such blows to the the province of Qaraman that put its villages and towns through a sieve, they destroyed them."

76 The background to these events is discussed in detail by İnalcık, **Fatih Devri**, pp. 1-110.

77 Wittek, **Rise**, pp. 10-11; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 168-170.

78 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 148; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 5,67. The Aq Qoyunlu also made use of Islamic ideological symbols and a growing, centralized bureaucracy (Woods, pp. 114-122).

paved the way for the accomplishments of his successor Mehmed II (1451-1481).[79] The most notable of these was the conquest of Constantinople in May,1453.[80] Militarily this was a significant but not extraordinary achievement, for the Byzantine empire was a hollow shell, reduced to little more than the fading capital. Symbolically, however, the victory over this age-old foe was of enormous importance. In addition to playing up the xanal origins of the Qayı ruling house, Mehmed was now presented as heir to the Islamic and Roman imperial traditions. He was at once xan, **ġâzî** and Caesar-Βασιλεὺς. In keeping with his universal status, he quickly rebuilt the ruined city and reestablished its non-Muslim communities. In addition to the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, the Armenian Catholicos and Jewish **Ḥaḫambaşı** (Chief Rabbi) would eventually reside there.[81] The protected status (**ḏimma**) for the **ahl al-kitâb** ("people of the Book," i.e. monotheists), an institution dating back to earliest Islamic government, was emphasized. This was the so-called "**millet** (<Arab. **millah** "religious community") system," perhaps a misnomer for this particular term, over the course of Ottoman history, was not used for the non-Muslim communities until very late. It is in the 19th century, under European influence, that the term **millet**, came to be applied uniformly to the **ḏimmî** population. The system evolved over time. Thus, for example, the Chief Rabbinate for the whole of the empire, not just the city of Istanbul,[82] was probably not created until considerably after 1453.[83]

Elsewhere, Fatih Mehmed ("Mehmed the Conqueror") proved just as formidable. The last remnant of Byzantium in Asia Minor, the Byzantino-Georgian kingdom of Trebizond fell in 1461. Wallachia became a vassal state the following year. The Crimean Tatars, as we have seen, were brought under Ottoman overlordship in 1475. The Morea, Bosnia and the still independent Serbian lands were placed under Istanbul's rule; only Herzegovina (until 1483) and Montenegro (until 1496) held out. Albania, which had long resisted the Ottomans was subdued by 1478. In the mid-1460's, Mehmed began to consolidate his hold in Eastern Anatolia. The Qaramanids, although greatly weakened and beset with domestic discord, still provided a means for other powers (the Aq Qoyunlu, Mamlûks) to become involved in the region. In 1464, the Ottomans had driven out an invading Aq Qoyunlu force. By 1471, however, Qaramanid princes had appealed to Uzun Ḥasan of the Aq Qoyunlu for help. The long-brewing conflict with the latter, now an ally of Venice, the rival of the Ottomans in the Mediterranean, culminated in a

79 The standard biography is that of Babinger, **Mehmed der Eroberer.**

80 The events leading up to it are discussed in İnalcık, **Fatih Devri**, pp. 87ff. On the conquest, see Runciman, **The Fall.**

81 İnalcık, **Ottoman Empire**, pp. 56-57.

82 The Turkish usage for Constantinople, deriving from colloquial Greek **is tin polin** (εἰς τὴν πόλιν) "to the city."

83 On these communities, see Gibb, Bowen, **Islamic Society**, I/2, pp. 207ff. and the collection of studies in Braude, Lewis, **Christians and Jews.** For a new view of the "**millet** system" see there, Braude, pp. 69-88. On the Chief Rabbinate, see Lewis, **Jews of Islam**, pp. 125-128.

battle at Başkent in Eastern Anatolia (August 11, 1473) which the Ottomans won. Thereafter, the Aq Qoyunlu ceased to be a threat to the Ottoman East. The complete takeover of Qaraman soon followed.[84] Although the Mamlûks harbored little affection for the Aq Qoyunlu, these gains by the Ottomans were disquieting.

## THE TÜRKMEN CONFEDERATIONS : THE QARA QOYUNLU AND AQ QOYUNLU

At this juncture, as Ottoman expansion proceeded eastward, it is essential to an understanding of the events that followed, so momentous in the history of the Near and Middle East, that we turn briefly to the history of the various Turkic tribes and confederations that stretched from Anatolia to Iran. This was a mass of closely related, fragmented tribes unevenly scattered in the region, but especially heavily clustered on the frontiers with Christendom. Iran and "Rûmeli" were, from the tribal point of view, as Sümer has phrased it, "an extension of Anatolia." The Turkish tribes of the old Byzantine heartland would have an important impact on Europe and a determining effect on Iran.[85] Having been subjected to periodic population pressures from their kinsmen to the east, the considerable turmoil of the Mongol conquests, rule and then decline, the explosive force of Aqsaq Temür's depredations and Ottoman expansionist dynamism, these tribes, anxious to maintain their independence and fearful of their economic well-being, were a force waiting to be organized.

In the course of the death agony of the İlxanid regime, the Jalayirid house (of Jalayir Mongol origin, 1336-1432) became the leading power in Western Iran and Iraq after a brief rivalry with the Čobanids. Šayx Ḥasan-i Buzurg ("Ḥasan the Big," d.1356, so called to distinguish him from his Čobanid rival Ḥasan-i Kûčak, "Ḥasan the Little") was the founder of Jalayirid fortunes. He also established a tie with the Ṣafavî ṣûfî order of Ardabîl which would figure prominently in subsequent history. Although the latter were not Šîʿite at this time, the Jalayirids appear to have had leanings in this direction. Ḥasan's son and successor, Šayx Uwais (d. 1374) established Jalayirid hegemony over Azarbayjan, but proved unable to bring the troublesome Qara Qoyunlu fully under control. The Timurid onslaught mortally weakened the Jalayirids who turned to the Qara Qoyunlu for aid. The latter, after 1412, however, reduced them to minor princelings in Southern Iraq.[86]

84 Tursun Bey, ed. Tulum, pp. 150-168; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, II, pp. 87-110; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 106,127-134

85 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 145.

86 Roemer, "Jalayirids," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 5-10 and his "Tîmûr," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 66-67.

The absence of strong central authority in Iran and the further destabilization brought about by the Timurid invasions paved the way for the efflorescence of two Türkmen tribal confederations, the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu. The very factors that helped to bring them to prominence were also the source of social and economic weaknesses that rendered them permanently unstable.[87]

The names of these two confederations are easily etymologized in Turkic: "Black Sheep" (**qara qoyun**) and "White Sheep" (**aq qoyun**). The names imply "those with/those who favor (?) black sheep, white sheep." But, the symbolic significance of these names, if any, is not readily apparent[88]. Totemic associations, the import of which would also require further elucidation, have also been suggested. Equally uncertain is the date of their arrival in Anatolia. It seems most probable that they came, along with so many other Oğuz/Türkmen tribes, to Eastern Anatolia during the Mongol era.[89] Equally unilluminated by our sources is the question of why and when these particular tribes united into the confederations which we find so active in affairs in the latter half of the 14th century. Woods has suggested that the Aq Qoyunlu (and hence Qara Qoyunlu) began as a "band of cossack freebooters" whose polity was based on a "regularized but essentially predatory relationship with agriculture and commerce."[90] To this tribal base, other groupings (some non-Turkic), often little more than "robber bands" attached themselves. They hired themselves out to whichever faction promised gain or held the momentary advantage in the swirling politics of the region.[91] Given what we know about the nature of nomadic interaction with sedentary societies in the Near and Middle East and the conditions obtaining there at that time, this is a reasonable hypothesis.

The ruling clan of the Qara Qoyunlu appears in our sources as the **Bârânî** and **Bahârlu**. The former still awaits a satisfactory explanation. The latter appears to be connected with the toponym, Bahâr, near Hamadân. It was a center of the Oğuz Yıva tribe and hence it has been suggested, not unreasonably, that the Bahârlu were of Yıva origin.[92] The Aq Qoyunlu ruling clan was of Bayındur Oğuz origin.[93] The Bayındur were one of the

87 Roemer, 1990, p. 29.

88 Ögel, **Türk Mitolojisi**, I, p. 289 remarks that in the Oğuz tradition, a white sheep was a symbol of the "right side" and a black sheep a symbol of the "left side." If used in this sense, it would imply that the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu had once formed a common union.

89 Sümer, **Kara Koyunlular**, I, pp. 13-16,34-36.

90 Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, p. 6.

91 Roemer, "Türkmen" **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 153-154.

92 Minorsky, 1953, pp. 391-394. Sümer, **Kara Koyunlular**, pp. 16-18, sifts through the various hypotheses.

93 Clearly stated in contemporary Armenian documents, among others, cf. Sanjian, **Colophons**, pp. 225 (s.a. 1453) "Jihanšah, who belonged to the Payəntur tribe," 325 (s.a. 1479) "Eałup (Ya'qûb) Xan Bayandur."

constituent elements of the Oğuz union as recorded by Kâšgarî and later historians. By the middle of the 14th century, Mamlûk sources indicate that they, along with other nomadic, Oğuz tribal elements were to be found in the Syro-Anatolian borderlands.[94] As Činggisid rule faded into the past and the danger from the Timurids receded, the Oğuz polities of Anatolia and the Near East, turned to the older Oğuz Xan legends and genealogies, now suffused with Islam, to legitimate their rule. This was true of the Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Qaramanids as well as of the Ottomans.[95]

The early Qara Qoyunlu confederation, in addition to the Bahârlu, consisted of the Ṣaᶜdlu, Alpağut, Duxarlu, Ağač-eri, Ḥâjılu, Qaramanlu, Jâkirlu/Čâkirlu/Čekürlü,[96] Âyînlu, Döğer and Bayramlu Oğuz/Türkmen tribes as well as Kurdish elements.[97] Centered around Lake Van, they were one of the tribal props of the Jalayirid regime. Under Qara Yûsuf (1389-1420), they extended their control to Tabrîz which became their capital.[98] Although driven from here twice by Temür, Qara Yûsuf, after 1405, defeated Timurid forces,[99] reestablished the Qara Qoyunlu hold in the region (including Tabriz) and brought parts of Iraq under his rule as well. These successes brought Türkmen groupings from Eastern Anatolia to his banners. In 1410, Qara Yûsuf defeated and killed the Jalayirid Aḥmad (to whom he had earlier sworn friendship when both were in a Mamlûk Syrian prison) and largely supplanted his onetime overlords as master of Eastern Anatolia and Iraq-Mesopotamia. The threat he posed to Iran brought about a Timurid reaction. Qara Yûsuf, however, died on the eve of battle with Šâh Rux's forces. His successors, continuing the anti-Timurid traditions of Qara Yûsuf, faced Šâh Rux in combat three times (1420, 1429,1434-35).[100]

The Qara Qoyunlu enjoyed their greatest political power under Jahân Šâh (1438-67), whose rise to the throne was, paradoxically aided by Šâh Rux who sought, thereby, to further internal discord. After Šâh Rux's passing from the

94 Al-Qalqašandî, Ṣubḥ, VII, p. 282; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 167,206,208 and pp. 315-319,618-621 on Bayındur areas of settlement; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 39-41.

95 Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, p. 5; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 147,165-166.

96 The name derives from a Jalayirid amîr Jâkîr. Some sources attribute a Kurdish origin to them. If so, it is more than likely that, by this time, they were Turkicized, see Sümer, **Kara Koyunlular**, I, pp. 28-29 and his **Safevi**, p. 2.

97 Sümer, **Kara Koyunlular**, I, pp. 19-32.

98 The colophon to an Armenian Menology dated 1407 describes "Łara (Ġara) Yusuf" as the "baron of T'urk'əstan, haughty and undefeated in this world. He shrivels and shatters everyone's heart, beginning from the citadel of Mêrdin (Mardin), up to the city of T'avrêž (Tabriz)..." Sanjian, **Colophons**, p. 129.

99 Sanjian, **Colophons**, pp. 130-131,144. A colophon of 1407 praises Qara Yûsuf for freeing "our country from the iniquitous (tax) collectors" of the Timurids. A later (s.a. 1419) notation, in another document, however, refers to his "tyrannical rule."

100 See Sümer, **Kara Koyunlular**, I, pp. 37-115 for a detailed discussion. See also, Roemer, "Türkmen" **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 157-161.

scene (1447), Jahân Šâh took advantage of Timurid domestic strife. He assumed the imperial titles of **sulṭân** and **xâqân**, laying claim to both the Islamic and nomadic political legacies. Yet another wave of Anatolian tribesmen migrated to his expanding realm which now included much of Iran as well. His eastward expansionism, aimed at Xurâsân and requiring good relations with the Ottomans, was ultimately blocked by the Timurids. An even greater threat, however, was posed by his rivals, the Aq Qoyunlu, who killed him in battle. His successor, Ḥasan ᶜAlî, proved unequal to the task of rallying the now crumbling union. By 1468, the Qara Qoyunlu had been supplanted by Uzun Ḥasan and his Aq Qoyunlu.[101] After Uzun Ḥasan's victory, the Bahârlu ruling clan fled to Xurâsân. Eventually, elements of them went to India where, in 1512, the Bahârlu, Sulṭân Qulı, founded the Quṭb-Šâhî dynasty of Golconda (1512-1687).[102]

Much has been made of the alleged fanatical devotion of the Qara Qoyunlu (especially Jahân Šâh) to Šîᶜism. This seems to be an exaggeration. Like the Čobanids and Jalayirids, whose political forms they emulated, the Qara Qoyunlu exhibited Šîᶜite tendencies. It must be recalled, however, that much of rural, Turkic Anatolia, the tribal base of the confederation, was heavily influenced by Šîᶜism and related heterodoxies. In addition to the very real Šîᶜite sentiments that rulers like Jahân Šâh may well have shared with their tribal supporters, public adherence to such views were, in all likelihood, an important political lever to secure the continued support of the tribesmen.[103]

The Aq Qoyunlu confederation[104] that, to some degree, had absorbed their erstwhile Türkmen rivals, was ruled by a clan that claimed descent from the Bayındur tribe of the Oğuz. The right wing consisted of the Pürnäk (Prnâk in the Arabic-script sources) and the left-wing of the Mowsillu (< Mawṣil/Mosul in Northern Iraq). The listings of their constituent tribes presents an interesting tableau of old Oğuz names (e.g. Avšar, Bayat, Čepni), more recent formations (e.g. Ağač-eri, ᶜArabgîrlü, Bayramlu, Ḥaidarlu, Aḥmadlu, Qaramanlu) and Kurdish allies (e.g. Čamišgezekî, Pâzûkî, Čiganî).[105] The Turkic tribal names are notable in that they reflect the breakdown of older patterns. In addition to names of toponymic origin, infrequent in the Pre-Činggisid era, there are many more of direct Islamic, anthroponymic derivation (e.g. Aḥmadlu).

101 Roemer, "Türkmen," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 162-164; Uzunçarşılı, **Anadolu Beylikleri**, pp. 180-185; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 109-111.

102 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 148.

103 Momen, **Introduction**, pp. 98-99; Roemer, "Türkmen," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 167-168.

104 In addition to Woods' excellent study, **Aqquyunlu**, the older work of Hinz, **Irans Aufstieg**, may still be consulted with profit. Roemer, "Türkmen," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 152-159,168-185, provides a brief but useful overview.

105 See Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 197-214 for listings of the Aq Qoyunlu tribal groupings.

Their official genealogy places the progenitor of the ruling house, "Pahlavan Beg," in the region of Naxčevan in the early years of the Činggisid conquest of the Middle East. The Bayındur may well have been east of that in the era preceding the Mongol invasions. Pahlavan Beg was pushed westward, well into Anatolia, by the Mongols, We find his son, Ṭûr ᶜAlî Bey (Τουρολίπεης in the Greek sources[106]), however, in Eastern Anatolia, near the Komnenian Trebizond/Trabzon state. He is credited with forging marital ties with the Komnenoi and with having served the İlxan Ġazan. It is under his son Qutlu, husband of Maria Komnena, that the name **Aq Qoyunlu** begins to appear in the sources.[107] The issue of this Byzantine union, Qara Yülük Osman (1378-1435), who also married a Komnenian princess, is reckoned the founder of Aq Qoyunlu fortunes. Having contested and won the throne from his older brother, Aḥmad, he destroyed Qâḍî Burhân ed-Dîn, his brother's overlord, in 1398. Prevented by the Ottomans from enjoying the fruits of his victory, he shrewdly sided with Temür and was rewarded, in the aftermath of the 1402 campaign, with the Diyarbekir region. As the Qara Qoyunlu remained hostile to the Timurids, Qara Yülük Osman maintained his allegiance to Šâh Rux and aided the latter in wars with his Türkmen rivals. He fell in battle against the latter and his territorial gains were squandered by domestic discord. Nonetheless, his achievements were not inconsiderable. While maintaining his nomadic lifestyle, which according to the 15th century Ottoman author, Yazıjıoğlu [Yazıcıoğlu], he viewed as the source of his political power (**beglik**) and admonishing his sons not to sedentarize,[108]in keeping with nomadic needs and tradition, he took control over the important east-west trade routes. His growing political and economic power attracted nomadic tribesmen to his union. Like other nomadic, Turkic dynasties, however, they were never able to resolve the question of succession, which ultimately led to their downfall.[109] There is no need here to recount the destructive dramas of Aq Qoyunlu domestic political strife that followed and their interplay with neighboring polities.

Full recovery from this grueling civil war occurred under Uzun Ḥasan (1453-1478),[110] a brilliant politician and able general. In keeping with the family's tradition, he married a Komnenian princess. At the same time, he established a marriage tie with Šayx Junayd, leader of the Ṣafavid order, who married his sister.[111] In 1467, he killed, as we have seen, Jahân Šâh, the Qara

106 Michael Panaretos, see Moravcsik, **BT**, II, p. 319.

107 Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 40-41,46-47.

108 See Ms. Topkapı Sarayı, Revan 1390, f. 15a, cited in Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, p. 249n.115 : **Merḥûm Qara Osmân daxi daim bu öğüdi oğlanlarına virürmiš ki olmasun ki oturaq olasız ki beglik ve türkmânlıq ve yürüklük idenlerde qalur dermiš.**

109 Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 47-70; Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 151.

110 See Hinz, **Aufstieg**, pp. 50-71; Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 99-137.

111 Iskander Beg Munšî/Savory, I, p. 30; Hinz, **Irans Aufstieg**, pp. 36-38; Mazzaoui, **Origins**, pp. 74,78. Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 96,100-101,257n.84 points to problems in the reconstruction of the relationship between Šayx Junayd and Uzun Ḥasan.

Qoyunlu ruler and thereby became heir to many of their holdings in Iran. This was confirmed by his victory (1469) over the Timurid Abu Saʿid. The Aq Qoyunlu shifted their political center to Tabriz, the traditional capital of nomadic rulers of Iran and the surrounding lands, and became one of the dominant regional powers alongside the Ottomans and Mamlûks. Appropriate changes appeared in Aq Qoyunlu ideological symbols which now took on a strongly Islamic tenor with hints at universal political and perhaps even messianic roles. Having achieved this status, new waves of Türkmen, whose overlord Uzun Ḥasan considered himself,[112] came to Iran from Anatolia. Europe, particularly in the form of Venice, was interested (from at least 1463) in the participation of the Aq Qoyunlu in an anti-Ottoman alliance.

Uzun Ḥasan's dreams of dominium (which came to include the Holy Cities) were not to be realized. As his empire grew, so did his government. The nomadic chieftains were particularly wary of expanding central authority. They resisted him and his attempts at military reform. This domestic sour note did not prevent Uzun Ḥasan from presenting himself as the champion of the independence and rights of the Anatolian beys and nomads now being swallowed up by the Ottomans. In 1472-73, he began campaigns aimed at Ottoman-held Qaraman and the Mamlûk vassal state of Dulğadır. Neither of these ended successfully. In the Ottoman counterattack, as we have noted, his outnumbered army was completely routed at Başkent (1473), demonstrating, as the Ottomans would against the Mamlûks and Ṣafavids as well, that firearms had brought the age of the ascendancy of the steppe horseman to an end. A prematurely aged and ailing Uzun Ḥasan managed to retain his empire because of Ottoman inactivity. But, with his death, fratricidal strife again briefly flared, accompanied by threats from without.[113]

Yaʿqûb (1478-90), the teenager who was brought to rulership, proved to be largely a figurehead for court factions. Despite the glitter of Tabrîz, the far-flung borders of the sultanate, the ideological pretensions to dominion over the Islamic[114] and Oğuz Turkic world, the wealth and aura of power, the dynamism that had marked earlier Aq Qoyunlu history was gone. The throne struggle that erupted upon his death and the subsequent partitions of the state helped to set the stage for the conquest of the Aq Qoyunlu realm by the Ṣafavids, their troublesome kinsmen and in many respects successors.

112 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 148-149. In keeping with this Turkic spirit, he called for the translation of the Qurʾân into Turkic, an idea which the ʿulamâʾ successfully opposed.

113 Woods, **Aqquyunlu**, pp. 122-139; Roemer, "Türkmen," **CHIr.**, VI, pp. 175-180.

114 Aq Qoyunlu adherence to Sunnism, while generally accepted, is not unproblematic. Among their Türkmen followers, various heterodox beliefs were probably spread, see Roemer, "Türkmen," **CHIr.**, VI, p. 184.

## THE RISE OF THE ṢAFAVIDS

The Ṣafavids derived from Šayx Ṣafī ad-Dîn (1252-1334), the founder of a Sunnî ṣûfî order.[115] His origins are obscure, perhaps Kurdish or Türkmen. Later, his family would claim ᶜAlid descent from the seventh Imâm. The transformation of this ṭarîqa into a "warrior theocracy" of Šîᶜite orientation appears to have been sudden and largely political in nature.[116] As such, it found widespread support among Türkmen tribesmen. Iran, until the advent of the Ṣafavids to power, was officially Sunnî. As in Anatolia and Syria (regions of heterodoxy even in Byzantine times), popular Islam was infused with elements that could be considered Šîᶜite (a particular reverence for the family of the Prophet, ᶜAlî and his descendants). Among the Turkic nomads and semi-nomads in these areas, popular Islam also had a Šîᶜite coloration. It was, moreover, often superficial and thoroughly interwined with older shamanistic notions.[117]

It was primarily the work of Junayd (1447-1460) that brought about the melding of this hitherto urban-oriented, Sunnî order with the heterodox tribesmen of Anatolia. Having lost leadership of the order to his uncle, Jaᶜfar, Junayd went to Anatolia[118] where a discontented, sedentarized and sedentarizing Turkic population, with a history of rebellion under the leadership of their shaman-like babas, made for a receptive audience. Explosive social forces were at work, in particular, the growing role of the **qapıqulları** and the reduction of the Turkic population to the status of tax-paying subjects.[119] Ṣafavid ties to the region went back to the era of Temür who had given the šayxs some Anatolian captives, later termed the **Ṣufiyân-i Rûm**, who remained in their service.[120] Clearly, ground had been prepared.

Junayd, appealing to the ġâzî leanings of his new followers adopted a more militant and martial stance. At the same time, in an interesting blend of Turkic shamanism and Šîᶜite esoteric doctrines, claims of the manifestation of divinity in the person of the Šeyx were put forward.[121] Later sources,

115 On the origins of this movement, see Mazzaoui, **Origins**. The most recent, full study of Ṣafavid history is that of Savory, **Safavids**. For a general overview, the appropriate chapters of the **CHIr.**, VI, should be consulted.

116 Arjomand, **Shadow of God**, pp. 77-78.

117 Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, pp. 197-199; Sümer, **Safevi**, pp. 7-10; Cahen, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 259-260; Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, pp. 15-16.

118 The Ottoman viewpoint on these and subsequent events dealing with the Ṣafavids is given by ᶜAšıqpašazade, ed. ᶜAli Bey, pp. 264-269.

119 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 149-150,175 and his **Safevi**, p. 10; Roemer, 1990, p. 28.

120 **Tadhkirat**/Minorsky, pp. 189-190.

121 Mazzaoui, **Origins**, pp. 71-73; Arjomand, **Shadow of God**, pp. 78-79; Momen, **Introduction**, p. 101; Roemer, 1990, pp. 31-32. Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, pp. 26-30, attributes the Šîᶜization of the order to Xwâja ᶜAlî (d. 1429).

attributed the doctrine of his son Ḥaidar's divinity to the "ignoramuses of Rûm, that erring crowd of fiendish imagination."[122] Thus, it is not clear if Junayd and his son adopted this religio-political ideology under the influence of the Türkmen and their babas, who perhaps pressed it on them, or themselves made this claim and thereby garnered support. In any event, Junayd's growing popularity among the tribesmen, the growth in the number of his martial-minded **mürîds** and a shared enmity toward the Qara Qoyunlu were, in all likelihood, the primary factors in his securing a marital tie with Uzun Ḥasan. The Ṣafavids clearly had political ambitions.[123] These were only momentarily derailed when Junayd, having diverted his **ġazâ'** against the Georgians and Čerkes to an attack on the Širvânšâh (a Muslim), perished at the hands of the latter in 1460.[124]

Ḥaidar, Junayd's son from his Aq Qoyunlu bride (and hence Uzun Ḥasan's nephew), continued his father's policies. He, too, married an Aq Qoyunlu princess and while functioning as the spiritual leader of his order, retained his "secret aspiration" which was "to have dominion over territories and subjects." It was Ḥaidar who furthered the claim of his divinity and created visible symbols for his followers : the distinctive red hat of twelve gores (representing the 12 imâms). Thus, his followers "acquired the sobriquet **qızılbaš**" (Turk. "red head").[125] Ḥaidar's fate mirrored that of his father in another respect as well. As Iskandar Beg Munšî reports, his thoughts were also "dominated by the desire for the rewards of raids against the infidel." With the ranks of his **mürîds** swelling from impoverished Anatolian tribesmen and villagers, Ḥaidar led **ġâzî** raids against the peoples of the North Caucasus. Inevitably, he, too, came into conflict with Širvân, where, like his father, he perished in 1488. The Širvânšâh, in this instance, was aided by the Aq Qoyunlu Yaᶜqûb who had "already adopted a hostile attitude" toward his Ṣafavid kinsman.[126] Yaᶜqûb then imprisoned Ḥaidar's sons. Of the latter, only the youngest Ismâ'îl (d.1524) survived the murderous politics of the Aq Qoyunlu court, by fleeing to Lâhijân in remote Gîlân. Here, supporters from Rûm and elsewhere came to show support and provide financial assistance.[127]

122 **Târîx-i ᶜÂlam-ârâ-yi Amînî** of Faẓullâh Xunjî Iṣfahânî (d.1520), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ancien fonds, person, 101, f.125v cited in **Tadhkirat**/Minorsky, p. 190.

123 Moosa, **Extremist Shiites**, p. 31; Sümer, **Safevi**, pp. 10-11; Savory, **Safavids**, p. 17.

124 Iskandar Beg Munši/Savory, I, p. 30; Ašurbejli, **Gosudarstvo** širvanšaxov, pp. 248-249; Mazzaoui, **Origins**, pp. 74-75.

125 Iskandar Beg Munšî/Savory,I, p. 31. The term, thus used, is not original here. It is noted in Jungaria in the 13th century. In Eastern Turkistan it clearly denotes Šî'îs as opposed to **yešilbaš** ("green head"), i.e. Sunnî, see Gordlevskij, **Gosudarstvo**, pp.258-259.

126 Iskandar Beg Munšî/Savory, I, pp. 31-33; Savory, **Safavids**, pp. 18-20; Sümer, **Safevî**, pp. 11-14.

127 Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâ'î, p. 20.

Şafavid beliefs, up to this time, other than the Šîᶜite tendencies already current in popular Islam in many areas and an emphasis on the divinity of the order's šayxs had not been consolidated into a full system. The groundwork for such a system may have been laid in Gîlan where Ismâᶜîl, in hiding, was exposed to Twelver Šîᶜism.[128] In 1499, Ismâᶜîl emerged and rallied his followers[129] who believed he was God. By 1501 he was in possession of Tabrîz and had declared Twelver Šîᶜism to be the official state religion. Curiously, this was not the faith of the mass of his Qızılbaš followers. Indeed, it ran counter to his conceptualization of himself as divine. Moreover, there was no Twelver Šîᶜite scholarly infrastructure in Iran essential to the running of a theocratic state. This was now imported from Lebanon, Iraq and Baḥrain.[130] The factors behind Ismâᶜîl's decision are nowhere spelled out.

By 1508, Ismâᶜîl's conquests had reconstituted the Aq Qoyunlu state at its zenith. In 1510, he defeated and killed Muḥammad Šaybânî and evicted the Özbeks from Xurâsân, a situation which was confirmed in 1512. The eastern and western borders of what became modern Iran were established.[131]

The Şafavid movement had dramatic demographic results as well. Masses of Anatolian Turkic tribesmen and villagers had come to Iran, representing, as Minorsky comments, "a third wave of the eastward movement of the Turcomans."[132] The late 16th century Şafavid historian, Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, gives some idea who these tribal supporters were. In relating the events of Ismâᶜîl's campaign against the Širvânšâh in 1500-1501, he remarks that the former had 7000 supporters, "murîds and şûfîs," from the "Ustajlu, Šâmlu, Rûmlu, Tekelü, Dulqadır, Afšar, Qajar, Varsaq and the şûfîs of Qaraja Dağ."[133] An even more detailed picture of the constituent tribes and clans can be gleaned from the listing of office-holders under Šâh ᶜAbbâs given by Iskandar Beg Munšî : Šeyxâvand (who were related to the royal house),[134] Šâmlu ("the Syrians" [Begdilü,[135] ᶜAbdâllu, ᶜArabgirlü, Nelqâs/Nelqâz]), Ustajlu [Kengerlü, Šaraflu], Ḏuᵓl-Qadr (= Dulğadır, [Eymür, Ḥajjîlar]), Qajar [İgirmi-Dört], Afšar [İmânlu, Alplu, Ûsâllu], Türkmen [Pürnäk, Ördeklü], İsperlü, Bâyburdlu, Čağatays, Sain-Xânî Türkmen [Qara Bayat, Giraylı, Močakî, Tükeli, Jalayir] as well as assorted Kurdish and Lur groupings.[136]

128 Morgan, **Medieval Persia**, p. 120. Mazzaoui, **Origins**, p. 80, while noting that Gîlân was Šîᶜî, cannot find any indication that Ismâᶜîl "studied any Šîᶜî sciences" there with his tutor, Maulâna Šams ad-Dîn Lâhijî.

129 Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâᶜî, p. 53, s.a. 905/1499-1500, notes the Anatolian şûfîs (**şûfiyân-i rûm**) who flocked to him.

130 Morgan, **Medieval Persia**, pp. 120-122; Momen, **Introduction**, pp. 101,107-109.

131 On Ismâᶜîl's conquests, see Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâᶜî, pp. 61ff.; Iskandar Beg Munšî/Savory, I, pp. 43-67.

132 **Tadhkirat**/Minorsky, p. 188.

133 Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâᶜî, p. 61.

134 Iskander Beg Munši/Savory, I, p. 197n.275.

135 Constituent clans are noted in brackets.

136 Iskandar Beg Munšî/Savory, II, p. 1309.

As is clear from the names, many of these "tribes" were really composites of assorted tribal groupings of religio-political supporters. Thus, the Rûmlu ("Anatolians"), as their name indicates, stemed from Qızılbaš villages of the Sivas-Karahisar and Tokat-Amasya region. The Ustajlu, steming from the Ulu Yörük of the same region, derived their name from the anthroponym **Ustaja** < **Usta Ḥajî**. The Tekelü were from the Teke region (Antalya area). The Šâmlu were tribes that summered in the Sivas area and wintered in the steppes between Aleppo (Syria) and Gazianteb.[137]

Unhappy with Ottoman government and taxes and willing to accept the Turkic-speaking Ismâʿîl (he wrote mystical poetry in Turkish under the name Xatâʾî), as God or the "Son of God," the ranks of the Qızılbaš grew.[138] The Turkic character of this state, modelled in many respects on that of the Aq Qoyunlu, was strongly pronounced and may have served as a source of recruitment. The Qızılbaš threat to the Ottoman regime, reflected in revolts in Anatolia (cf. that of the aptly named Šâh Qulı ["Slave of the Šâh"] Baba, son of a disciple of Šayx Ḥaidar, in Teke in 1511[139]) and potentially holding out political or ideological lures to other elements in Ottoman society (e.g. Ottoman princes seeking the throne or the Bektašî-influenced Janissaries), brought about the abdication of the rather pacific Bayazîd II and the accession of Selim I, called **Yavuz** ("the Grim"). Conflict between Šâh and Sulṭân was inevitable.

## OTTOMANS, ŞAFAVIDS AND MAMLÛKS

Selim inaugurated his reign with a purge of Qızılbaš elements in Anatolia, registering those "from 7 years of age to 70...40,000 were detained, some were killed, some were imprisoned."[140] He then advanced eastwards against Ismâʿîl with an army that occasionally showed signs of unwillingness or possible disaffection. Nonetheless, on August 23, 1514, at Çaldıran, some 80 km. east of Lake Van, the forces of the Sulṭân and Šâh met. Once again the intrepid horsemen (some of whom believed that with their God among them they were invincible) were no match for Ottoman guns. Selim went on to take Tabrîz. But, reluctance within his ranks obliged him to put aside plans for finishing off Ismâʿîl. The latter, however, went into a state of depression, from which he never recovered. Belief in the divinity of the Šâh among his Qızılbaš was shaken, but not permanently so. The Ottomans, moreover, did

137 Sümer, **Safevî**, pp. 43-47.

138 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 175; Arjomand, **Shadow of God**, pp. 80-82.

139 Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâʾî, pp. 164-166; Sümer, **Safevî**, pp. 32-34; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, II, pp. 230-231,253-256. Šâh Qulı Baba was killed in the course of these events. Later, his followers, having plundered a merchant caravan, were executed by Ismâʿîl who was not insensitive to issues of trade.

140 **Tâjü't-Tevârîx**, II, p. 245 cited in Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, II, p. 257n.2.

not attempt to keep Azarbayjan, but went on to secure only their hold over Eastern Anatolia and annexed the Dulğadır **beylik** 1n 1515.[141] This gave the Şafavids time to recover. It also brought Istanbul conflict with the Mamlûk state.

From the military perspective, the Ottoman-Mamlûk war was similar to the previous Ottoman campaign against Šâh Ismâ'îl. Ottoman firearms destroyed Mamlûk cavalry at at Marj Dâbik in Syria (August 24, 1516) and Egypt proper was taken in January, 1517. The politico-imperial consequences, however, were even greater. With this victory, the Ottomans became masters of much of the Islamo-Arab heartland, including the Holy Cities of Arabia.[142] The last of the shadowy 'Abbâsid caliphs, al-Mutwawwakil II, was brought to Istanbul and faded from view. Although Ottoman claims to caliphal status would come much later, when the empire was in decline, there was no question that the House of Osman was now the leading force in the Turkic and Islamic world. In much of the Near and Middle East, this marked the end of the tribal steppe as a directly determinative force. The nomads of the Ottoman realm were already largely tamed.[143] Small groups of nomads remained, as they do today, but political power was in the hands of the **qapıqulu** institution drawn from the subject Balkan Christian population. By this time, the Turkish people had already taken form. Hence, we may break off our survey of Ottoman affairs at this juncture, noting simply that under Süleymân (1520-1566) the empire is considered to have reached its apogee. But, the conquests became fewer and more costly. Corruption began to weaken the fiber of government. Decline, interspersed with periodic flashes of splendor and eras of stability, became apparent in the post-Süleymânic age. Although in the 19th century, important reform movements took place which have helped to shape many of the successor states of the Empire, the Ottoman realm was largely kept together by the jealousies of the European powers seeking to dismember it. The Empire fell, as did the Old Order in Europe, in the maelstrom of the First World War.

In the Şafavid realm, the refuge of those disgruntled with the Ottoman regime, tribalism survived, even reasserted itself during the youth of Ismâ'îl's successor, Ṭahmâsp I (1524-1576) and periodically thereafter,[144] but in a changed formed. The "tribes" or **oymaq/uymâqs**, as they have been termed, were now hierarchically organized, but with continual shifts within a system

141 Ḥasan-i Rûmlu, ed. Navâ'î, pp. 187ff.; Iskandar Beg Munšî/Savory, I, pp. 67-71; Uzunçarşılı, **Osmanlı Tarihi**, II, pp. 257-276; Savory, **Safavids**, pp. 40-49; Morgan, **Medieval Persia**, pp. 117-118.

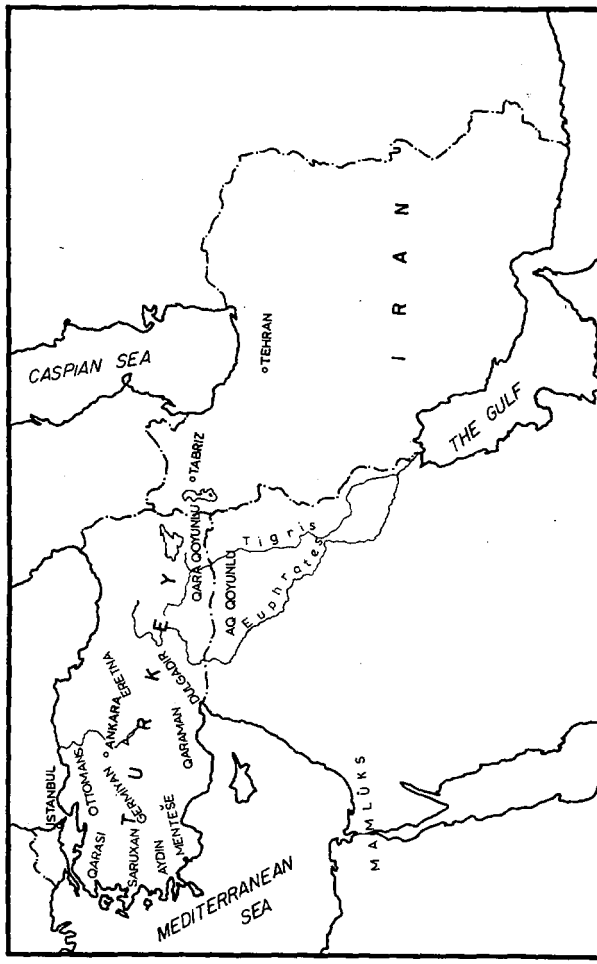
142 On the Ottoman conquest of and relations with the Arab world in this crucial era, see Stripling, **Ottoman Turks and Arabs** and N.A. Ivanov, **Osmanskoe zavoevanie**.

143 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 173.

144 Roemer, 1990, pp. 33-34.

which was not unlike the political organization of non-steppe-based societies.[145] Šâh ᶜAbbâs I (1588-1629), who developed a **ġulâm** institution based on Georgian, Circassian and other Caucasian captives, parallel to the Ottoman Qapıqulları, also resorted to the familar language of the steppe. He created a "tribe," the **Šâh-seven** ("those who love the Šâh") out of tribal fragments. Both **qullar** ("slaves") and Šâh-seven were used to offset the Qızılbaš.[146] When the Şafavids faded, after 1732, the dynamic Avšar chieftain, Nâdir Šâh (1736-1747) briefly held power. By the end of the century, another Turkic tribe, the Qajars (1795-1924) gained political supremacy. These dynasties underscored the political importance of the Turkic population of Iran, especially that of Azarbayjan. But, Iran, unlike Anatolia, did not become largely Turkicized. Under the Pahlavi regime (1924-1979), tribal elements and the often politically advanced population of Azarbayjan, continued to play some role in politics. But, with the extension of mass media and the pressures of modern nationalism, the fate of these peoples, as a Turkic-speaking group, is uncertain.

145 See Reid, **Tribalism**, pp. 66-80 for a discussion of uymâq politics.
146 Reid, **Tribalism**, p. 30.




MAP XI TURKIC STATELETS IN THE NEAR EAST 14TH-15TH CENTURIES

# THE ETHNOGENESIS OF THE MODERN TURKIC PEOPLES : A BRIEF OVERVIEW

Having outlined the major historical developments in the history of the Turkic peoples and put into place, spatially and diachronically, their ethnic building blocks, we may now turn to a brief examination of the various factors that have gone into the ethnogenesis of each of these peoples. As the foregoing chapters have shown, this has seldom been a tidy process. Many of the Central Asian Turkic peoples, for example, have multiple points of origin, with ethnic layer placed on top of ethnic layer. Although there are many ancestral elements shared in common by a number of Turkic peoples (e.g. the Qıpčaq elements found among among the Özbeks, Qazaqs, Qırğız, Qara Qalpaqs, Noğays, Baškirs etc.), the proportions of the common elements entering each varied.[1] Moreover, some of the shared elements (e.g. the Qıpčaqs) were themselves hardly homogeneous. In addition, many had or developed unique combinations of elements which helped to distinguish one from the other.

Lurking behind the ethnic elements that are more or less clearly delineated in our sources are the substratal elements. The Turkic peoples, on the whole, have shown extraordinary absorptive powers. This has not proved true of other steppe conquerors. The Mongols conquered Eurasia, but today only Mongolia (the Mongolization of which began with the Qitañ) is Mongolian in speech and even here, Inner Mongolia is in danger of losing its Mongol character. There are only a few places where Turkic conquest groups held sway in which the subject population was not Turkicized. Leaving aside diasporan military colonies (e.g. the Ghaznavids and other Mamlûk-type states) and the Ottoman colonies in the Balkans (where Christian local cultures, except for Manichaean-Bogomil Bosnia and much of Albania, proved too resilient) and North Africa (the Ottoman presence was numerically too insignificant), Balkan Bulgaria under the Oğuric Bulğars is the only region in which a substantial Turkic presence failed to bring about Turkicization. Here, however, there were extraordinary circumstances. The propinquity of great empires (Byzantine and Carolingian) and their struggle for ecclesiastical control over the Western and Slavic world, made Balkan Bulgaria the focal point of intense pressures. The triumph of Orthodoxy brought in its political wake Slavicization. Domestic political factors (opposition by the Bulğar aristocracy to Christianity) also played an important role in devaluing Bulğaric Turkic, now tainted with pagan resistance.

1 Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 7-8.

Elsewhere, however, in Anatolia, Northwestern Iran (where the tribes were more heavily concentrated) extending into Eastern Transcaucasia, the lowlands of the North Caucasus and especially Iranian Central Asia, the Turks, often a minority, eventually Turkicized much of the local population. This was not deliberate. It was not state policy. Pre-modern states did not require linguistic homegeneity. Linguistic identification with the ruling elite was, undoubtedly, an important consideration for officials and perhaps merchants. In Iranian Central Asia, however, even this was not crucial, since the Turkic elite traditionally used Iranians to staff their bureaucracies, the chancellery language of which was usually Iranian. The spread of Arabic provides some interesting parallels, but there are also fundamental differences. Arabic speech largely took hold among Semitic-speakers, in lands in which there was an ancient tradition of a supra-national Semitic **lingua franca**. In fact, it replaced just such a **lingua franca** : Aramaic. In North Africa, Arabic spread out from the cities to a Berber nomadic population very much akin to its conquerors and speaking languages that were at the least structurally similar and perhaps genetically related.[2] It is a process that is still incomplete, although the pressures of nationalism and mass media do not offer optimistic prospects for partisans of the Berber tongues.

In Iranian Central Asia a similar process may have taken place with respect to Iranian-speaking nomads. Although, it is not very likely that the cities, still very Iranian in character, played a major role in this. The religious factor, so important in Anatolia, was of a different character. The Turks were not the bearers of Islam but its recipients from the Iranian cities. Certainly, their conversion was a necessary pre-condition for the subsequent Turkicization of the sedentary Iranian population. The socio-linguistic aspects of this question require much more research.

The question of substratal influences also requires further elucidation. Does the odd loan-word (e.g. Samodian, Ugric or Kettic elements in Türk[3]) bespeak random cultural borrowing or profound ethno-political contacts ? To what degree were substantial elements of the early Türks themselves Turkicized peoples ? The Turkicization of Southern Siberia, a process whose chronological starting point cannot be determined, has reached its concluding stage in our own day. The Uralic and Palaeo-Siberian peoples, undoubtedly, represent one substratal element. Of equal and very likely even greater importance, as was indicated above, are the Iranian nomads. Before the Turkic peoples appeared on the stage of history, the Eurasian steppes were dominated, for almost a thousand years, by nomads of Iranian speech.

2 Moscati et al., **Introduction**, pp. 15-17. Diakonoff, Semito-Hamitic has a useful survey of the problem.

3 Cf. Sinor, 1979-80, pp. 768-773.

At this stage, we can only guess at the role they may have played in the transformation of the Turks into equestrian, pastoral nomads of the steppes. Archaeology provides some hints, but remains mute on the crucial linguistic question. Presumably, the Turkic peoples absorbed large numbers of Iranian nomads. If not, what, then, became of them ? Our sources do not note a great dash of Iranian nomads to the safety of sedentary society once the Turkic-speaking nomads had fully emerged as masters of the steppes.

Al-Birûnî, in a brief comment, on the Trans-Volgan, Iranian Alano-As tribes, remarks that in his day their language had become a mixture of Xwârazmian and Pečeneg.[4] A close symbiosis of Alano-As and Pečenegs was observed by the Old Rus' translator of Josephus Flavius who, in a similar vein, noted that "the Yas people («Языкъ [lit. "tongue" ] же ясескыи» ), as is known, descended from the Pečeneg clan/tribe («отъ печениженьска рода»)."[5] A close symbiosis of Alano-As and Qıpčaq tribes is also noted. Indeed, some of these tribes, perhaps as a subject tribal union, joined the Qıpčaqs seeking refuge in Hungary from the Mongol invasions.[6] Thus, any discussion of the formation of the Turkic peoples, must take the Iranian element into consideration.

Given the fluidity of the Turkic steppe, the present day configurations of the Turkic peoples could easily have been somewhat different. Ethnic forces do not operate in a vacuum. Although certain linguistic, tribal or ethnic elements have been brought into place, it is ultimately the political process that creates a people. Thus, national languages, so crucial an element in modern nation-building, as Hobsbawm notes, are "almost always semi-artificial constructs."[7] The same may be said of many modern nations and nationalities. The state, whether expressed in the vast imperial confederations of the Hsiung-nu, Türks and Činggisids or most recently in the powerful modern state, often plays the decisive role.[8] Disparate groups may be brought together and forged into a "nation" whether such was their will or not. Again, following Hobsbawm, "nations do not make states and nationalisms but the other way around."[9] He argues further that an analysis of nation-building cannot be divorced from the specific economic and technological context of its time and place. The creation of a literary language becomes significant when there exist mass media to expand its area

4 al-Birûnî, **Kitâb Taḥdîd al-Amâkin**, passage cited in **Ḥudûd** /Minorsky, p. 481.
5 Meščerskij, **Istorija iudejskoj vojny**, p. 454. Pritsak, 1975, pp. 228-229, who views them as initially Toxarian speakers, interprets these notices to indicate that they had adopted an Eastern Iranian tongue.
6 Szabó, **A jász etnikai csoport**,I, pp. 26-32; Pálóczi Horváth, **Pechenegs, Cumans, Iasians**, pp. 64-65
7 Hobsbawm, **Nations and Nationalism**, p. 54.
8 Gladney, 1990, p. 5.
9 Hobsbawm, **Nations and Nationalism**, p. 10.

of usage to the larger target population. Moreover, the impact of the new national spirit is not evenly spread regionally or even among various social groupings. There are also competing forces of identification (regionalism, religion). Hobsbawm posits three stages in the creation of a modern national identity. In the first stage, a small group of largely apolitical scholars and amateurs engages in extensive literary and folkloric research. In the second, a highly politicized grouping, making use of the accumulated research, often in a highly idiosyncratic manner, constructs a political-national program, a nationalist ideology or myth. This becomes the focus of intense political agitation. In the final stage, this nationalist program is propagated on a mass scale.[10] By the late 19th-early 20th century, a number of Turkic peoples had reached this last stage (e.g. Ottomans, Azerîs, Volga Tatars, Özbeks), others had not even begun the process (e.g. Yaquts, Xakas etc.). The Russian revolutions and their aftermath played an important role in determining the delineation of the individual Turkic peoples within the Soviet Union.[11] It also had some influence on the shaping of identities in the Near and Middle East and China. Needless to say, this is a huge topic, one that really focuses on modern ethnic and national politics and as such would require another book-length study.

The organization of our discussion can be approached from several directions : a) by language subgrouping (bearing in mind that official designations often belie considerable ethno-lingustic engineering) b)geographically. The two more often than not overlap. I believe, however, that the geographical approach is most productive.

## TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE BALKANS, TRANSCAUCASIA, THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

The Oğuz ethno-linguistic subgrouping of the Turkic peoples dominates here. As we noted earlier (Chap. 7), the Oğuz tribal union appeared on the borders of Irano-Muslim Central Asia in the late 8th century. Their relationship to the various groupings termed Oğuz in the Türk empire (e.g. the Toquz Oğuz), often accepted at face value, remains, in fact, unclear. By the time of Maḥmûd al-Kâšgarî, they had already come to constitute a subgrouping of Turks linguistically distinguished from other speakers of Common Turkic. The reasons for this growing sense of distinction are obscure. Undoubtedly, intense interaction with Irano-Muslim Central Asia, already apparent in Ibn Faḍlân's account (early 10th century), played a role.

10 Hobsbawm, **Nations and Nationalism**, pp. 10-12.

11 For a Soviet perspective on ethnic processes in the USSR, see Kozlov, **Peoples**, pp. 152-158 which disucsses evolutionary and transformational (assimilation, consolidation) processes. See also Bromlej, **Očerki**, pp. 338ff.

The Oğuz, as they penetrated deeper into the sedentary world of the Near and Middle East, were compelled, eventually, to abandon nomadism and ultimately assimilate substantial elements of the local population. It is this intimate contact with the Iranian world, common to all the Oğuz-descended peoples, and the specifics of their individual interactions with North Caucasian, Anatolian Greek, South Slavic, Armenian, K'art'velian, Semitic and other populations that has given an individual stamp to each of these groups.

## THE TURKS OF TURKEY AND THE FORMER EUROPEAN-NEAR EASTERN POSSESSIONS OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The overwhelming majority of these are the **Turks (Türk)** of Turkey. They subdivide into a number of dialect groupings the contours and interrelations of which are still being explored.[12] Broadly speaking these are : İstanbullu, Southwestern (Bandırma -Antalya), Central or Middle Anatolian (Afyon Karahisar - Erzerum-Elâzığ), Eastern (eastwards from Erzerum-Elâzığ), Northeastern-Pontic (Samsun - Rize), Southeastern (Gaziantep, Adana, Antalya), Northwestern-Kastamonu (incl. "Karamanlı").[13] They are descended, in part, from the Oğuz-Türkmen tribes that engulfed substantial portions of Anatolia in the aftermath of the battle of Manzikert in 1071. Further movements of Oğuz-speaking Turks to the region resulted from the Činggisid invasions of Central Asia and Iran. Smaller groupings of Qıpčaq, Uyğur and even some Mongol-speakers entered the region in the Mongol era.

While we can obtain a fairly clear picture of the Turkic components in this ethnogenetic process, the involvement of indigenous Anatolian populations is much more complex. Nationalist politics have, needless to say, not helped to shed much light on this important subject. There is no doubt that numbers of Anatolian Greek-speakers (themselves the descendants, in part of Hellenized populations), Kurds, Armenians, speakers of K'art'velian (Georgian, Chan/Lâz) and Semitic tongues (Aramaic and Arabic) were Turkicized and, in the case of non-Muslims, Islamicized. Among the Lâz (who spoke a K'art'velian language closely related to Georgian), a distinct dialect of Turkish is still spoken reflecting this origin. Such substratal elements have been little studied.[14] Moreover, the Ottoman realm, being a world empire with active involvement in Europe, Caucasia and the Near Eastern lands attracted untold numbers of individuals from these regions.

12 The most recent survey of the literature is that of Kakuk, 1990, pp. 388-413.

13 See Caferoğlu, 1959, p. 239; Dilâçar, **Türk Diline**, p. 31; Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 24.

14 See the studies of Tietze, 1955, 1957, 1958 and the remarks of Eren, 1960. These, however, deal with the loanwords from Greek, Slavic and Arabic in Turkish, but not the larger socio-linguistic issues.

The Slavic and Albanian components of the Janissary forces, brought in through the **devširme**, were particularly strong and are reflected linguistically in slang. The strife that preceded and followed the First World War brought large migrations and population transfers of Turkish and Turkicized populations from the Balkans. Sizable numbers of North Caucasians, usually all lumped together under the heading **Čerkes** ("Circassian") also came as captives in earlier eras and later sought refuge in the Ottoman Empire during the Russian imperial wars of the 19th century. Speakers of these languages are still to be found in Anatolia (as well as in parts of the Arab world where they were settled).

The proportion of Turk to non-Turk in this process, cannot, at present be determined with precision. İnalcık has suggested that non-Turkish, Islamicized elements made up perhaps 30%. Eremeev, a Soviet student of this problem, suspects that the Turkic percentage was considerably lower.[15] The Ottoman financial and other records, especially from the 16th century, are extremely rich in this regard. They are slowly being studied and published and will undoubtedly shed much new light on some of the ethnogenetic processes in Anatolia (not to mention other parts of the Ottoman realm). But, they will provide a portrait of a process that had already been underway for centuries.[16] A recent study of the ethnogenesis of the Turks concludes that the crucial period was that which witnessed the unification of Anatolia under the Ottomans and the transformation of Constantinople/Istanbul into the capital of this empire. This brought together the various groups of Turks, divided in part by tribal origins, political demarcations (the former **beyliks**) and the extent to which this or that grouping had incorporated this or that non-Turkish element as well as the nomadic tribes which were under ever-increasing pressure to sedentarize. It was this melding that produced the Turkish nationality by the late 15th-to mid-16th century.[17]

The Balkan Turkish-speaking populations[18] in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Greece derive from Ottoman-era settlers from Anatolia and Islamicized and Turkicized elements of the local population.[19] There are also Balkan groupings that Islamicized but did not Turkicize (e.g. the Pomaks of Bulgaria). Of particular interest are the **Gagauz**, Turkish-speaking (with

15 Eremeev, **Ètnogenez**, pp. 142-149.

16 On Turkicization during the Seljuk era, see Cahen's remarks, **Pre-Ottoman**, pp. 143-155. The Turks were not a majority but they were the ruling elite and they were distributed throughout the region.

17 Eremeev, **Ètnogenez**, p. 135. Vryonis, in his exhaustive study (see **Decline**, esp. pp. 361ff., 444ff.), concluded that large-scale conversions of Anatolian Christians had occurred by the 15th century.

18 For the literature on the Balkan/Rumelian dialects, see Tryjarski, 1990, pp. 414-453; Dilâçar, **Türk Dilinc**, pp. 124-127.

19 Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 261-262.

some special dialect features), Orthodox Christians, who are found in Bulgaria, Rumania, Greece, Turkey and the Soviet Union (esp. the Moldavian SSR). Their origins remain obscure. Although Pečeneg, Western Oğuz and Qıpčaq ancestors have been proposed for them (with little in the way of linguistic evidence to support this), it seems more likely to seek their origins in a Turkicized population of the Ottoman era with, perhaps, some contributing elements stemming from earlier Turkic groupings. Wittek suggested a "Seljuk tribe" bearing the name **Kaykâûs > Gagauz** (?).[20]

There are also smaller populations of Turkish-speakers in Iraq, Syria and elsewhere in the Arab world (deriving from Oğuz/Türkmen groupings settled there in Seljuk and Ottoman times and Ottoman officialdom) and in Transcaucasia. In the latter, they stem from Ottoman-era settlers and converts among the Armenians (e.g. the Xemšins or Xemšils [**Hemšili**]) and Georgians (cf. the "Mesxet'ian Turks" who were deported to Central Asia). The Adžars, a Georgian grouping of Sunnî Muslims, speak a somewhat Turkishized Georgian.[21]

Small groupings of Crimean Tatars are also to be found in Rumania (the "Dobrudja Tatars") and Bulgaria (see section on Crimean Tatars)

## THE TURKS OF IRAN

### The Azerîs

This extraordinary pattern of absorption of the subject populace is equally a feature of the closest relatives of the Anatolian Turks, the Azerî or Azarbâyjânî Turks. Azarbâyjân (< Arab. Âḏarbâjân < Pers. Âḏarbâḏagân < Âturpâtâkân, deriving, allegedly, from the name of a Persian governor sent there by Alexander the Great, Ἀτροπάτης) was originally the homeland of non-Indo-European peoples. In the northern area, medieval **Albania** of the Greek and Latin sources, the land of the **Aluank'** of the Armenians, **Arrân** and **Šarvân/Širvân** of the Islamic geographers, there lived a number of Palaeo-Caucasian peoples, remnants of whom are still found today (e.g. the Udi, the Šah Dağ peoples) and perhaps others.[22] Iranization, particularly in the south, began with its incorporation into a succession of Iranian states starting with that of the Medes. Iranian languages, such as Tat (a South-western Iranian tongue) and Talyš (a Northwestern Iranian language),[23]

20 Wittek, 1951-52, pp. 12-24; Kakuk, **Mai tōrök**, pp. 47-48; Pokrovskaja, **Grammatika gagauzskogo jazyka**, pp. 3-6; Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 257-261.

21 Wixman, **Peoples**, pp. 6,103-104; Shiriner, **Islamic Peoples**, pp. 243-245,255-256,261; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 207-208,216-218.

22 Barthold, **Historical Geography**, p. 214; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, pp. 31-32; Ašurbejli, **Gosudarstvo širvanšaxov**, pp. 18-21; **Narody Kavkaza**, II, pp. 195-204; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 139,206-207.

23 Oranskij, **Vvedenie**,pp. 319-322,335; **Narody Kavkaza**, II, pp. 181-194.

survive but have been steadily giving way to Turkic.

Turkic penetration probably began in the Hunnic era and its aftermath. Steady pressure from Turkic nomads was typical of the Khazar era, athough there are no unambiguous references to permanent settlements.[24] These most certainly occurred with the arrival of the Oğuz in the 11th century. The Turkicization of much of Azarbâyjân, according to Soviet scholars, was completed largely during the İlxanid period if not by late Seljuk times.[25] Sümer, placing a slightly different emphasis on the data (more correct in my view), posits three periods in which Turkicization took place : Seljuk, Mongol and Post-Mongol (Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Şafavid). In the first two, Oğuz Turkic tribes advanced or were driven to the western frontiers (Anatolia) and Northern Azarbâyjân (Arrân, the Muğan steppe). In the last period, the Turkic elements in Iran (derived from Oğuz, with lesser admixtures of Uyğur, Qıpčaq, Qarluq and other Turks brought to Iran during the Činggisid era, as well as Turkicized Mongols) were joined now by Anatolian Turks migrating back to Iran. This marked the final stage of Turkicization.[26]

Although there is some evidence for the presence of Qıpčaqs among the Turkic tribes coming to this region, there is little doubt that the critical mass, which brought about this linguistic shift was provided by the same Oğuz-Türkmen tribes that had come to Anatolia.

The Azerîs of today, are an overwhelmingly sedentary, detribalized people. Anthropologically, they are little distinguished from their Iranian neighbors.[27] In Soviet Azarbâyjân some four nomadic groups remain, the Airums,[28] Padars, Šah-sevens (who are in considerably greater numbers in Iranian Azarbâyjân) and Qara Papaxs. The latter, considered Türkmen by some, are also found in Georgia, Iran and Turkey.[29]

### Other Turkic Groupings of Iran

In Iran, the Qašqâ'î nomadic confederation (some 570,000 strong) of disparate origins, Turkic, Iranian (Luri, Kurdish) and Arab, speak what is

24 Some Azerî scholars, however, assert that by the time of the Arab conquests, there were permanent Turkic elements in Azarbâyjân, see Ašurbejli, **Gosudarstvo širvanšaxov**, pp. 21-24.

25 **Narody Kavkaza**, II, pp. 42-43; Gusejnov, 1980, pp. 349-351, dates the completion of the Turkicization of the region to the 12th century.

26 Sümer, 1957, pp. 429-447.

27 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, 2, p. 42.

28 Not to be confused with Urums, an Orthodox Christian grouping of Greek origin, as their name implies, living in the Doneck region in the USSR, who speak a Turkic language of mixed Qıpčaqo-Oğuz type probably acquired in the Crimea, see Podolsky, **Greek-Tatar**.

29 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 136-137; Caferoğlu, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 68-70.

usually classified as a dialect of Azerî Turkic.[30] Although now camping primarily in Fars and Xuzistan, their clan names indicate origins in Northwestern Iran. They also appear to have absorbed fairly substantial Xalaj elements (see below). Despite the conflicting traditions regarding their origins, there is little doubt that their ancestry is to be traced to the same Oğuz Turkic tribal elements that formed the basis for the Azerbâyjânîs. The significance of their ethnonym and the date of their origin as tribal union are unclear. They appear to have taken on their present day contours in the aftermath of the collapse of the Şafavid regime in the 18th century. Indeed, it has been argued that the confederation, under the Šâhilu family, took shape under governmental auspices.[31]

The Xalaj/Xalač of Central Iran present something of a problem. The medieval Muslim geographers frequently confused them (xlj in Arabic script) with the Qarluq (often rendered **xlx** : **xallux** in Arabic script). Attempts have been made to connect them with Pre-Islamic nomadic peoples (the Hephthalites) or early Islamic Turkic settlements in Afghanistan.[32] Kâšğarî places them among the Türkmen groupings and explains their name through the folk etymology of **qal ač** "remain hungry."[33] Linguistically (see Chap. 1), they also present difficulties. Doerfer[34] and his adherents consider Xalaj to be separate branch of Turkic, while his opponents continue to view them as Oğuzic.

There are a number of other Turkic groupings in Iran that are more clearly Oğuzic (e.g. Xurâsân Turkic[35]) and those obviously derived from well-known Oğuz tribes (e.g. Afšars, Qajars).[36] In Northeastern Iran and Afghanistan there are sizable numbers of Türkmens (perhaps 500,000 in Iran and 400,000 in Afghanistan). There are also substantial groupings that still bear this name in Turkey, Iraq and elsewhere in the Near East. With the Türkmen, however, we cross over into Central Asia. Before turning to the Turkic peoples of that region, we should examine the Turkic populations of the Crimea and North Caucasus.

30 Doerfer, 1990, p. 19 classifies them as a separate grouping (Qašqâ'î-Aynallu) within Oğuzic.

31 See discussion in Oberling, **The Qashqâ'i**, pp. 27-40; Beck, **Qashqa'i**, pp. 41-59; Orhonlu, 1967, pp. 421-422,424-425 (listing of tribes/clans); Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, p. 237,358 (for İgdir and Bayat clans).

32 See **Ḥudûd**/Minorsky, pp. 347-348 and Minorsky, 1940-42, pp. 430-342; Bosworth, **Ghaznavids**, pp. 35-36; Togan, **UTTG**, pp. 150-151; Frye, **Ancient Iran**, p. 350.

33 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, p. 363.

34 Doerfer, 1978, pp. 15-31.

35 See literature in Doerfer, 1990, pp. 13-14.

36 Caferoğlu, **Türk Kavimleri**, pp. 66-71.

## TURKIC PEOPLES OF THE CRIMEA AND NORTH CAUCASUS

These groups are, from the linguistic standpoint, overwhelmingly Qıpčaq in character. Their origins, however, are quite diverse.

### THE CRIMEA

The dominant Turkic grouping of the Crimea, for the most part no longer resident there (having been deported by Stalin in 1944 to Central Asia), were the Crimean Tatars. As we have seen, the Turkic population of the Crimean Xanate derived from disparate sources : Turkicized Mongols (e.g. the Manğıt/Noğays) and Qıpčaqs under Jočid leadership. It is presumed that Khazar and other pre-Qıpčaq Turkic groupings were absorbed by the Qıpčaqs or local confessional communities (Orthodox Christians, Jews etc.) In any event, Qumano-Qıpčaq became the **lingua franca** of the peninsula in the pre-Mongol era. The **Codex Cumanicus** stands eloquent testimony to its status as such. It was adopted by local populations of Armenians ("Armeno-Cuman") and Jews (the Qaraim and Krymčaks[37]). It is highly unlikely that either of the latter may be descended from Khazar Jewish groupings, although such claims are occasionally put forth.

The origins of the Qaraim, Jewish sectarians, are probably to be sought in the settlements of Byzantine Qaraim in the period immediately preceding the Mongol invasions.[38] Their language, except for cultic terminology, is very close to Armeno-Cuman. The Krymčaks are rabbinical Jews, also deriving from Byzantine Jewish settlements to which Sephardic (the dominant group) and Ashkenazic elements were subsequently added. The community thus formed (12th-18th century) adopted the Crimean Tatar language.[39]

The Muslim Turkic population of the Crimea subdivided into 4 distinct linguistic units, reflecting the differing origins of its constituent elements : speakers of Ottoman Turkish (the xanate was a vassal of the Porte, 1475-1774), Northern or Steppe Crimean Tatar, Southern or Mountain Crimean Tatar (comprised of several sub-dialects with varying mixtures of Oğuz (Ottoman) and Qıpčaq elements, the southern coastal population is

37 Statistical information for both groups is sketchy at best. The Krymčaks, in particular, fell victim to the Holocaust. In 1959 the Qaraim of the USSR numbered some 5,727. In 1979, this number had shrunk to 3,341 (see Akiner, **Islamic Peoples**, p. 425). The Krymčak population of the USSR in 1979 was put at about 1,800 (Polinsky, 1991, p. 124).

38 Ankori, **Karaites**, pp. 58ff. East European Karaite scholars tend to stress the Turkic elements of their traditional culture and conclude that they derive from or are the "heirs" of Khazaria and the Cumans, see Zajączkowski, **Ze studiów**, pp. 61ff. and his **Karaims**, pp. 12-13.

39 See Polinsky, 1991, pp. 123-129 and Khazanov, 1989.

sometimes termed **Tat**) and Crimean Noğay.[40] The Dobrudja Tatars have adopted a written language close, in form, to that of Steppe Crimean Tatar.[41] Crimean Tatar **per se** is much closer to Qumano-Qıpčaq and the Quman-derived North Caucasian Turkic languages than the Volga Tatar languages.

One may presume, given the prominent role that the Crimea played in the slave trade, drawing, during the era of the xanate, on Eastern Slavic and North Caucasian populations, among others, that these ethnic elements, as well as older populations of the Crimea (including the Goths) haved contributed to the ethnic composition of the Crimean Tatars. This is especially true of the **Tat** grouping. **Tat** is an old Turkic term for "alien, stranger, non-Turk"[42] which was largely applied to Iranian-speakers in Central Asia and the Caucasus. Given the ethnic diversity of the Turkicized population of the Crimea, it is hardly surprising that it was employed here for the heterogeneous coastal peoples and their Turkicized and Islamicized descendants (some of whom are also found among the Dobrudja Tatar communities today). Modern scholars point to linguistic, anthropological and cultural differences between the Tatars and Tats as well as some degree of inter-ethnic friction.[43]

## THE NORTH CAUCASUS

The Qumuq (Russ. Kumyk) people are found in Dağistan. The origin of this ethnonym is obscure. Kâšğarî notes it as both an anthroponym and a term for "dung, especially of horses."[44] Although names of this type (used to ward off evil spirits) are well-known to the Turkic system of name-giving, we have no further data on such an individual, clan or tribe that might have served as the source of this ethnonym. Perhaps more productive in this regard is the older designation of the Lak, speakers of a Northeastern or Dağistanian Caucasian language of the Lako-Dargwa family : Qazi Qumux (< Ar. **qâḍî** "religious judge" or **ġâzî** "fighter for the faith" + **qumux** < medieval **Ġûmîq**, a toponoym). The people of Ġumîq, then Christians, are mentioned in the medieval Arab accounts of the struggle to bring Dağistan under Muslim rule.[45] The Qumuqs were later under the **šamxal** of Qazi

40 Sevortjan, 1966, p. 234 divides them into **Noğay Tatarları** or Noğays of the Northern steppe zone, **Qrım Tatarları** who were in the region from the steppe to the coast and the **Tats**, the southern coastal population. Çagatay, **Türk Lehçeleri, II**, p. 86 divides them into the following dialects: 1) Urban-mountain (a mixed grouping with a strong Ottoman component) 2) Crimean Tatar 3) Crimean Noğay. The literary language is based on the central dialects, i.e. that of the Qrım Tatars proper.

41 Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 58-59.

42 Clauson, **ED**, p. 449.

43 See Schütz, 1977, pp. 77-106.

44 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, I, p. 294.

45 Minorsky, **Sharvân**, pp. 96-97,103,155,167; Bartol'd, "Dagestan," pp. 410-412; Erel, **Dağıstan**, p. 48.

Qumux. The šamxalate, which had appeared by the 14th century, encompassed much of the Northeastern Caucasus, including the Caucasian Avars, Dargins, Laks, Aguls, Lezgins as well as the Turkic Noğays and Qumuqs (the latter from the 16th century, if not earlier).[46]

There has been considerable debate regarding their origins; some scholars stressing their autochthonicity, others their largely alien derivation. Some of their mountaineer neighbors term them "steppe people" (cf. Avar **ʰaragIal**), pointing to a steppe origin, while the Noğays call them **tawlı** "mountaineer."[47] The prevailing current opinion, supported by anthropological and some linguistic data, sees in them, a Turkicized people of largely local origin. Their territory has been subject to repeated contact with the steppe beginning in the Hunnic era. In the period of the Khazar Qağanate, these contacts were intensified, undoubtedly including Bulğaric elements and continuing on into the Qıpčaq era. It was in the Činggisid epoch that this ethnogenetic process was completed. Their present-day internal designations show no trace of earlier tribal nomenclature, but are geographically-derived. The southern Qumuq dialects display strong Dargwa influences (although these could also be explained by centuries of contact). The toponyms of the region, however, are also largely of Dargwa origin. We have evidence for Qıpčaq and even earlier Turkic settlements and these should be viewed as the crucial element in their Turkicization.[48]

The Qumuq language is of the Cumano-Qıpčaq type, with some Oğuz (Azerî) influence. But other factors, especially economic, may also be taken into consideration. As Wixman has noted, in the North Caucasus a "vertical zone principal of language" is operative. Languages of the lower regions and plains/steppes became **linguae francae** in the lowland pasturages whither the polyglot mountaineers brought their herds for winter, came to trade or find employment. Until the Russian absorption of the region, these lowland areas were dominated by Turkic peoples, the Azerîs in Southeastern Dağıstan, the Noğays in the northwest and central zone and the Qumuqs in the northeast. The more advanced political organization of some of the Turkic groups also contributed significantly to this. Thus, for these political and economic reasons, Turkicization was extended into the North Caucasus. This trend was clearly in evidence before the Revolution and for more than a decade after it, until the process was reversed by government policy.[49] Although Azerî was the principle vehicle for this process, it points to means by which Qıpčaq Qumuq may also have spread.

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46 **Ist. narodov Severnogo Kavkaza**, p. 242; Erel, **Dağıstan**, p. 49.

47 Gadžieva, **Kumyki**, p. 45, Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, p. 181.

48 See in general Fëdorov, Fëdorov, **Rannie tjurki**, esp. pp. 257ff.; Gadžieva, **Kumyki**, pp. 25-45; Fëdorov, **Ist. ètn. Sev. Kavkaza**, pp. 114-116.

49 Wixman, **Language Aspects**, pp. 108-111; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 137-138, 174-175.

The origins of the Qaračay (**Qaračaylı**)-Balqars (**Tawlı, Malqarlı**) geographically divided but speaking dialects of a common tongue, follow the same pattern. The contributing Turkic elements were Hunnic-era tribes, Oğuro-Bulğaric, Khazar (complex) and Qıpčaq. By the 13th-14th century, this **ethnie** had been formed. In addition to the Turkic and Palaeo-Caucasian components, there appears to have been an Iranian Alanic element as well, perhaps one that was earlier Caucasianized. This is reflected in the fact the Osetins call the Balqars **asiag, œsiag,œsson** and the Qaračays **x'œrœseag, Ustur-Asi**, i.e. **As**, the Svans call them **Mukrčai ovsi** and **Musav**, pl. **Saviar** and the Megrelians **Alani**,[50] all pointing to the Alano-As world. Abu'l-Fidâ (d.1331) notes in the North Caucasus "the tribe of the al-ᶜAllân, they are Christianized Turks...(they) are a numerous people in that region. Beyond Bâb al-Abwâb, they are neighbored by a tribe of the Turks called al-Âs who have the same manners and faith as they."[51] Other self-designations used by this people, aside from **Tawlı** "mountaineer," are also unclear. Their connections with the steppe world are reflected in their rich traditions of animal husbandry, their principal occupation prior to World War II. The products of this economy were famous throughout the Caucasus.[52]

Attempts to connect Balqar/Malqar with Bulğar, resting on a superficial sound resemblence, require more than conjecture. There were, apparently, also close ties with the K'art'velian Svans, reflected in family names (cf. Qaračay **Ebzeler** and Balqar **Švanları**, both denoting "Svan").[53] Islam, although strong in the North Caucasus from the early years of the Muslim conquests, was firmly implanted among the Qaračay-Balqars only in the late 17th-early 18th century under Noğay and Crimean Tatar influence.[54]

We have already encountered the Noğay confederation (Chap. 10) that figured so prominently in the events surrounding and following the break-up of the Golden Horde. The mass of the Noğays, derived from Qıpčaq and Qıpčaqicized Mongol groupings (the Manğıt, Qongrat, Keneges, Qanglı, Arğın, Sırın/Širin, Qıpčaq [Qıpšaq], Üysin/Uysun, Nayman, Qitay, Qiyat, Türkpen [Türkmen], Uyğır [Uyğur] and others - the ethnonyms Qazaq and Qumuq also appear as clan names[55]), were absorbed into the Central Asian

50 Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, pp. 87,94-95, 178, 180; Alekseeva, **Drevnjaja i srednevekovaja istorija**, pp. 161-174.

51 Abu'l-Fidâ, **Taqwîm al-Buldân**, p. 203; Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, p. 95; **Ist. narodov Severnogo Kavkaza**, pp. 237-238.

52 See Karça, Koşay, **Karaçay-Malkar**, pp. 2-3 and the detailed discussions there of these traditions.

53 Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, p. 91; Alekseev, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 200-203.

54 Akiner, **Islamic Peoples**, pp. 202-203; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, p. 203; **Ist. narodov Severnogo Kavkaza**, p. 495.

55 Alekseeva, **Drevnjaja i srednevekovaja istorija**, pp. 200-201. Later Ottoman and European sources point to a great variety of tribal and clan names, see Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, pp. 80-84. Baskakov, **Nogaj-russk. slov.**, pp. 490-492 gives a full listing of tribal and clan names.

and Crimean descendants of the "Tatars." The Noğay, as such, had formed as a distinct union, but perhaps not yet an **ethnie**, by the mid-15th century. They nomadized over the steppes extending from Western Siberia to the Volga and Aralo-Caspian zone. By the mid 16th century, this union began to break up into the Great and Little Noğay Hordes. Further splintering produced the three remaining Noğay groupings of today : the Noğay of the Stavropol' region, largely the Ačıqulaq district (of Lesser Noğay Horde origins), the Qara Noğay in Northern Dagestan ASSR (of Greater Noğay Horde origins) and Aq Noğay groupings in the Qaračay-Čerkes AO and Čečen-Inguš ASSR. The Qara Noğay are under strong Qumuq influence, while the Aq Noğay are subject to Čerkes influence. Noğay groupings elsewhere (among the Astraxan and Crimean Tatars) have been absorbed by the dominant Turkic ethnic unit. Among the Noğay today, tribal consciousness seems to be more developed than a sense of Noğay nationhood.[56]

Near the Noğay of the Stavropol' **kraj** are the Türkpen (Türkmen, Russ. Truxmen or Stavropol' Turkmens). They are descended from the Čoudur or Čawur, İgdir and Soyınajı tribes of the Mangyšlak region who were brought to the North Caucasus during the reign of Peter the Great (d. 1725).[57] Judging from the Noğay clan name **Türkpen**, elements of them are being absorbed by the Noğays.

## THE VOLGA-URAL-WEST SIBERIAN PEOPLES

This grouping of Turkic peoples presents some of the most interesting ethnogenetic problems. As elsewhere, ethnogenesis here involves several layers of Turkic peoples, including an older stratum speaking Oğuric (still preserved in Čuvaš) and considerable mixture with earlier Iranian tribes and Finno-Ugric peoples (who still remain as separate entities in the region). The Finno-Ugric layer can be dated to the 3rd-2nd millennia B.C. Iranian tribes came into contact with the region in the 2nd millennium B.C. Turkic elements become active in the region when tribes, of unknown affiliation within the Turkic group and probably associated with the movement of Eurasian nomads that climaxed with the crossing of the Volga by the Huns, ca. 350 A.D., surface here. This, it has been claimed, may have been as early as the 2nd century A.D. Thereafter, the Turkic element predominated politically and economically.

56 Alekseeva, **Drevnjaja i srednevekovaja istorija**, pp. 200-204; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 170-171; Wixman, **Peoples**, p. 146; Akiner, **Islamic**, pp. 159-160; Volkova, **Ètnonimy**, pp. 84-85; **Ist. narodov Severnogo Kavkaza**, pp. 367-368.

57 Bartol'd, **Očerk ist. trkm.**, pp. 613-614.

The Činggisid era witnessed the emplacement of the different ethnic building blocks. But, the final form these elements took has, to some degree, been determined by the nationality policies of the Tsarist and Soviet governments. Xalikov, for example, argues that the different groupings of what today constitute the Tatars were drifting apart and if not for the Russian conquest would have become separate peoples.[58]

Let us examine the ethnogenetic process more closely. Some of these issues, in particular the question of who are the "real heirs" of the Volga Bulğar legacy, have generated considerable heat.

### The Volga-Ural-West Siberian Tatars

The designation **Tatar** is old and yet new. Well into the 19th century, the Tatars usually termed themselves **Müsülman/Mösälman** "Muslim." Terms such as **Qazanlı**, **Bulğar(lı)**, **Tatar** (a general term used by the Russians to designate many Turkic peoples), **Türk/Törk**, **Mišer** and more infrequently **Noğay** are noted. Their Mari neighbors termed them **Suas** ( < **Suwar/Suwaz** ? perhaps < **Čuvaš** ?[59]), while the Udmurts called them **Biger** (< **Bulğar** ).[60]

Tatar scholars, and others, were not sure how to handle the multiple elements in Tatar ethnogenesis. The question became highly politicized.[61] Some stressed the Bulğar component, others the Qıpčaq-Golden Horde elements. Some even highlighted the role of Turkcized Finno-Ugrians. These arguments largely swirled around the Tatars of the Middle Volga and adjacent regions. The Astraxan and Siberian Tatars, with their more Mongoloid physical type had a different evolution,[62] one in which Noğay and other Golden Horde elements figured more prominently. Language was a key question. The Volga Bulğars spoke several dialects of Oğuric (Common Turkic may also have been spoken by some of their subject tribes). But, the Volga Tatars today speak a particular form of Qıpčaq, forming a complex with Baškir.[63] Oğuric, however, is still represented in the region by the Čuvaš.

58 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 147,151-152.

59 Ašmarin, **Bolgary i čuvaši**, p. 45.

60 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 15-16; Kuzeev (ed.), **Narody Povolž'ja**, p. 206; Rorlich, **Volga Tatars**, pp. 3-4. On the rise of modern Tatar national consciousness, see Zenkovsky, **Pan-Turkism**, pp. 24ff.; Rorlich, **Op. cit.**, pp. 48ff.

61 Cf. the shaping of modern Tatar thinking on this question by Marjânî, see Schamiloglu, 1990, pp. 39-49. See also discussion in Kappeler, 1976, pp.319-325..

62 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 5-7,12,29-33; Rorlich, **Volga Tatars**, pp. 5-9.

63 See Garipov, **Kypčakskie**.

As we have already noted, Oğuric tribes, later associated with the Volga Bulğar state, probably began to advance into the region during the Khazar era. One recent study would not place them there before the 8th century.[64] The Volga Bulğar state took shape in the 9th-10th century and was expanding outwards, through its elaborate trade network with the surrounding Finno-Ugric forest peoples and Islamo-Iranian Central Asia, until the Mongol conquest. By that time, it had also come into contact with the Qıpčaqs. It is impossible to determine, at present, what Finno-Ugric ethnic elements the Bulğars may have absorbed by this time. We have evidence, however, for Bulğar-Proto-Permian Finnic linguistic contacts by the 9th-10th century.[65] It is equally difficult to determine what the Qıpčaq impact on the Bulğars may have been. The fact that Kâšğarî did not single out Bulğar and Suwâr for special treatment either points to the widespread use of Common Turkic in Volga Bulğaria by that time or his ignorance of the true situation there.

The Bulğar realm was absorbed into the Jočid **ulus**, the Golden Horde, ultimately forming the basis for the Qazan xanate. It was during this period, under the influence of the Qıpčaq and Qıpčaqiczed elements of the Golden Horde, the "real Tatars" (although this, too, is a misnomer, now hallowed by age and usage), that the language shift from Oğuric to Qıpčaq among sizable elements of the Volga Bulğar population must have occurred. The vagaries of Činggisid politics, both Jočid and subsequently Qazanian, brought about shifts of population as well. The name **Bulğar**, long interchangeable with "Muslim" (**Büsürman**, Russ. Бесермяне, etc.), became less used. Thus was laid the foundation of the different subgroups of Tatars.[66]

The Tatars today, it is generally held, consist of three major dialect subgroupings : the Central or Qazan Tatar, the Western or Mišer and the Eastern or Siberian Tatar. There are also transitional or mixed dialects : Astraxan Tatar (consisting of Noğay and Kundur elements which have been assimilated by Volga Tatar), Kasimov Tatar (mid-way between Volga and Mišer), the Teptär/Tiptär (Russ. Teptjar, < **defter**, i.e. those registered in books[67]), mid-way between Tatar and Baškir, the Ural Tatar subdialects (incl. the Nagaybak, who are "Krjašen [< Russ. крещенный "converted," i.e. converts to Russian Orthodoxy], the Krjašen are found among both the Qazan Tatars and Mišers).

Geographically, the Qazan Tatars, taken in the largest sense, subdivide into regional groupings : Northwestern with a number of subgroupings

64 Zimonyi, **Origins**, p. 182.
65 Zimonyi, **Origins**, pp. 84-88.
66 Kuzeev (ed.), **Narody Povolž'ja**, pp. 203-206; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 34-55,81,92-99, Xalikov, 1980, pp. 373-376.
67 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, p. 148.

(some of which have Čuvašic influences), the Yelabuga, Southeastern, Uralian (= Teptärs and others in Baškiria, they are frequently distinguished from the Baškirs only with great difficulty, if at all), the Permian grouping (with strong Bulğaric and Finno-Ugric substratal elements), Čepec (with Nukrat, Karino and Glazov subgroupings) and Kasimov (with a strong Noğay component). The Qazan Tatars took on their present-day contours in the 15th-16th century with the creation of the Qazan Xanate.[68]

The Mišers, whose ethnonym is probably to be connected with either the Finno-Ugric people called **Meščera** in Rus' or with **Magyar/Megyer**,[69] are divided into : Oka, Right Bank group, Left Bank or Trans-Volgan. Their ethnogenesis involves the Finno-Ugric Meščers, Burtas, Mordvins, Bulğars, Qıpčaqs and Turkic elements brought in with Tatar rule in the region. They took shape in the course of the 14th-15th century. The Qazan Tatars and Mišers were brought together, under the auspices of the Russian state, to form one people in the 17th-18th century.[70]

The Uralian group largely derives from Mišers brought to Baškiria.[71]

The least studied are the Siberian Tatars : the Tümenli, Tatars of the Tara, Tobol, Išim, Irtyš rivers, the Baraba steppe, Tomsk and other regions that largely developed out of the peoples of Küčüm's xanate. The Baraba were islamicized only in the 19th century. The Tobol (Russ. Tobol'skie Tatary) and Irtyš Tatars are an amalgam of Tatar tribes from the southern xanates, Central Asian elements (Sarts and "Buxarans") and Volga Tatars. Their tribal consciousness has largely faded (except among the Tara grouping) and Islam had become, by Radloff's time, a key marker of their identity.[72] Undoubtedly, some of their constituent elements go back to the Kimek union of Western Siberia from which the Qıpčaqs themselves emerged. In the Činggisid era, Noğay and similar elements were added. The extent to which indigenous Uralic elements may have figured in their ethnogenesis is not clear. Thus, although linguistically closely related, their origins differ in some crucial respects from those of the Volga Tatars.

Aside from emigré communities, there are smaller groups of Tatars in Byelorussia, Lithuania Poland, deriving from elements of the Noğays who

68 Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 285-287; Vorob'ëv, Xisamutdinov, **Tatary**, pp. 39-45,51-53; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 29,34,106,122.

69 Németh (1972, pp. 293-299), among others, viewed **Mišer** as deriving from **Mejer** (Hung. **Megyer**), a palatal variant of **Magyar**.

70 Vásáry, 1975, pp. 237-275. See also Vorob'ëv, Xisamutdinov, **Tatary**, pp. 45-50; Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 105-106,145-146,151-152; Muxamedova, **Tatary-Mišari**, pp. 11-17.

71 Vorob'ëv, Xisamutdinov, **Tatary**, pp. 50-51.

72 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 115-121; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 423-424; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 231-232. On the Baraba Tatars, see, Dmitrieva, **Jazyk barabinskix tatar**, pp. 7-25.

took service with the Lithuanian Grand Prince Vytautas/Vitovt, which have slavicized linguistically. There are Byelorussian texts, in Arabic script, that stem from these groupings.

## The Čuvaš

We are much less well-informed about the circumstances of Čuvaš (Čuv. **čăvaš**) ethnogenesis. At present they divide into two dialect groupings : Upper (**viryal**), i.e. Northern, Northwestern and Lower (**anatri**), i.e. Southern, Southeastern. In anthropological type, they are closest to the Finnic Highland Mari. There can be little doubt that the arrival of the Oğuric Turks to the region had an impact on the Finnic population, breaking up the unity of the Permian grouping (producing the Komi and Udmurts) and displacing others.[73] One theory suggests that the Upper Čuvaš derive from the assimilation by Volga Bulğars of Finnic Mari, Burtas and Mordvin peoples and the Lower Čuvaš stem from the **Suwâr**.[74] Ašmarin connected the Mari **Suas** "Tatar" with the ethnonym Čuvaš (**čÿvaš, ćÿvaš, čuaš**).[75] Some scholars would see in the **swâr/swân** (conjecturally read ***swâz**) of Ibn Xurdâḏbih, Ibn Faḍlân and other Islamic authors a rendering of **čuvaš**. **Swâr** etc., however, is a reflection of the ethnonym **Sabir**.[76] Németh associated the ethnonym **čuvaš** with Tat. **jıwaš** "peaceful"[77] but this is, by no means, conclusively demonstrated. Whatever the outcome of the etymological disputes, there can be no doubt regarding the linguistic relationship between Volga Bulğarian and Čuvaš.[78] One is troubled, however, by the absence of an Islamic tradition among the Čuvaš,[79] for it figures very prominently in the Volga Bulğarian

73 Xalikov, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 44-45,51-52. The Mordvins were, perhaps, least affected, while the Mari, their Volga Finnic kin, show a greater Oğuric linguistic influence. The Qaratay subgrouping of the Tatars are believed to be Tatarized Mordvins, reflecting ethnic changes during the Qazan xanal period. Among the Permian groupings, the ancestors of the Udmurts, the Southern Permians, were most affected by Bulğaric, see Golden, "Russian forest belt," **CHEIA**, pp. 250-253; Xajdu (Hajdu), **Ural'skie**, pp. 64,70,201-202.

74 Cf.Kaxovskij, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 220-231,380-383 and discussion in Kappeler, 1976, p.323.

75 Kuzeev, **Narody Povolž'ja**, pp. 175-177, Mokša **čuvaš**, Erzya **čuvaž**, Bašk. **suaš**; Ašmarin, **Bolgary i čuvaši**, p. 45.

76 Golden, **Khazar Studies**, I, pp. 34-36,256-257; Zimonyi, **Origins**, pp. 42-45.

77 Németh, **HMK**, pp. 35-36; cf. Räsänen, **Versuch**, p. 176 : Uyğ. **yabaš, yawaš** "sanft, mild" etc.

78 See most recently Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 9-44. For an overview of Čuvaš-Common Turkic, see Róna-Tas, **Bevezetés**, pp. 82-98. Róna-Tas (pp. 34-35) divides Čuvaš linguistic history into the following eras : 1) Old Čuvaš extending until the end of the 1st millennium A.D. and including the formation of Volga Bulğaria 2) Middle Čuvaš, from the 9th century until the collapse of the Golden Horde and the formation of the Qazan xanate (1430's) 3) New Čuvaš, to the end of the 19th century 4) Modern Čuvaš. For an attempted comparison of Čuvaš and Danubian Bulgarian culture, see Denisov, **Ètno-kul'turnye paralleli**.

79 Islamic loan-words are present, but the overwhelming majority (80%) were borrowed from

identity. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Čuvaš ever called themselves "Bulğars."

It seems most likely, then, that the Čuvaš formed in the period after the Mongol conquest. Oğuric-speaking elements within the Bulğar state, perhaps unislamicized, fled, some initially and others later when the Golden Horde began to break up, to Finnic regions that had been part of the state. There, they mixed with the local population, producing the Čuvaš. It is also possible that Oğuric elements, not yet deeply affected by the Islamic culture at the Volga Bulğar center and already established at the periphery of the Finnic world, now moved deeper into this zone to escape the Mongols. Some Soviet scholars suggest that Bulğars fleeing the Mongols to the pagan lands of the forest, abjured Islam and reverted to paganism.[80] It is impossible to determine when the process of Oğuricization achieved a critical mass. Certainly, the spread of Bulğaric to Finno-Ugric elements, especially the Mari/Čeremis, in the Bulğar state was a continuing process that antedated the advent of the Mongols. In any event, the formation of the Čuvaš, as such, is, in all likelihood, a product of the disruptions and dislocations of the Činggisid era.[81] Qıpčaq-Tatar influences reached them as subjects of the Xanate of Qazan.

### The Baškirs

We have already discussed some of the principal questions pertaining to Baškir ethnogeneis in Chap. 8. We may briefly recapitulate some of the problems here. The formation of the Baškirs (Bašqort) partook of many of the same ethnic elements (Oğuric, Qıpčaq, Finno-Ugric) found among their neighbors, the Volga Tatars, but in different measure. The Baškir language, today, is divided into two major dialect groupings, the southern and eastern. In these we find those phonemes that are peculiar to Baškir and distinguish it from Tatar : cf. Bašk. **hüð** Tat. **süz** Com. Turk. **söz** "word," Bašk. **sığıw** Tat. **čığu** Com. Turk. **čıq-** "to go out." The northwestern dialects are much closer to Tatar. Whether this is the result of Tatarizing influences or a natural transition between the two is in dispute.[82]

The ethnonym **Bašqort** (presumably < **Bašqurt/Bašqurd**, given the u > o shift typical of Tatar and Baškir, cf. Bašk. **qoro** Com.Turk. **quru** "dry") appears as **Basjirt (Basgirt), Bâšjird, Bâšğird, Bâšqird, Bajğird** etc. in the Islamic geographical literature. **Kâšğarî** has **Bašğirt** which is very close to the **Îlxanid** Persian sources : **Bašğird, Bâšğird**. Mongol-era Latin sources have :

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Qazan Tatar, see Scherner, **Arabische und neupersische**, p. 183.

80 **Ist. Čuvaš. ASSR, I**, p. 49.

81 **Ist. Čuvaš. ASSR, I**, pp. 49-52.

82 Kuzeev, **Narody Povolž'ja**, p. 239; Išberdin, **Istoričeskoe razvitie**, pp. 93-94. Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 76-77 delineates the two subdialects as Quwaqan/Mountain (NE and SE) and

**Bascart, Bastarcos, Pascatur.** The Mongol writers recorded the form : **Bajigit[d]** (sing. ***Bajigir**).[83] It was frequently used to designate the Hungarians as well as a Turkic people. Indeed, these forms are suspiciously like **Majġar/Majġir**, the rendering of **Magyar [mjġryyh]**in Ibn Rusta.[84] Ligeti suggested that **Bajgir** etc. is the Turkic form of **Magyar** (with m - b alternation) and that the Turkic form of this ethnonym was transferred to a Qıpčaq-speaking people who occupied the old Hungarian lands ("Magna Hungaria") after the bulk of the Magyar-led union migrated to the Pontic steppes.[85] Indeed, Hungarian travellers to "Magna Hungaria"/Baškiria in the 13th century claimed that they found persons with whom they could readily converse in their native tongue. This and toponymic data attest to the historic and continued presence of Magyar elements in that region on the eve of the Mongol invasions.[86] As was noted earlier **Ištek/İstek**, a term associated with the Uralic peoples (cf. Ostyak), is the name used by the Qazaqs and Qırğız to designate the Baškirs. Attempts, thus far, however, to find Hungarian linguistic traces in Baškir have not proved successful.[87]

Kuzeev, while not denying the Finno-Ugric element, takes a somewhat different tack. He posits the influx into Baškiria, in the 7th-10th century, of nomadic, Common Turkic-speaking elements from Southern Siberia and Northern Central Asia. They were in contact with Oğuric, becoming in the late 9th-early 10th century, subjects of the Volga Bulğar state. They assimilated some of the Finno-Ugrians of the region and expelled the others (the ancestors of the Hungarians). Qıpčaqs began to penetrate the region by the late 10th-early 11th century. These contacts were strengthened during the Činggisid era. According to Kuzeev's schema, the ethnogenetic process was completed by the 16th century, after the incorporation of the Baškirs into the Russian state. Thereafter, smaller groups of Kalmyks, Central Asian Sarts, Tipter Tatars and Mišers were added.[88]

The two theses, despite differences over the ultimate origins of the ethnonym itself, can be meshed. The Hungarian union contained sizable Turkic elements, not all of which may have been Oğuric. Some of these may have stemmed from groupings that contributed to the shaping of the Baškir

83 See Chap. 8 and the discussion and citations in Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, pp. 377-378,397-399; Kāšġarī/Dankoff, pp. 82,83.

84 ed. Goeje, p. 142.

85 Ligeti, **A magyar nyelv**, p. 400.

86 Anninskij, 1940, (Latin text) p. 95 Györffy et al., **Julianus barát**, pp. 61-62; Czegledy, 1943, pp. 158ff.; Vásáry, 1975, pp. 237-275. See Sinor, 1952, pp. 591-602 for discussion of Julianus' text. See also Rubruck (in Wyngaert, **Sinica**, I, pp. 218-219 : "ideoma Pascatur et Ungarorum idem est..."

87 Vásáry, 1985, pp. 201-232.

88 Kuzeev, **Narody Povolž'ja**, pp. 241-242 and his more detailed **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 393ff.427ff. Ivanov, Kriger, **Kurgany**, p. 57 date the completion of the ethnogenetic process to the 14th-15th century.

union. Clearly, the Hungarian union was the dominant element in Baškiria until their departure (for reasons that remain unclear) for the Pontic steppes in the early 9th century. How Ugric the region remained, linguistically, until the coming of the Qıpčaqs is equally unclear. Some Hungarian-speaking elements remained into the early 13th century. Thus, it is the Mongol era that is pivotal in Baškir ethnogenesis. Presumably, Qıpčaqization here paralleled the same process in the Volga Bulğar lands. The striking similarities of the two languages would seem to confirm that. The Baškir name, in any event, which cannot be etymologized in Turkic (except through folk etymologies), itself would seem to point to the Ugric world.

Despite fierce and dogged resistance to the Russians, the Baškirs, according to Bennigsen and Wimbush, possessed no real "historical identity." Their history, since the Činggisid conquest, was largely subordinate to that of the Qazan or Sibir Xanates and the Noğay union. The differences between them and the highly sedentarized, urbanized Volga Tatars were largely economic. The Baškir nation, in their view, is largely a Soviet creation.[89] From this perspective, the Volga Tatars and Baškirs may be considered one people or at the very least constituted a grouping that had the potential to form a common nation. Such was the intent of the "Idel-Ural" ideology, largely the work of the socially more advanced Tatars, which attempted to create a Tatar-Baškir political entity.[90] A joining of the Baškirs with the Qazaqs and Qırğız, to whom they bore a greater economic resemblence, was not impossible either.[91]

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN TURKIC PEOPLES

Linguistically, these subdivide into three groupings : Central Asian Oğuz (Türkmen), Aralo-Caspian Qıpčaq (Qazaq, Qara Qalpaq, Qırğız), Turkî (Özbeks/Uzbeks, Uyğurs) and their subgroupings (Salars, Dolans, Šera/Šira Yoğurs).

## CENTRAL ASIAN OĞUZ

### Türkmen

The Türkmen derive from the Oğuz confederation, which, as we have already noted, early on began to absorb non-Turkic (largely Iranian) elements in Central Asia. Soviet anthropological studies make this point, in particular, with regard to the Türkmen. Through constant raiding and the

14th-15th century.

89 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 247-248.

90 See Zenkovsky, **Pan-Turkism**, pp. 165-178.

carrying off of captives, the Türkmen have steadily added to the Iranian element in their composition.[92] Needless to say, the Türkmen make distinctions between ig "pure-blooded" Türkmen and those born of captive Iranians. The Yomud and Göklen consider themselves ig, but look down on the Tekke as being of servile origin.[93] At present, the Türkmen are absorbing other Muslim elements, Turkic (Qazaqs, Qara Qalpaqs) and non-Turkic (Balučis, Hazaras, Arabs) on their territory.[94] Having lived for centuries adjacent to Qıpčaq and Turkî groupings (the Medieval Qıpčaqs, the Qarluqs), inevitably elements from these peoples may be presumed to be present among the Türkmen. It is interesting to note in this regard that the Mamlûk Qıpčaq glossaries contain Türkmen material as well.[95]

Their present day tribal divisions are mirrored in their dialects : Yomud, Tekke, Göklen (the largest grouping), Salur/Salor/Salır, Sarıq, Ersarı, Čoudur/Čawdur (< Čavuldur). Smaller tribes are the İmreli/Emreli, ᶜAlî-ili, Bayat, Qaradašlı and others.[96] At the time of the Russian conquest (1880's), most of these tribes were semi-nomadic, i.e. clearly in a transitional stage to sedentarization.[97]

Soviet scholars date the formation of the Türkmen, in their modern form, to the 14th-15th century, i.e. the aftermath of an extensive reshuffling of tribes caused by the Mongol invasions. In the 16th century, the Türkmen were divided into three territorial units : 1) the Salurs of Xurâsân in the Balxan region, 2) the principal grouping consisting of the Salurs, Tekke, Yomud and Sarıq around Lake Sarıqamıš/Sarykamyš, the Southern Üstyurt, on the shores of Qara Boğaz and the Caspian up to Mangyšlak, 3) the Čoudur, İgdir, and Abdal, who bordered with the Özbeks in Northwestern Xwârazm. There were also Tekke in Northern Xurâsan consisting of the Oqlu/Oxlu, Göklen, Eymür and Salur. In the 17th-early 19th century, there were further shifts/migrations to the Köpet Dağ region and elsewhere. These movements, which continued up to the Russian conquest, were brought about by the impact of more powerful neighbors (Noğays, Özbeks, Kalmyks, Qazaqs etc.) as well as internal fights for territory. Some of the Čavuldur/Čavundur and İgdir were pushed into the North Caucasus under pressure from the Kalmyks. These were the ancestors of the Stavropol' Türkmen, also called **Truxmen** (**Türkpen** in their own tongue). The Central Asian Türkmen were famous for their fighting prowess. This bellicosity was

92 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, 3, pp. 41-42,47-51,53-57,65.
93 Aristov, 1896, pp. 415-416.
94 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 93-94.
95 Caferoğlu, **Türk Dili Tarihi**, II, pp. 189-191.
96 Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 43; Aristov, 1896, pp. 414-415; Wixman, **Peoples**, p. 199; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 98-99. See also Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 140,141,242,324-326,336-340,343-344,3648ff.
97 Tixomirov, **Prisoedinenie**, pp. 29-30.

undoubtedly a factor in their never forming a state. Each tribe was independent, having its own elected xan. There was no central authority, except in times of crisis when a single xan could be selected.[98] Khazanov suggests that the Türkmen emphasis on camel-breeding, which required less in the way of managerial skills and organization than horse-breeding, as practiced in the steppe, produced a Türkmen society, on the margins of the steppe world, that was smaller in scale, less politically developed and hence less stable.[99]

This structure was remade into something approaching a modern nation in the Soviet era (creation of the Turkmen SSR in 1924). Although tribal and clan consciousness (and partisanship) remain strong, the Türkmen have a developed, albeit pre-modern sense of self and of the superiority of Türkmen over others.[100]

Substantial Türkmen groupings are also found in Iran, Iraq and Turkey.

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN OR ARALO-CASPIAN QIPČAQS

The Qıpčaq confederation, as we have seen, played the primary role in the shaping of a number of Turkic peoples : Noğays, Tatars, Baškirs, Qazaqs, Özbeks, Qırğız and somewhat lesser roles in the genesis of the Türkmen and Siberian Turks. The Qıpčaqs that were incorporated into the Aq Orda, where they were joined by Mongol tribes that they Qıpčaqicized, formed the ethnic mass that underlay the polity of Abu²l-Xair (Özbeks), the Noğay Horde, the Qazaqs and the Qırğız. Where these groups were differentiated was in the varying proportions of these elements. Thus, in addition to the Qıpčaqs and Qanglı proper, we find the Qıpčaqicized Mongol groupings of the Nayman, Qunğrat, Manğıt, Jalayir, Kerey, Duğlat and others shared by several if not all of these peoples. Lesser known tribes/clans, such as the Ming, Yüz, Qırq, Alčın, Arğun and Tabın, are also found among two or more present-day Central Asian Turkic peoples.[101] Soviet scholars concluded that from an anthropological standpoint the Qırğız and Qazaqs were very similar, although ultimately stemming, in part, from different ethnic sources.[102] In the 19th century, Russian sources termed the Qazaqs "Kirgiz-Kaisak/Kaisak-Kirgiz" or "Kazax-Kirgiz." The Qırğız were called "Kara Kirgiz" or "Dikokamennye Kirgizy" as well as "Burut."[103]

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98 Sümer, **Oğuzlar**, pp. 139-142; Logaševa, **Turkmeny Irana**, pp. 14-17; Bregel, **Xorezmskie**, pp. 21-42; Tixomirov, **Prisoedinenie**, pp. 30,32.

99 Khazanov, 1990, p. 7.

100 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 95,98-99,105-106.

101 Kûhistânî, **Ta'rîx-i Abu'l-Xair Xânî in MIKX**, pp. 143-144; Ivanov, **Očerki**, pp. 39-40; Piščulina, **Jugo-vostočnuj**, pp. 232-233,238,245; Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 34-37.

102 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, p. 25.

103 Valixanov, "O kirgiz-kajsackoj" **Sobranie sočinenij**, I, pp. 180-181 and his "Zapiski," **Sobranie sočinenij**, II, p. 7; Aristov, 1896, pp. 350,394; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 106,110; Akiner, **Islamic Peoples**, pp. 286-287,327.

## The Qazaqs

Kazakhstan has served as the home of the Iranian Saka and Sarmatians, the Wu-sun (of uncertain ethnic affiliation), tribes associated with the Huns, Oğuric Turks and then the Türks. The introduction of Mongoloid elements is associated with the Turkic peoples. The Qıpčaq-Qanglıs and other Turkic peoples subsequently brought in with the Qara Qıtay and then Mongol invasions increased this South Siberian type. Thus, by the 13th century, the basic ethnic elements, Iranian, Turkic and Mongol were in place to produce the Qazaqs.[104] Smaller elements, of an almost transient nature, were added, e.g. the Šerkes/Čerkeš[s] clan[105] which, if this etymology is correct, may have resulted from Čerkes in Činggisid service.[106] These components were brought together in Abu'l-Xair's polity and its breakaway grouping which took the name **Qazaq**.

The Qazaqs, in the course of the 15th-16th century, subdivided into three tribal confederations : the Ulu/Ulı Jüz/Žüz in eastern and southeastern Kazakhstan (Semireč'e) consisting of the Dulat (Duğlat), Alban, Suwan, Sarı Üysün, Sirgeli, Istı, Ošaqtı, Čaprаštı, Čanışqlı (Qatağan), Qanglı and Jalayir tribes,[107] the Orta Jüz, primarily in Central Kazakhstan, comprising the Qıpčaq, Arğın, Nayman, Kerei, Uwaq and Qonğrat (who later splintered off and came under the influence of the Özbeg xanates),[108] the Kiči/Kiši Jüz in western Kazakhstan which included, according to Levšin, the Alčın which divided into the tribes of Alimulı (consisting of 6 subgroupings) and Bayulı (with 12 or 13 subgroupings). The Jeti-uruğ (with 7 sugroupings) were also part of this union. The Bukey Horde, which formed in the early 19th century, developed out of groupings from the Kiči Jüz.[109]

Bennigsen and Wimbush ascribe to the Qazaqs of the USSR, in addition to a continuing sense of jüz identification, both a high level of national and supra-national, Turkistanian consciousness. Islam which came in several stages (Činggisid era, Şûfîs of the 15th-16th century and especially through the activities of Tatar and later Özbek merchants during the Russian Imperial period), has become more firmly rooted during the Soviet era.[110] As elsewhere, it must be reckoned a factor in the national identity.

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104 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, pp. 15-17,22,24-25; Abdushelishvili et al., **Contributions**, pp. 129,131.

105 Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj**, pp. 81,82,106,147,149.

106 Qazaq scholars, cf. Nurmagambetov, 1984, pp. 94-96, do not accept this.

107 Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj sostav**, pp. 29ff.; Aristov, 1986, pp. 350-353; Levchine, **Description**, pp. 303-304; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, p. 111.

108 Levchine, **Description**, p. 303; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 111-112; Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj sostav**, pp. 56ff.; Aristov, 1986, pp. 353-378.

109 Levchine, **Description**, p. 302; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, p. 112; Aristov, 1896, pp. 378-385; Vostrov, Mukanov, **Rodoplemennoj sostav**, pp. 81ff. and in general Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**,pp. 24-25. Other sources, from different periods, have variant arrangements.

110 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 70-73; Zenkovsky, **Pan-Turkism**, pp. 58-60..

There are almost 1 million Qazaqs in China (primarily Sinkiang).[111]

## The Qara Qalpaqs

The Qara Qalpaqs, as such, are not mentioned in written sources prior to the late 16th century. They appear in a document of the Šaybânid ᶜAbdullâh Xan (1588-98) in a listing of peoples in the Lower Syr Darya region. Abuᵓl-Ġâzî notes them there (**sîr boyında olturğan qara qalpaq**) in the early 17th century.[112] Attempts have been made to connect them with the Чернии Клобоуци "Black Cowls" (**qara qalpaq** "black hat") = the **qaum-i kulâh-i siyâhân** of Rašîd ad-Dîn,[113] the nomadic servitors of the Kievan princes, largely drawn from Oğuz and Pečeneg elements who had earlier connections with the Syr Darya region. Again, on the basis of semantic similarity, they have been connected with the Qara Börklü (**börk** "hat") of the Qıpčaq union.[114] Such names, however, are very ancient in the nomadic world. Herodotus (IV.102.2) mentions a tribe called "Black Cloaks" (Μελαγχλαίνων) on the borders of Scythia.[115] They are known to the Oğuz world as well, cf. the Qara Papax. This type of ethnonym could refer to a favored clothing color or type of headgear. It may also have social and political connotations (cf. the Qızılbaš). Given the usages **qara budun** (the common people, as opposed to the **begs** in the Türk inscriptions), **qarabaš** ("slave"[116]) and the subordinate position of the Čërnye Klobuki/**qaum-i kulâh-i siyâhân** to the Rus' princes, one may wonder whether this is a social rather than an ethnic designation.

Ždanko, the Soviet specialist on the Qara Qalpaq posits an Oğuz-Pečeneg "Black Cowls" element in their ethnogenesis. In her view, the ancestors of the Qara Qalpaqs were Qıpčaqicized and then, in the 14th-15th century, became part of the Eastern Noğay Horde. They are presently divided into two main groupings : the **On Tört uru** (Qtay/Qitay, Qıpčaq, Keneges, Manğıt) and **Qonğrat** (Šuuluk, Žaunğır), all ethnonyms that one would expect from a people deriving from an Eastern Qıpčaq milieu. Anthropologically, they display the expected Central Asian Iranian substratum with an admixture of South Siberian and Inner Asian Mongoloid types.[117] In the 16th-17th century, they were under the sway of the Buxârân xans and were, apparently, in the process of sedentarization or, at least, had become semi-nomadic. After

111 Ramsey, **Languages**, p. 183; Ma (ed.), **China's Minority Nationalities**, pp. 152ff.
112 Abuᵓl-Ġâzî, **Šajara-yi Türk**, ed. Desmaisons, pp. 290/311.
113 Rašîd ad-Dîn, ed. Karîmî, I, p. 482.
114 Nurmuxamedov et al., **Karakalpaki**, pp. 5-6.
115 in Dovatur et al., **Narody**, pp. 140/141. 350.
116 Kâšğarî/Dankoff, II, p. 265.
117 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, pp. 29-35; Šanijazov, **K ètničeskoj ist.**, pp. 81-82; Nurmuxamedov et al., **Karakalpaki**, pp. 8-17,22; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, p. 111.

becoming the subjects of the Qazaqs, ca. 1700, they paid their annual tribute in grain, a clear indication of their movement away from nomadism. The buffetings of the Jungarian invasions and subsequent Qazaq pressure, drove them from their old habitats by mid-century. Elements of them became part of the Xivan xanate, to be joined by still others in the early 19th century.[118] Qara Qalpaqs living outside of Qara Qalpaqia (constituting local groupings in the Buxârâ, Farğâna and Samarqand regions and Afghanistan) have been or are being absorbed by the surrounding Turkic populations.[119]

The Qara Qalpaq language is very close to Qazaq. Some would consider it a dialect of the latter.[120]

### The Qırğız

Qırğız ethnogenesis presents a number of problems dividing scholarly opinion. The fundamental issue centers around the question of the relationship, if any, of the present-day Qırğız (in the T'ien-shan region) to the earlier Qırğız of the Yenisei. Such a connection would appear to require a migration, language shift (Modern Qırğız is Eastern Qıpčaq, very close to Qazaq, they are virtually dialects of one another), ethnic and somatic changes. The Yenisei Qırğız, according to one line of thought, unlike their modern namesakes, appear to have had a strong, perhaps predominant, Europoid component (see Chap. 6). We should bear in mind, however, that the possibility that they may have undergone substantial changes, over the centuries, is not, in itself, remarkable. Soviet anthropologists date the beginnings of Mongoloid admixtures to the Hsiung-nu era. The Mongolian somatic type become predominant, they argue, in the Činggisid period.[121] Thus, the alleged physical-somatic differences between the Yenisei Qırğız and the modern Qırğız, if indeed, true, only bespeak interaction with other peoples and not, necessarily, a discontinuity. Recent theories, however, tend to stress the latter, or at best to marginalize the ethnic relationship of the T'ien-shan Qırğız to the Yenisei people.

L.R. Kyzlasov completely disassociates the modern Qırğız from the similarly named Yenisei people. The descendants of the latter, a people formed from the Turkic Qırğız and a Turkicized Palaeo-Siberian people, he claims, are the Xakas. The origins of the T'ien-shan Qırğız are to be sought among the Qıpčaqs and other tribes which, in ancient times, lived between the Altay Mountains in the west and the Xingan in the east. They are, thus, descendants of what he terms the Inner Asian Qırğız, a Turkic grouping that

118 Nurmuxamedov et al., **Karakalpaki**, pp. 18-27; Akiner, **Islamic Peoples**, p. 338.
119 Nasyrov, Tolstova, 1980, pp. 106-124.
120 Menges, **TLP**, p. 40; Kakuk, **Mai Török**, pp. 85-86.
121 Abdušelišvili et al., **Contributions**, pp. 5,34.

had acquired the ethnonym **Qırğız** as a political name. In the early Činggisid period they were in Northern Mongolia, not the Yenisei, and from there migrated to their present-day habitat.[122]

S.M. Abramzon also views the ethnonym **Qırğız** as having a largely poltical rather than ethnic function among the T'ien-shan bearers of this name. In his reconstruction of Qırğız origins, it is the Eastern T'ien-shan and adjoining regions, rather than the Yenisei, that served as the crucible of the present-day Qırğız people. They took shape in the 14th-17th century, combining local Turkic tribes, earlier associated with the Türk, Uyğur, Yenisei Qırğız and Qaraxanid states, with groupings that came in from Southern Siberia and Inner Asia and with Mongol and Eastern Qıpčaq (Qazaq-Noğay) tribes. The various migrations were set in motion by the Mongol invasions, or perhaps even earlier. A mass migration of Qırğız from the Yenisei did not take place.[123]

K.I. Petrov takes a similar position, placing a greater accent, however, on the Yenisei region. He suggests that the modern Qırğız language was formed in the Upper Yenisei and Southern Altay, in a Qıpčaq milieu. The modern Qırğız derive, then, from three elements : 1) local Turkic and Turkicized populations of their present-day territory (Qarluq, Uyğur and Qanglı-Qıpčaq), 2) Mongol tribes from the appanages of Ögedei and Čağatai 3) Turkic tribes, called **Qırğız**, from the Yenisei-Irtyš mesopotamia, themselves an amalgam of Western Mongol, Kimek-Qıpčaq and tribes derived from the Yenisei Qırğız state and Eastern Qıpčaqs.[124] Once again, we see the "layering" of different ethnic and linguistic elements.

S. Soucek, in several papers/unpublished studies, following Kyzlasov's thesis, views the Yenisei Qırğız as a Turkicized Samoyedic and Ostyak population ruled by the Turkic Qırğız, who may have been Qıpčaq speakers. The T'ien-shan Qırğız were formed, in the 13th-16th century, out of nomadic elements that entered the region in the Činggisid era, absorbing the earlier Irano-Soğdian sedentary population and Islamicized Turkic population. It was Oirat, rather than Činggisid, pressure, in Soucek's view, that brought about the more permanent movement of the Qırğız from their Irtyš-Yenisei homeland. It is unclear how great the role of the actual Yenisei Qırğız was in this process. Was it their ethnonym, now a political name adopted by other groups, that spread or they themselves ? The Yenisei Qırğız, in any event, disappeared, as such, by the early 18th century. The Modern Qırğız were, Soucek suggests, to some considerable extent, created by the Soviets.[125]

122 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, pp. 65-67 and his **Ist. Tuvy**, pp. 136-137.
123 Abramzon, **Kirgizy**, pp. 21-70.
124 Petrov, **Očerki**, pp. 23-24,31-32 and his **K istorii**, pp. 4-5.
125 Soucek, **Kirgiz**,112pp. I must record here my gratitude to Svat Soucek for generously sharing his work with me.

The problems remain unresolved. There is no evidence for a mass migration of Yenisei Qırğız to the T'ien-shan. Nonetheless, the name **Qırğız** had to come to its current bearers from the Yenisei grouping. Whether it came as a genuine ethnonym or a poltical name (and if so when ?) cannot be determined with certainty. We should be cautious, however, about severing completely the ethnic links between the two.

The linguistic connections with Altay Turkic may point to an old Qıpčaq base in Siberia, indicating an area where Qıpčaq speakers could have been in contact with the Yenisei Qırğız. Other explanations for the Qıpčaq element in Altay Turkic are also possible. The connection with the Eastern Qıpčaqs of the Činggisid era, however, reflected in tribal and clan names and language, is beyond dispute. In Menges' view, the Qıpčaq character of Qırğız stems from their close contacts with Qazaq after their settlement in the T'ien-shan region.[126]

The modern Qırğız divide into two confederations, the Otuz Uul ("Thirty Sons") and the Ičkilik ("Inner"). The Otuz Uul subdivide into the Onq Qanat and Sol Qanat (Right and Left Wings). Among the numerous tribal and clan names we find many that are shared by their neighbors (e.g. Qtay/Qitay, Qušču, Qıpčaq, Nayman, Qungrat).[127] Islam came relatively late to the Qırğız who were still viewed as "Infidels" in the 16th-17th century. It was in the late 17th-18th century that Islam made more substantial headway. But, numerous relics of pre-Islamic practices remain.[128]

## THE CENTRAL ASIAN TURKÎ

This grouping consists of the Özbeks, East Turkîs/Modern Uyğurs, Salars, Dolans and Šera/Šira Yoğurs. Linguistically, their literary languages appear to descend directly from the dialects of the poltically prominent elements of the Türk, Uyğur and Qaraxanid states.[129] In Western Turkistan, i.e. modern-day Uzbekistan and the westerly parts of Eastern Turkistan, the language or dialects of the Qarluq confederation probably served as the base-language.

### The Özbeks

As we have seen, the Özbek confederation, consisting of Eastern Qıpčaq and Qıpčaqicized Mongol tribes under Muḥammad Šaybânî Xan, overran Timurid Transoxiana in the beginning of the 16th century. Maḥmûd b. Walî,

126 Menges, **TLP**, pp. 43-44.
127 Abramzon, **Kirgizy**, pp. 26-27; Aristov, 1896, pp. 396-398; Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 78-79. Petrov, **Očerki**, p. 26 dates these divisions to the Yenisei-Irtyš homeland.
128 Abramzon, **Kirgizy**, pp. 267ff.; Bajalieva, **Doislamskie**.
129 Menges, **TLP**, p. 60.

in his discussion of "Turkistân" comments that "the people of this land had a special name and sobriquet in every epoch. Thus, from the time of Tura b. Yâfaṯ until the appearance of Moġul Xan, the inhabitants of this land were called **Turks**. After the power of Moġul Xan was established, the name **Moġul** was applied to all who dwelled in this land. After the raising of the banner of state of Uzbak Xan, and unto the present day, the inhabitants are called **Uzbaks**...However, in distant lands, as before, they call all the inhabitants of Tûrân **Turks**" (italics mine).[130] As elsewhere in Central Asia, this was a multi-layered process, one that has been furthered by modern governments.

Uzbekistan and adjoining Afghanistan, where Özbek populations are also to be found, have been the meeting ground of ancient Iranian populations, both nomadic and sedentary, and Turkic nomads since the Hsiung-nu/Hun era.[131] With the establishment of the Türk Qağanate in the mid-6th century, the Turkic element significantly increased. The process of Turkicization, however, is not complete.

The Özbeks basically consist of three elements : 1) the Turkicized Old Iranian population,[132] termed **Sarts**, in some regions (see below). This was itself a composite population including Iranian (Saka, Soġdian, Xwârazmian, Kušano-Bactrian) and some Arab elements. 2) the pre-Özbek Turkic nomads. These were also an amalgam of different elements, some dating back to the Hephthalite period, if not earlier, but certainly including : Qarluqs, Yağma and other tribes that had been part of the Türk Qağanates, both eastern and western, and later of the Qaraxanid state, Oğuz, the Qanglı-Qıpčaqs[133] (particularly in the western region) and a variety of Turkicized Mongol tribes (Barlas, Jalayir etc.), that came in with the Činggisid conquests and the Timurid era. They were all often termed **Türk/Türkî** or **Čağatay**. 3) the Eastern Qıpčaq Özbek union.[134] The latter were sometimes called **Taza Özbek** "Pure Özbeks." The Turkicization of the local Iranian population, speaking Soġdian and/or other Iranian languages (including Persian/Darî /Tâjik), on a large scale, probably began in the Qaraxanid and Seljukid era.

130 Maḥmûd b. Walî/Axmedov, p. 32.

131 Some studies by contemporary Özbek scholars tend to minimize the Iranian element and place Turkic elements in the region well before the first millennium A.D., cf. Èrmatov, **Etnogenez**.

132 Oshanin, **Anthropological**, pp. 36-37, views the Tâjik and Özbek populations as essentially the same, except that the Özbeks were "Mongolized in type, to some degree, and almost completely Turkicized in language." This is certainly an over-simplification, but it does underscore the strong Iranian component.

133 On the distribution and history of the Qanglı, Qıpčaq, Uz (Oğuz) and others in Uzbekistan, see the studies of Šanijazov, 1972, pp. 4-12 and his monographs **Uzbeki-karluki** and **K ètničeskoj istorii**; Kubakov, 1972, pp. 13-19.

134 As early as the 16th century, lists of the tribes and clans composing this union, usually given as 92 in number, were composed, cf. that of Sayf ad-Dîn Axsikentî writing in Farġâna, see Sultanov, **Kočevye plemena**, pp. 26-51.

It is already apparent in the **Dîwân** of Maḥmûd al-Kâšgarî. Turkic influences were being felt in Xwârazm in the century immediately preceding the Mongol conquest and even more strongly after the Činggisids took control. Prolonged periods of bilingualism followed, continuing in a number of regions, especially the cities, even today.[135] Bilingualism may also be observed among smaller, composite ethno-confessional groupings, e.g. the Šîᶜite Irânîs, based on a Persian Šîᶜite core to which other elements (Tajiks, Qıpčaqs, Baluči) were added. They are now linguistically divided between Tajik and Özbek speakers.[136]

The much-discussed term **Sart** (now considered ethnically biased), previously used by the Turkic nomads to designate the sedentary, Iranian population, was applied by the nomadic Özbeks to the sedentary population, including Turkic speakers, as a whole. In time, it came to be used as an intra-Turkic term to designate the sedentary Turkic-speaking population, thereby distinguishing it from the Tâjiks who continued to speak only Iranian. It was mostly used in the Xwârazm, Farġâna and Taškent regions and only infrequently in the Buxara region.[137] In Xwârazm/Xanate of Xiva, the term denoted the population of the southern regions of the xanate which was overwhelmingly descended from the ancient Iranian population. This population Turkicized by the 16th century, although it appears that bilingualism may have continued until the mid-19th century. It was only after the Özbek population of the north began to sedentarize that Turkicization was completed. These Sarts speak a form of Turkic with strong Türkmen elements and hence different from the Qıpčaqo-Özbek of the north.[138]

Some Özbek groups have maintained a tribal identity (e.g. the Qurama, Qıpčaq, Qangli) into the 20th century.[139]

The dialects of Özbek proper divide into two groupings : 1) Southern or Central, also termed Qarluq-Čigil (typical of cites, Taškent, Samarqand, Buxara, Qatta-Qurğan etc.), which are iranized, to varying degrees, having lost Turkic vowel harmony 2) Northern, in which the Iranian influence is not felt (subdivides into Northwestern and Southern). In addition, there are the Qıpčaq and Oğuz/Türkmen dialects. These three major groupings (Turkî, Qıpčaq and Oğuz) are also represented among the Özbek-speakers in Afghanistan.[140]

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135 Bennigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, pp. 57-58; Oranskij, **Vvedenie** (2nd ed.), pp. 236-239; see also Jakubovskij, **K voprosu**, pp. 3-18 for a general overview.

136 Ljuškevič, 1980, pp. 202-203.

137 Bregel, 1978, pp. 120-122.

138 Bregel, 1978, pp. 123,138,146-149.

139 Data on some of these groups can be found in the summaries of Aristov, 1896, pp. 422-425; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 102-105 (for the late 19th century) and Wixman, **Peoples**, p. 212. According to Oshanin, **Anthropological**, 2, pp. 49-50 the "tribal" or "clan" Özbeks have preserved more of the Mongolian type than those who have lost these affiliations.

140 Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 97-98, (bibl. on dialects), 100-102.

## Modern Uyğurs

The present-day Uyğurs derive from the Turkic tribes of the Orxon and diasporan Uyğur states, to which other Turkic tribes (Qarluqo-Qaraxanid[141] Yağma, Tuxsı, perhaps Čigil) and tribal elements shuffled around in the turmoil of the Činggisid and Timurid periods, undoubtedly contributed. The Turkicized Iranian and Toxarian population of Eastern Turkistan, Turkicizing in Kâšğarî's day, must also be reckoned a significant factor in their ethnogenesis. The name **Uyğur** appears to have fallen into disuse by the 16th century. The **Ta'rîx-i Rašîdî**, as was noted previously, remarks that what Juvainî had called **Uyğur** "is quite unknown at the present time; it is not understood which country is meant."[142] This may well have been due to Islamicizing pressures emanating from the Čağatayids. The ethnonym **Uyğur** with its rich, un-islamic historical, cultural and religious past, so long associated with the "Infidel" was deemed inappropriate. "Muslim" became, as elsewhere in the Turkic world, a general designation along with regional or local names (e.g. **Turpanliq** "Turfanian," **Qašqarliq** "Kâšğarian") or simply **yerlik** ("local people"). Özbeks from Taškent, Andijan and other areas that formed an urban merchant class were collectively termed **Andijanliq**. East Turkî-speakers that were settled in the Ili valley were given the designation **Taranči** ("farmer").[143] Travellers also mention groupings of East Turkîs such as the Abdal "who speak East Turkish, but also use some words of unknown origin," or the still little-studied Dolons/Dolans (of obscure origins) whose women went unveiled and mixed freely.[144]

The only grouping to have preserved the **Uyğur** ethnonym was that of the Buddhist "Yellow Uyğurs"/Sarığ Yuğur/Šera-Šira Yoğurs, descendants of the Uyğur diaspora in Kansu who have been subject to strong Mongolian and Tibetan influences as well as Chinese which is now widely spoken by them.[145] The ethnonym **Uyğur** was revived in 1921 by Turkistanian intellectuals and political figures at a congress in Taškent. It gained wider acceptance by the

141 Kâšğar, a major Uyğur city of today, it should be remembered, was an Eastern Qaraxanid capital and a major center for the development of Turko-Islamic culture. Maljavkin, **Ujgurskie gosudarstva**, p. 194, is of the opinion that the actual Uyğurs played virtually no role in the genesis of the people who today bear their name.

142 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, p. 360.

143 Tixonov, **Xozjajstvo**, pp. 25-26; von Le Coq, **Buried**, p. 40; Ruziev, **Vozroždënnyj narod**, p. 42; Valixanov, "O sostojanii" **Sobranie sočinenij**, III, pp. 157-158; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 100-102; Čvyr', **Vost. Turkestan**, pp. 36,38,42,50,73..

144 von Le Coq, **Buried**, p. 39; Valixanov, "O sostajanii" **Sobranie sočinenij**, III, p. 158; Skrine, **Chinese Central Asia**, pp. 123-124; Tenišev, 1965, pp. 94-96; Čvyr', **Vost. Turkestan**, pp. 57,63-64. Nadžip, **Sovremennyj**, p. 9 views Dolan as a separate language of the Uyğur grouping.

145 According to Tenišev, see his introductory comments to Malov, **Jazyk žëltyx ujgurov**, p. 3, only those calling themselves Sarığ Yuğur continue to speak Turkic.

1940's.[146]

Modern Uyğur dialectology is a relatively young field. Kakuk presents the following division : a) two major groupings : Southern (western and southern Tarim Basin, including Kašğar, Yarkend, Yangi Hisar, Xotan, Aqsu) Northern (northern and eastern Tarim Basin, including Kuča, Qarašar, Turfan, Qomul, the İli Uyğurs) and b) two distinct, isolates: the dialects of Lobnor and that of the Xoton (< Mong. **Xoton** Class. Mong. **Xotong** "inhabitant of Turkistan, Moslem"). The latter term themselves **Busurman** ("Muslim") and derive from prisoners of war/slaves taken in Mongol raids in Turkistan. In the late 19th century, some 400 Xotons nomadized among the Western Mongol Dörbet. They appear to have largely Mongolized at present.[147] Tenišev divides the Neo-Uyğur dialects into Central (Turfan, Qaraxoja, Kučar, Aqsu, Maralveši Kašğar, Yarkend), Southern (Guma, Xotan, Lob, Čeriya, Keriya) and Eastern (Lobnor).[148]

Salar (Salır) is spoken by a Muslim Turkic people living, for the most part, in eastern Chinghai province and numbering perhaps 70,000. Some view it as an isolated Neo-Uyğur dialect; others as more closely tied to Sarığ Yuğur. Chinese sources, of the Ming era, place their migration to China in the 14th century. The **Ta³rîx-i Rašîdî** notes the toponym Huču Salar, located on the borders of Tibet.[149] Their own traditions derive their origins from the Samarqand region and associate them with the Türkmen Salur/Salor etc. While it is not impossible that the Salars were originally an Oğuz-Türkmen grouping that underwent uyğurization, the available linguistic data (largely pertaining to the treatment of long vowels) is ambiguous and requires further study.[150] They have undergone substantial Mongol, Chinese and Tibetan influences.[151]

## THE TURKIC PEOPLES OF SIBERIA

Southern Siberia, along with Mongolia, as we have seen, is the region in which the Turkic peoples are first attested in the written sources. It was also, over the course of centuries, a refuge for Turkic groups pushed out of the

146 Binnigsen, Wimbush, **Muslims**, p. 115; Ramsey, **Languages**, p. 186; Gladney, 1990, pp. 11-12.

147 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, p. 100; Pritsak, "Das Neuuigurische" **PhTF**, I, p. 528; Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 103-104; Bromlej (ed.), **Narody mira**, p. 309.

148 Tenišev, **Ujgurskie tektsy**, p. 4. See also Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 311-312. Kajdarov, **Razvitie**, pp. 56ff. provides a detailed survey of the study of the dialects. Classification schemata are discussed, pp. 124ff.

149 **Tarikh-i Rashidi**/Ross, pp. 404-405n.2.

150 Kakuk, 1962a, p. 162.

151 Kakuk, **Mai török**, pp. 108-109 and Kakuk, 1960, pp. 173-196; Ma, **China's Minority**, pp. 119-123; Thomsen, "Die Sprache" **PhTF**, I, p. 566; Çagatay, **Türk Lehçeleri**, II, p. 215.

steppe and unable to move westward. The present-day Turkic population is, numerically speaking, rather small. It has, however, complicated antecedents, reflecting ethnic processes that have, undoubtedly, been taking place, sporadically, for millennia : the Turkicization of the Uralo-Samodian and Palaeo-Siberian (especially Kettic) peoples. The consolidation of many small, pre-tribal groupings into more clear-cut entities is largely the work of modern governments.

It is unclear, at present, whether Southern Siberia was simply an early recipient of Turkic populations, coming either from the west-southwest (steppe zone) or the east, or itself an ancient homeland of Turkic-speakers. Subsequently, in historical times, Turkic influences came not only from the steppes directly to the south, but later from Kazakhstan and Western Siberia as well.[152] Thus, it is possible, positing the region as a Turkic **Urheimat**, that Turkic populations, adopting the equestrian pastoral nomadic economy of the steppe, left it only to return in later eras. In historical times, the southwestern zone appears most Turkic or Turkicized, as it was most open to the steppe. As elsewhere, the Turkicization of Palaeo-Siberian (Kettic, Yukagir-related tongues) and Samodian peoples was a layered process, taking place over centuries. In the 18th-19th century, the process was accelerated. These various layers, which included earlier Iranian elements, are reflected in toponyms and in the material culture of the Siberian Turkic peoples.[153]

Similarly, there were overlapping periods of outside rule and jurisdictions. Tributes were paid, simultaneously, to more than one overlord (cf. the **Dvoedancy**). In the early 17th century, many of these tribes were under the rule of various Qırğız princes. Russian penetration and contact with these tribes began at about this time. The ruling Qırğız elements were removed in 1703 by the Jungars.[154] The period of Jungarian/West Mongol rule, which ended in 1755, together with the growing Russian administration over these peoples was, perhaps, most crucial to establishing their present-day configurations. Groups were consolidated and "tribes" created for administrative reasons. A process that was furthered by Tsarist administrative reforms in the 19th century.

We may divide these peoples into the following groupings:

I. South Siberian : 1. Altay Turks 2. Abakan-Xakas Grouping 3. Tuba
II. Yakut

152 Menges, 1955, pp. 110,112, who posits a "relatively late penetration of Central-Southern and Northeastern Siberia" by Turkic groupings moving up from the southwest. He dates its beginning to the Činggisid era.

153 **Ist. Sibiri**, I, pp. 360-361; Menges, 1956, p. 161; Menges, **TLP**, pp. 48,50.

154 Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 111-114, 348-349,384.

## I. SOUTH SIBERIAN TURKS

### 1. The Altay Turks

Called "Altajcy" in Russian, and earlier "Oyrot" (< Mong. Oyirad), a designation deriving from their having been part of the Jungarian empire, they live in the Altay and Kuzneckij Alatau mountain area in the Gorno-Altaj Autonomous Oblast' of the Altaj Kraj in Siberia. Elements of this grouping were brought under Činggisid rule with Joči's campaign of 1207 against the "People of the Forest." Among those submitting to Joči were the Mongol Oyirad, Buriyad and the Barǧun, Ursud, Qabganas, Qangqas, Tubas, Kirgisud, Šibir, Kesdiyim, Bayid, Tuqas, Tenleg (Teleng ?), Tö°eles, Tas and Bajigid (Baškir).[155]

They subdivide into the Northern Altays, consisting of the Tuba [Tuva-Tuma/Yıš Kiži, the former "Černevye Tatary"], the Kumandins [Qumandı-/Qubandı-/Quvantı-Kiži, "Bijskie Kalmyki"], Lebed [Qû-Kiži, "Lebedincy" or "Lebedinskie Tatary," Čalqandu-/Čalqan-/Šalqan(du)-Kiži etc.][156] and the Southern Altays, embracing the Altay-Kiži, Telengit ["Urjanxajcy," "Čujcy," Dvoedancy"] and Teleut [Telenggut/Telenget, "Belye Kalmyki"].[157] Some of the clan-names noted among this people (e.g. Qıpčaq, Mundus, Nayman, Mürküt (Merkit), Sart, Soyon, Mongol etc.[158]) clearly connect them with other Turkic and Mongol-Turkic populations.

The Southern Altay groupings, pastoral nomads, are closest linguistically and anthropologically to the Central Asian Turkic population. Among the Northern Altays, forest hunters with elements of sedentary pastoralism, the Uralic type (much like Ob Ugrian) predominates. This, once again, points to their complex ethnogenesis, attested in the clan-names noted above. In addition to Turkic and Turkicized Mongol elements (among whom Qıpčaqs figured prominently), Samodian and Kettic ethnic strains are considered to be important as well. This is reflected in language and culture.[159]

155 **Secret Hist.**/Cleaves, p. 173. In another context, pp. 147-148, the "Činos, Tö°ölös and Telenggüd" are noted. See also Pelliot, **Notes sur l'histoire**, pp. 141-142.

156 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 210-222.

157 Menges, 1955, p. 107; Pritsak, "Das Altaitürkische, " **PhTF**, pp. 569-571; **Kakuk Mai török**, pp. 114-115; Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 123ff., 187-198, who calls them "Altajskie Gornye Kalmyki" has a detailed description of them.

158 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, p. 96.

159 Potapov, **Očerki**, pp. 134-135,137,143,150,153-162; Menges, **TLP**, p. 50; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 7,101-102 305-309. For a more detailed discussion, see the study by Potapov, **Ètničeskij sostav.**

## 2. The Abakan (Abaqan)-Xakas Grouping

Located in the southern region of the Krasnojarsk Kraj in the Minusa Basin, they were formerly termed the Abakan or Minusa Tatars ("Abakanskie, Minusinskie Tatary"). They now have the name Xakas, an ethnonym consciously adopted by the local intelligentsia after the 1917 Revolution. Prior to that, clan-names served as their self-designations. The Tsarist government, in an attempt to create a smoother administrative system, aided the process of people-formation by pushing them into "tribes." Kyzlasov has attempted to argue that this is an old name, reflected in the Chinese Hsia-chia-ssŭ (transcribed into Russian as Xakas, Xagjas etc., actually a designation for the Qırğız), which he derives from Samodian **kas/xas** "man, person, people" (cf. Motor **kazı** etc.) which figures in other Samodian tribal names (e.g. the Nenec Xasava and the Enec **Kasa**, or **Karagas** "Crane People"). It may also be seen among the Baškir.[160] Barthold, however, as was noted in Chap. 6, long ago pointed out that this was an artificial creation. He commented that after the Revolution, the Turkic inhabitants of the Upper Yenisei-Minusa area, having received national autonomy, felt the need for a national name. Up to this time they had managed without one. "The Minusinsk intelligentisa then took from the Chinese sources the word **xakas**, knowing that the Chinese called thus the people who formerly lived in the Minusa kraj and who had some political significance, but not knowing that the name incorrectly designaed the Qırğız who were no longer in the Minusa kraj."[161]

According to Radlov, they embraced 5 large groupings : the Qača (Kas, Kač, Kaš, "Kačincy"), who had been absorbing Kettic Arins since the 17th century (cf. the clan Ara), other Kettic peoples, Samodian, Qırğız and other elements, the Sağay (including the clans Sağay, Turan, Sarığ, Irgit, Qıy, Qırğıs etc.), Beltir, Qoybal (of Southern Samodian origin[162]) and Qızıl which had "gradually formed out of many smaller tribes."[163]

Here again, we find the familiar pattern of Kettic, Samodian (Karagas, Koibal, Kamasin, Motor) and other components coming into interaction or being organized by the Tsarist government into units together with Turkic populations, including the Qırğız and their subjects (qıštıms). They were

160 Kyzlasov, **Ist. južn. Sibiri**, p. 61. Kuzeev, **Proisxoždenie**, pp. 250,271 (Kaxas). Cf. the critical comments of Serdobov, **Ist. form. tuv. nacii**, pp. 101-105, regarding Kyzlasov's idealization of the ancient "Xakas" and misinterpretations.

161 Bartol'd, **Dvenadcat' lekcij, Sočinenija**, V, pp. 40-41; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, p. 351; Menges, 1956, pp. 166-168. See also S.I. Vajnštejn's commentary in Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 586-587n.11.

162 Hajdú, **Finno-Ugrian**, p. 216. According to Menges, 1956, p. 168, they call themselves **Tuba**.

163 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 88-91. See also his description of their economy and culture, pp. 222-246.

Turkicized in the early 18th century, although some were bilingual into the 19th century.[164]

At present, the Xakas peoples are divided into 2 linguisitc groupings : 1) Sağay-Beltir, 2) Qača-Qoybal-Qızıl-Šor (see below).[165] Also in the Xakas grouping are the :

### Čulım Tatars

The small grouping of Čulım Tatars, barely 500 souls in Radlov's day, are located on the Čulym river. They are subdivided into the Kecik, Küerik and Čulım Tatars. It would appear that they derive from Qıpčaq-speaking Tatars, from the Siberian Xanate, that migrated eastward in the aftermath of the fall of Küčüm. Here, they mixed with older Turkic elements and Kettic elements.[166]

### The Šor

Formerly termed in Russian the "Kuzneckie, Kondomskie, Mrasskie Tatary" and now "Šorcy" (= Šor-Kiži), they live in the Kemerovo Oblast' of the RSFSR. There is a grouping bearing this name among the Northern Altay Turks (the relationship is not entirely clear) as well as among the Xakas proper.[167] This ethnonym means "sleigh," **Šor-kiži** "sleigh-man." Its derivation is obscure.[168] Previously, they themselves did not use a common ethnic designation. They appear to stem from Turkicized Samodians, Ketts and perhaps Ugrians, showing similarities with the Northern Altay Turks, combined with older Turkic populations of the region.[169]

### 3. The Tuba Grouping

The Tuvinians (self-designation **Tuva, Tıva**) of Western Mongolia-Tannu Tuva, were termed previously Soyon, pl. Soyot (< Mong.), Uryanqai,

164 Potapov, **Očerki**, p. 143; Menges, 1955, p. 113; Hajdú, **Finno-Ugrian**, p. 216; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 342,350-351,358,360,362-5; Pritsak, "Das Abakan-" **PhTF**, I, pp. 599,629.

165 Pritsak, "Das Abakan-" **PhTF**, I, p. 599; Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, p. 326-334; Kakuk, **Mai Török**, pp. 118-119; Menges, 1955, p. 108. Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, p. 440 suggest that the Sağay are of Šor origins.

166 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, p. 92; Pritsak, "Das Abakan-," **PhTF**, I, p. 623; Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 336-337.

167 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 93-95,198-210,595n.58.

168 See discussion in Menges, 1956, pp. 164-166.

169 Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 440-444; Wixman, **Peoples**, p. 178; Akiner, **Islamic**, p. 417; Baskakov, **Vvedenie**, pp. 334-335; Kakuk **Mai Török**, pp. 121-123.

Urjanxajcy etc.[170] Related groupings are the Tofalar/Tubalar[171]and the Tuba of the Altay Turks. The name is possibly to be connected with the Tupo of Chinese sources, a T'ieh-lê tribe, living south of Lake Baikal. Their ethnogenesis, like others in the region, involves Samodian, Kettic and Mongol elements as well as Turkic. The latter, it has been suggested, included the Uyğurs, Čik, Az and Telengüt, among others. Soviet scholars place them, successively, under Türk, Uyğur, Qırğız, Činggisid, Oirad Jungarian and Manchu rule.[172]

## II. THE YAQUTS

This designation is from the Tungus **Yaka** via Russian. The Yakuts call themselves **Saxa** (< **Yaqa**). Presently in Eastern Siberia, their language, folklore, elements of their economy (cattle and horse-breeding) and material culture indicate that their original habitats must have been well to the south of the land they now occupy. They also absorbed a number of local peoples, Samodians (the Dolgans are Yaquticized Samodians/Tavgy), Yukagirs and perhaps other Palaeo-Siberians as well as Mongols and Tungusic peoples. It is hypothesized that the Turkic ancestors of the Yaquts came from the Lake Baikal region and are to be connected with the Üč Qurıqan known from the Orxon Türk inscriptions, Chinese (Ku-li-kan) and Islamic (qwry) sources. The chronology of their migration is unclear. Okladnikov suggests it antedates the rise of Činggis Xan. He further suggests that it was the ancestors of the Buryat that caused the displacement of the Turkic ancestors of the Yaquts northwards.[173] Other scholars, however, place their migration in the Činggisid era, i.e. the 13th-14th century. Yet others posit a prolonged period, extending from the 10th-16th century.[174] The Yaquts present a remarkable adaptation of a steppe society to the conditions of the far North.

The process of nation-building is open-ended. Given the fact that a number of the modern Turkic peoples have only recently taken form, usually in structures influenced by "outside" political forces, it is possible that new

170 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 86-88,97-100,481ff., 585n.7; Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 125; Menges, 1955, pp. 108-109. He remarks (Menges, 1956, p. 171) that this ethnonym "is used to designate tribes by almost all South-Siberian Turks."

171 Radlov, **Iz Sibiri**, pp. 87-88, 583-584n.2; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, p. 474.

172 Liu, **CN**, I, p. 128 (**Sui-shu**); Serdobov, **Ist. form.tuv. nacii**, pp. 94,110; Menges, **TLP**, p. 47; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, pp. 281-384; Akiner, **Islamic**, p. 400; Wixman, **Peoples**, p. 201.

173 Menges, 1955, pp. 112-113; Okladnikov, **Yakutia**, pp. 229-235,245-251,285,298-303,306,314,318,320-336,343,351,380.

174 Menges, **TLP**, pp. 51-52; Kakuk, **Mai török**, p. 128; Ergis (ed.), **Istor. predanija**,I, p. 20; Levin, Potapov, **Peoples**, p. 89,98,102, 244-246.

combinations, especially in a fluid political situation, may develop. Indeed, with the breakup of the Soviet Union, taking place as this work is being prepared for press, we witness just such a situation.

# TURKIC ETHNONYMS : FORMS AND TRANSCRIPTIONS

This listing contains only the names of the more important peoples, both historical and modern, mentioned in this work.

The Turkic form is followed by the most commonly found Modern Turkish, English and/or Russian renderings

Abaqan, Abakan
Altay Kiži, Altay-Kiji/Altay-Kişi, Altay Turk, Oyrot
Aq Qoyunlu, Akkoyunlu, Aqquyunlu
Avšar/Afšar, Afşar, Avshar/Afshar
Azarbâyjânî/Azerî, Azeri Türkleri, Azeri, Azerbeidzhani
Bašqort/Bašqurt, Başkırt, Baškir/Bashkir
Balqar/Malqar, Balkar/Malkar/Malkarlı
Beltir,
Bulğar, Bulghar, Protobulgar, Protobolgar
Čağatay, Çagatay, Chaghatai
Čalqandu, Çalkandu-Kiži
Čulım, Çulım, Chulym Tatars
Čăvaš/Čuvaš, Çuvaş, Chuvash
Gagauz
Küerik
Mišer/Mišär, Mişer, Mishar
Noğay, Nogay, Noghai
Oğur, Ogur, Oghur
Oğuz, Oğuz, Oghuz, Ghuzz
Osmanlı, Osmanlı, Ottoman
Özbek/Özbeg, Özbek, Uzbek
Pečeneg/Pečenek, Peçenek, Pecheneg, Patzinak
Qača, Kaç, Kacha
Qačar/Qajar, Kacar, Qâjâr
Qalač/Xalaj, Halaç/Kalaç, Khalaj
Qanglı, Kanglı, Qangli
Qaračay, Karaçay/Karaçaylı, Karachai
Qara Qalpaq, Kara Kalpak
Qaray/Qaraim, Karaim, Karay/Karaî, Qaraim, Karaite
Qaraxânid, Karahanlı, Qarakhanid, İlek Khanid
Qašqâ'i, Kaşkay, Kashkai, Qashqai
Qazanlı, Kazanlı, Kazan Tatar
Qazaq, Kazak, Kazax/Kazakh, formerly Kirghiz-Kaisak, Kazakh-Kirghiz
Qazar, Hazar, Khazar/Xazar
Qıpčaq, Kıpçak, Qïpchaq, Kipchak
Qırğız, Kırgız, Kirghiz, formerly Kara Kirghiz, Dikokamenny Kirghiz, Burut

Qızıl, Kızıl, Kyzyl
Qoybal, Koybal, Koibal
Qû-Kiži, Lebed Türkleri, Lebed, Lebedinskij Tatar
Qumuq, Kumuk, Kumyk
Quman, Kuman, Cuman, Coman
Qumandu, Kumandu, formerly Bijskij Kalmyk
Sabir [*Sabır], Sabir, Sawâr, Suwâr
Sağay, Sagay, Saghai
Salar
Sarığ Uyğur, (Yuğur) Sarı Uygur, Šera Yoğur, Yellow Uighur
Selčük, Selçuklu, Seljuq, Saljuq, Salchuq
Šor, Şor, Shor, formerly Kuzneckij/Kondomskij/Mrasskij Tatar
Tatar
Telengit, Uriankhai
Telengüt, Teleut (Belyj Kalmyk)
Toquz Oğuz, Tokuz Oğuz, Toquz Oghuz
Tölös
Tuba, Tuba, Yıš Kiži, formerly Černevye Tatary
Tuba/Tuva, Tuvan, Tuvinian, formerly Soyon, Uriankhai
Türk, Türk, Orkhon Turk
Türkmen, Türkmen, Turkoman
Xakas, Hakas, Khakas
Yaqut (Saxa), Yakut

ARABIC FORMS

ʾjlâd اجلاد

ʾlmš [almuš] : المش

ʾlqh ʾywly [alqa ewli] : القه ايولى

ʾnsâ [*ansâ/insâ] : انسا = ايشا : ʾyšâ [išâ] = ايشاد: ʾyšâd [Îšâd]

ʾsġl [Asğıl] : اسغل ʾskl [Eskil] : اسكل

ʾtl [Atıl/Etil] : اتل

ʾwrkîr [Üregir] : اوركير

ʾyġrxân [uyğurxân] : ايغرخان

ʾylġz : ايلغز

ʾylmâlmsn : ايلمالمسن recte (?) : ايل الميش ʾyl ʾlmyš [ *il-almış]

ʾymâk [İmek (Yimek/Yemek)] : ايماك

ʾymy [imi] : ايمى = ʾymr [*Eymür] : ايمر

?lâ?dr بلاندر > *byândr [bayândur] : بياندر

bdwʾ بدوا or ndâ : ندا

bġskl بغسكل or hsky : هسكى

bjânâk [Pečenäk] : بجاناك bjnâk [Pečenäk] : بجناك bjnh [Pečene] : بجنه = Pečeneg/Pečenek

blâq [Bulaq] : بلاق

blġâr [Bulğar] : بلغار blkâr [Bulgar] : بلكار

brkyn : بركين: *brky بركى [*bürge ?]

bryš : بريش

bstân : بستان

byklyġ : بيكليغ

bzânky : بزانكى

frâ xyh : فرا خيه > *qrâ xyh [Qara ???] : قرا خيه

fwry [Fûrî] : فورى or qwry [Qûrî] : قورى or qwn [Qûn] : قون

ġzz غز Ġuzz (Oğuz)

hyṭl [Hayṭal] : هيطل hyâṭlh (pl.) Hayâṭila : هياطله Hephthalites

kmâk yyfwr : كماك ييفور var. kmâk byġwr : كماك بيغور

kmjkṯ : كمجكث *mkjkṯ : مكخكث
kndr : كندر > *kndw [kündü] : كندو
ksym : كسيم > kštym [kištim] : كشتم
kwalyn : كوالين > kwlrkyn [Külerkin] : كولركين
kymâk [Kimek] : كيماك
lâznh : لازنه
lbân : لبان
lnyqâz : لنيقاز
mḍrbh : مضربه > mṣrbh [Masaraba ?] : مصربه
mrqh : مرقه = frqh [Ar. firqah] : فرقه
prnâk [Pürnek] : برناك
qârlûq [Qarluq] : قارلوق
qra ʾywli [Qara Ewli] : قرا ايولى
qbjâq [Qıpčaq] : قبجاق
qnkly [Qanglı] : قنكلى
qmnkw : قمنكو > *qmnlw [Qumanlu] : قمنلو
qwn قون Qun
sljwq [Saljuq/Salčuq/Selčuq] : ساجوق
sljwk [Seljük/Selčük] : سلجوك
swâr [Suwar/Sawar] : سوار
swâz [Suwaz] : سواز
šâbh : شابه var. šânh : شانه šâyh : شايه
tġzġz : تغزغز tġzġz [Toğuz Oğuz = Toquz Oğuz] : طغزغز
tqâq [Toqaq] : تقاق [yqâq : يقاق ]
trk [Turk]: ترك (pl. al-atrâk : الاتراك )
ttâr [Tatar] : تتار
txsyn : تخسين
wrz : ورز for wrr : ورر ?
wyrġ [wuyrığ = buyruq] : ويرغ
xâqân [Qağan] : خاقان
xâqân bh [Qağan Beg] : خاقان به

xfjâq [Xifjaq]: خفجاق xfšâx [Xifšax] : خفشاخ = Qıpčaq

xlj [Xalaj] : خلج or xlx [Xallux (Qarluq)] : خلخ

xrxîz [Xirxiz = Qır'ğız] : خرخيز

xym : خيم

xzr [Xazar] : خزر

ybġw³ [Yabğu] يبغوا (byġw³ [Bayğu] : بيغوا )

yġmâ [Yağma] : يغما

ylṭwâr [Yıltawar < El-teber] : يلطوار

ymk [Yimek/Yemek] يمك

CHINESE FORMS

A-chê 阿熱

A-lan 阿蘭

A-hsi-chieh 阿悉結

A-hsi-chieh of Ni-shu i-chin 阿悉結泥孰俟斤

A-pu-ssŭ 阿部思

A-tie 阿跌

A-wu-chê 阿勿嘀

Chao-wu 昭武

Ch'i-ku 契骨

Ch'i-pi (-yü) 契苾羽

Ch'i-ssŭ 烯俟

or P'o-fu/P'o-so/So-fu 婆匐 婆娑 娑匐

Chien-k'un 堅昆

also Chieh-ku 結骨

Ho-ku 紇骨

Ho-ku-ssŭ 紇扢斯

Hsia-chia-ssŭ 黠戛斯

Chiu-li 九離

Cho/Chuo/Ch'o 啜

Chüeh-t'i 駃騠 駃騠

Ch'u-mu-kun 處木昆 處木昆

Ch'u-yüeh 處月 處月

Ch'ü-she 屈射 屈射

En-ch'ü 恩屈 恩屈

Fu-lo 覆羅 覆羅

Ho-sa 曷薩 曷薩

Ho-ssŭ-chieh 紇斯結 紇斯結

Hsi-chieh 奚結 奚結

Hsi-ye-wu 奚耶勿 奚耶勿

Hsieh-li-fa 頡利法 頡利法

Hsieh-yen-t'o 薛延陀 薛延陀

Hsien-pi 鮮卑 鮮卑

Hsien-yün 獫狁 獫狁

Hsin-li 薪犁 薪犁

Hsün-yü 葷粥 葷粥

Hsiung-nu 匈奴 匈奴

Hu 胡 胡

Hu-chieh 呼揭 呼揭

Hu-hsieh/Ho-sa 觳薛 觳薩 觳薛 觳薩

Hu-lu-wu 胡祿屋 胡祿屋

Hu-tu-ku 胡咄葛 胡咄葛

Hu-wu-su 斛嗢素

Hua 滑

Hui-ho/Hui-hu 回紇 回鶻

Hun 渾

Hun-chu 葷豬

Jou-jan 柔然

Juan-juan 蠕蠕

K'ang-chü 康居

Kao-chü/Kao-ch'ê 高車

Kê-han 可汗

Ko-k'un 鬲昆

Ko-sa 葛薩

Ko-shu 哥舒

Ko-shu Ch'u-pan i-chin 哥舒處半俟斤

K'o-ho-tun 可賀敦

K'o-lo 科羅

K'o-sa/Ho-sa 可薩

Ku-li-kan 骨利幹

Ku-lun-wu-ku 骨崙屋骨

Ku-tu 孤塗

K'u-mo-hsi 庫莫奚

K'un-mo/K'un-mi 昆莫 昆彌

Men-ch'en 蒙陳

Mêng-wu 蒙兀

Mo-ko-hsi-chi 貊歌息訖

Mo-yen-ch'uo/ch'o 磨延啜

Mou-lo/Mou-la 謀落 謀剌

Mou-yü 牟羽

Mu-han 木汗

Mu-jung 慕容

Nu-shih-pi 弩失畢

Pa-erh-ku 拔野古

Pa-hsi-mi 拔悉彌

Pa-sai-kan 拔塞幹

Pei-hsi 白霫

Pei-ju 北褥

P'u-ku 僕骨

Sai 塞

Sha-t'o 沙陀

Shan-yü 單于

Shih-shê-t'i tun 攝舍提暾

Shih-wei 室韋

Shu-ni-shi 鼠尼施

So-to 莎索 莎咄

Su-lu-chieh 蘇路羯

Ta-tou 達頭

Ting-ling 丁靈

Tsü-ch'ü 沮渠

Tu-ju (ho) 吐如

Tu-ku 獨孤

Tu-lo-wu/Chiu-lo-wu 咄羅勿 屈羅勿

Tu-lu 都陸

Tung-hu 東胡

T'a-po [Given in Kljaštornyj, Livšic, 1972 as T'o-po] 他鉢

T'a-shih-li 踏實力

T'ê-lê 特勒

T'ieh-lê 鐵勒

T'o-pa 拓拔

Ts'u-lung-ho 促隆忽

T'u-ch'i-shih ho-lo-shih 突騎施賀邏施

T'u-men 土門

T'u-yü-hun 吐谷渾

T'ung-lo 同羅

T'ung-shê-hu 統葉護

T'u-t'un 吐屯

Wei-ho 韋紇

Wu-chieh 烏揭

Wu-huan 烏讙

Wu-hun 嗢昏

Wu-sun 烏孫

Yeh-ta 嚱噠

Yen-mie 咽蔑

Yen-mien 咽麵

Yen-ts'ai 奄蔡

Yo-lo-ku 藥羅葛

Yo-wu-ku 藥勿葛

Yüan-ho 袁紇

Yüeh-chih 月氏

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**ABBREVIATIONS** (collections, journals, series, frequently cited works)

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **APAW** | : | **Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften** |
| **AEMAe** | : | Archivum Eurasiae Medii Aevi |
| **AO** | : | **Archivum Ottomanicum** |
| **AOH** | : | **Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae** |
| **BGA** | : | **Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum** (Leiden) |
| **BOH** | : | Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica |
| **BSOAS** | : | **Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies** |
| **BSOS** | : | see **BSOAS** |
| **BT** | : | see under Moravcsik, **Byzantinoturcica** |
| **CAJ** | : | **Central Asiatic Journal** |
| **CHC** | : | **The Cambridge History of China** |
| **CHEIA** | : | The Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia |
| **CHIr.** | : | The Cambridge History of Iran |
| **CN** | : | see under Liu, Die chinesischen Nachrichten |
| **DMA** | : | see under Strayer, Dictionary of the Middle Ages |
| **ED** | : | see under Clauson, **Etymological Dictionary** |
| **EI** | : | Encyclopaedia of Islam (1st ed., 1913-1942) |
| **HEPCP** | : | see under Tryjarski et al., **Hunowie europejscy** |
| **HMK** | : | see under Németh, **A honfoglaló** |
| **HUS** | : | **Harvard Ukrainian Studies** |
| **IUUA** | : | Indiana University Uralic and Altaic Series |
| **JA** | : | Journal Asiatique |
| **JAH** | : | **Journal of Asian History** |
| **JAS** | : | **Journal of Asian Studies** |
| **LCL** | : | Loeb Classical Library |
| **MED** | : | see under Lessing, **Mongolian-English** |
| **MIKK** | : | see under Romodin, **Materialy** |
| **MIKX** | : | see under Ibragimov, **Materialy** |
| **MITT** | : | see under Volin, Materialy |
| **MKE** | : | see under Györffy, **A magyarság keleti elemei** |
| **MNy** | : | Magyar Nyelv |
| **MNyTESZ** | : | see under Benkő, **A magyar nyelv** |
| **MŐT** | : | see under Ligeti, **A magyarság őstörténete** |
| **PDrTPMK** | : | see under Malov, **Pamjatniki drevnetjurkskoj pis'mennosti** |
| **PhTF** | : | **Philologiae Turcica Fundamenta** |
| **PSRL** | : | **Polnoe Sobranie Russkix Letopisej** |
| **QB** | : | see under Yûsuf Xaşş Ḥâjib, **Qutadğu Bilig** |
| **RO** | : | **Rocznik Orientalistyczny** |
| **SK** | : | **Seminarium Kondakovianum** |
| **SPAW** | : | Sitsungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| TDAYB | : | Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı- Belleten |
| TDED | : | Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi (Istanbul) |
| TKT | : | see under Ögel, **İslâmiyetten Önce Türk Kültür Tarihi** |
| TME | : | see under Doerfer, Türkische und Mongolische Elemente |
| TMK | : | see under Kafesoğlu, **Türk Milli Kültürü** |
| TP | : | T'oung-Pao |
| TLP | : | see under Menges, **Turkic Languages and Peoples** |
| TSb. | : | Tjurkologičeskij Sbornik |
| UAJ | : | **Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher** |
| UTTG | : | see under Togan, **Umumî Türk Tarihine Giriş** |
| ZDMG | : | Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft |
| ZIAN | : | **Zapiski Imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk** (SPb.) |
| ZVORAO | : | **Zapiski Vostočnogo Otdelenija Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arxeologičeskogo Obščestva** |

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